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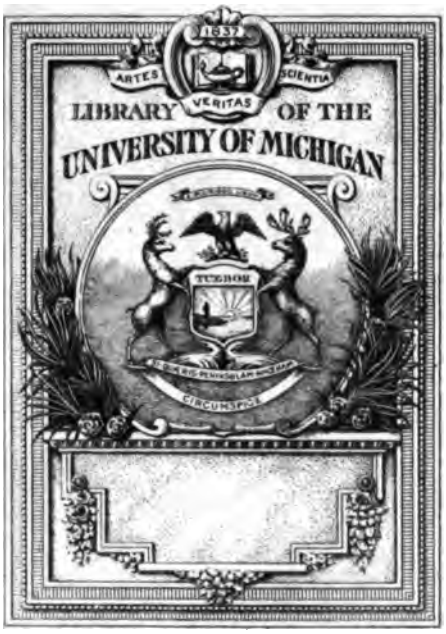
A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

OSCAR BROWNING, M.A.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A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

A HISTORY
OF
THE MODERN WORLD
1815—1910

BY
OSCAR BROWNING
Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and
Late University Lecturer in History

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF ITALY

Accession of Victor Emmanuel II.

ON the night of the disastrous defeat at Novara, Friday, March 23rd, 1849, Charles Albert resigned his crown in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., then twenty-nine years old. He was known as the *Re Galant'uomo*—"King Honest Man"—from the uprightness of his character and the fact that he sturdily refused to recall or impair the Constitution which had once been given to his country. On the following day he held a conference with Radetzky, the conqueror, and, on March 25th, accepted the onerous conditions of the armistice. The Piedmontese agreed to retire from the area bounded by the Po, the Sesia, and the Ticino, to allow the fortress of Alessandria to be occupied by a mixed garrison of Austrians and Piedmontese till the conclusion of peace, to evacuate the Duchies immediately, to recall the fleet from the Adriatic, to disband the Lombard volunteers, and to pay the expenses of the war. Next night the King returned to Turin, accepted the resignation of the Ratazzi Ministry, and established de Launay in his place.

On March 29th Victor Emmanuel swore fidelity to the Constitution in the presence of the two Chambers. He was coldly received, as the armistice was unpopular. Indeed, the Chambers declared it to be unconstitutional, and a revolt at Genoa, under the influence of Mazzini, was put down by La Marmora. Austria demanded a war indemnity of nearly £10,000,000, and, since it was impossible to pay this, the country had to submit to the indignity of a part occupation of Alessandria. However, by the mediation of France and Great Britain, Alessandria was evacuated, the indemnity was reduced to £3,000,000, and peace was signed on August 6th, 1849, by which time Massimo d'Azeglio had become

Prime Minister. The King had great difficulty in inducing the Chamber to approve of this treaty. It met on July 30th, 1849, with a determination not to ratify the treaty or to recognise its terms, and, on November 11th, passed a resolution to suspend its operation. There was nothing to do but to dissolve the House, and the new Parliament accepted the treaty by a very large majority on January 19th, 1850.

The *Leggi Siccardiani*.

D'Azeglio, being anxious to abolish the exclusive privileges of the Ecclesiastical Courts, appointed Siccardi to the office corresponding to the British Lord Chancellorship, having first sent him as ambassador to Pius IX., to endeavour to induce the Pope to accept his views. Siccardi introduced a Bill for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts and their special jurisdiction. He also attempted to abolish mortmain, or the holding of land by corporations without the consent of the Government, and to regulate marriage as a civil contract. These measures were embodied in three laws known as the *Leggi Siccardiani*, which were carried by both Chambers, their acceptance by the Senate, which was supposed to be Conservative, causing great astonishment.

Cavour's Turning-point.

These laws were warmly supported by Cavour in one of the best speeches he ever made—one, in fact, which was the turning-point in his career. He supported them on the broad ground that, the Constitution having been granted to the country by Charles Albert, with the view of establishing liberal institutions, it was the duty of a wise Ministry to carry out these principles by legislation in the same direction, and, the quieter and more peaceful the condition of the country, the more seasonable was the time for doing so. He enforced his arguments by the examples of the Duke of Wellington consenting to the emancipation of the Catholics, Lord Grey carrying the Reform Bill, and Sir Robert Peel avowing his conversion to the principles of Free Trade. He concluded with these words: "See, gentlemen, how reforms, made in time, strengthen authority instead of weakening it, and, instead of increasing the strength of the revolutionary spirit, reduce it to impotence. Imitate boldly the spirit of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey and Sir Robert Peel, whom history will declare to be the first statesmen of our time. Go forward generously in the path of reform; do not be afraid if measures are declared inopportune; do not be afraid to weaken the power of the Constitutional Throne, which is entrusted to your hands, because you will really strengthen it. You will really place the Throne on such a secure basis that, when the storm of revolution bursts against it, it will not only be able to resist it, but, by summon-

ing around it the living forces of Italy, will be able to lead our nation to the high destinies to which it is summoned."

Cavour's Popularity.

Up to that moment Cavour had been regarded as an aristocratic Tory, but he now received the applause of the Chambers, the Ministry, and the people. He had hitherto been the leader of the Right Centre; he now put himself at the head of all the intelligent Liberals in the Lower House. The Siccardi Laws, however, were not put into effect without opposition. Franzoni, Archbishop of Turin, refusing to obey them, was condemned to a month's imprisonment and a fine, and the Bishops of Sassari and Cagliari in Sardinia were similarly punished.

Death of Santa Rosa.

The quarrel was further embittered by the case of Santa Rosa, Minister of Agriculture. Feeling that he was near death, he asked a Servite brother, named Paravino, to perform for him the last offices of religion, but Franzoni refused to allow it unless he withdrew his adhesion to the Siccardi Laws. This he refused to do, and he died on August 5th without having received the sacraments. There was some difficulty in securing for him a religious funeral, and popular feeling was so much excited that the Servites were suspended and their property confiscated. The archbishop was imprisoned in the fortress of Fenestrelle, and eventually exiled. The portfolio left vacant by the death of Santa Rosa was given to Cavour, who became Minister of Agriculture and Marine on October 11th, 1850.

Cavour's Increased Power.

When the proposal to appoint him was made to Victor Emmanuel, he said, "Take care what you are doing. Cavour will soon dominate you all, and will be himself Prime Minister." He began by demanding that Mameli, who was a weak Minister of Education, should be replaced by someone more vigorous. He took a step in the direction of Free Trade by sending a circular to the syndics, advising them to abolish the limit of the price of bread, and made a commercial treaty with Belgium and, a month later, a similar treaty with Great Britain, which compelled the Protectionists in his own country to consent to a reciprocity of duties. On April 19th, 1851, he accepted the portfolio of Finance, which was vacant by the resignation of Nigra. He executed a commercial convention with France, which led to a commercial treaty in the following year. A commercial treaty with Austria, signed in October, 1851, secured the free navigation of the Po and the Ticino, and the junction of the railways uniting Genoa, Turin and Milan.

On December 2nd, 1851, came the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. This alarmed the Liberals, and strengthened the

revolutionary forces in Europe. But Cavour and d'Azeglio remembered his past career, and knew that Italy had nothing to fear from a man who had played so large a part in Liberal conspiracies. Therefore some French refugees, who were opposed to the *coup* in France, were expelled from Piedmont, and a Bill was introduced to control the extravagances of the Press. But a difference began to arise between d'Azeglio and his Ministers, Cavour thinking that the Government ought to assume a more definitely Liberal character and attitude, and that this could only be done by a coalition with the Left Centre, then led by Ratazzi. This coalition, finally concluded, was announced in a debate on the Press on February 5th, 1852, in which Cavour not only accepted the partnership of the Liberal Ratazzi, but refused that of the Conservative benches, thus bringing about the *divorzio* and *connubio*, the divorce and marriage which are so famous in Italian constitutional history. Ratazzi became first Vice-President and then President of the Council.

Resignation of d'Azeglio.

Cavour had undoubtedly committed a serious breach of discipline in forming this coalition without the knowledge and approval of d'Azeglio; his only excuse was that, if he had consulted his chief, permission to make it would not have been given. So Cavour resigned his two posts, and the Ministry was reconstructed with the omission of Cavour and Farini. The new Ministry met the Chambers on May 21st, 1852, but it was soon apparent that Cavour had seen the position of affairs with true insight. A Bill authorising civil marriage was introduced and passed the Chamber, but was rejected by the Senate by a single vote. The Pope was very angry at it, and d'Azeglio found himself in troubled waters. Antonelli published a paper, and the Pope wrote to the King, who said that he would not have consented to the law had he known that it would displease the Pope, and that he was ready to make every sacrifice for his country except that of his conscience. Accordingly d'Azeglio resigned and advised the King to send for Cavour.

Cavour's "Great Ministry."

Victor Emmanuel was reluctant to appoint a Minister who would be distasteful to the Papal Court, and Cavour himself suggested Balbo as an alternative. But these suggested arrangements proved impossible, and, on November 4th, 1852, Cavour formed, without conditions, what has ever since been known as "The Great Ministry." This coalition, or *connubio*, as it was called, formed a solid body made up of the Catholics of the Right and the Democrats of the Left. It was strong enough to support in the country the expedition to the Crimea, the

participation in the Congress of Paris, the interview of Plombières, and the war of 1859.

Piedmont's Commercial Prosperity.

In the Ministry Dabormida took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, Buoncompagni of Justice, Citrario of Education, La Marmora of War. Ratazzi, leader of the Left, remained President of the Council, and in 1853 became Minister of Justice in place of Buoncompagni. Cavour was above everything a financier, and knew that financial prosperity must be the foundation of a country's greatness. At the same time, he did not hesitate to sacrifice present interest to future advantage, to contract large loans, and to impose heavy taxation to pay the interest. He spent much money in developing railways, especially that from Turin to Genoa. "Genoa," he said, "will now have no time to think of revolutions." He established lines of mail steamers to cross the Atlantic, and took the first steps towards the piercing of the Mont Cénis. He made commercial treaties, revised the customs tariff, with a view to the introduction of Free Trade; cheapened the necessaries of life and the raw materials of industry; established companies, corporate societies, a system of credit for agricultural operations, banks of deposit, and banks of discount.

The first year of his Ministry was a miracle of administrative achievement. He created a new Piedmont, as Peter the Great created a new Russia and Napoleon a new France; and the new Piedmont was eventually to create a new Italy. In all this he had to consider the bitter hostility of Austria. He made his country respected and formidable, reorganised the navy, and fortified Alessandria and Casale.

Clerical Opposition to Cavour.

It was only natural that this bold and original policy should be opposed by the timid folk who form the bulk of every community. They felt the sacrifices which they were compelled to make, but did not realise their import. The priests and the demagogues were against Cavour. He was held responsible for bad harvests and for the failure of the vintage, and in February, 1853, his palace was attacked and his life threatened. At length he appealed to the country, and the new Chamber, which met on December 19th, 1853, gave him a decided majority in support of his policy.

Cavour and the Crimean War.

Then followed a stroke of genius by the participation in the Crimean War. The negotiations which preceded it are obscure, but the main lines of the policy are clear at the present day. By taking this bold and decided step Piedmont offered a vigorous contrast to the feeble waverings of her rival, Austria, and took her place among the Powers of Europe, who were joining together

to perform what was supposed to be an act of international justice, although it was really a great iniquity. She earned the gratitude of France, which might repay her services some day by the exchange of Milan and Lombardy for Savoy, and obtained the right of taking part in the congress which must follow the war. It is probable, as we have seen, that the Emperor Napoleon originally began the war with the object of weakening Russia, so as to prevent her from supporting Austria in the war which he intended to undertake for the liberation of Italy. In that case the step now taken was important both for Cavour and the country he desired to serve. Eventually the alliance between France and Great Britain was joined by Piedmont on January 25th, 1855, and on April 21st 15,000 Sardinian troops, as they were called, commanded by Alphonso La Marmora, sailed from Genoa to the Crimea.

Suppression of Clerical Orders.

On January 12th, 1855, the King lost his mother; on January 20th his wife; and on February 10th his brother, the Duke of Genoa. Victor Emmanuel saw in this the finger of God, and was reluctant to pursue the course of ecclesiastical reform which was being advocated by his Ministers. At this time Piedmont, with a population of under 5,000,000, possessed seventy-one religious orders and 604 religious communities, while the capitalised value of the ecclesiastical property in the whole kingdom, including Sardinia, was estimated at over seventeen millions of English money. It was a pressing necessity to reduce the number of religious orders and to forbid the creation of any fresh ones except by legislation. This step was violently opposed by the Clericals, and was distasteful to the King himself; but the Bill eventually became law on May 29th, Cavour making a concession by excluding from its operation an order which had been specially protected by the King's mother and his brother. The Bill suppressed thirty-four religious orders and 334 religious houses, leaving twenty-two corporations, with 274 houses. On July 22nd Pius IX. excommunicated all those who had promoted, approved of, or sanctioned the law. Cavour, warned by the example of Santa Rosa, had made arrangements with a priest to attend him in his last moments, and this was eventually carried out.

Italians in the Crimea.

The expedition to the Crimea consisted of 17,767 men, 4,464 horses, and 36 guns. It disembarked at Balaklava on May 8th, and had orders to act mainly with the British. It suffered much from sickness, especially from cholera; but, on August 16th, the success of the Battle of the Tchernaia compensated for everything. It was not a great victory, but it attracted attention and

irradiated the Italian tricolour with a gleam of glory. Indeed, the whole expedition did not bring much military glory, since, while 1,200 men died of cholera in hospital, only forty died on the field of battle.

Queen Victoria and Victor Emmanuel.

The visits paid by Victor Emmanuel to the Courts of Paris and St. James's, accompanied by Cavour and d'Azeglio, were first suggested by Cavour, and were a great success. Queen Victoria wrote of the King that " he is startling in the extreme in appearance and manner, when you first see him, but when you know him well you cannot help loving him. He is frank, open, just, straightforward, liberal, and tolerant, with much sound good sense. He never breaks his word, and you can rely on him; but wild and extravagant, courting adventure and danger, with a very strange, short, rough manner. He is more like a knight of the Middle Ages than anything one knows nowadays." Cavour was at first afraid to accompany the King for fear it might give the visit too political a character, but yielded on condition that Massimo d'Azeglio should go as aide-de-camp, to show to Europe that Piedmont was not infected by the disease of revolution.

Cavour and Napoleon.

As they returned through Paris the Emperor proclaimed his interest in the Italian cause by suddenly crying to Cavour, " What can we do for Italy? " He probably said more to the King than he did to the Minister. It is recorded that, on his return to Italy, Victor Emmanuel praised Napoleon to a friend, and said, " You might hear great things if I could speak: enough, either King of Italy or simply head of Savoy." Cavour drew up a memorial for the Emperor, dated January 21st, 1856, which said, " The Emperor can render immense service to Italy, first, by persuading Austria to do justice to Piedmont; secondly, by obtaining a milder government for Lombardy and Verona; thirdly, by forcing the King of Naples not to continue to scandalise Europe by conduct contrary to all principles of justice and equity; and, fourthly, by removing the Austrian governors from the Legations and Romagna, and giving them a better, that is, a lay, government." He concluded with the words, " Whatever Fate or Providence reserves for Italy, every man of heart will always remember that Napoleon was the first to ask, ' What can we do for Italy? ' "

Cavour at the Congress of Paris.

The Congress of Paris met at the end of February, 1856. It was not certain whether the representative of Sardinia could be admitted to the congress at all, or be admitted only on a lower footing, and Cavour attended it with great reluctance, foreseeing only disaster. However, by the influence of the Emperor,

supported by Great Britain, he was able to take part in it on the same footing as the others. He behaved with wisdom and moderation, speaking little and always on the Liberal side. In this way he gradually won influence. Eventually, on April 8th, he was able to bring the question of Italy before the attention of the diplomats in a manner which has been related in a previous chapter. Cavour was disappointed with the result of the congress, but on his return to Turin received not only the applause of the King and Parliament, but also congratulations from the whole of Italy. His position had gained immensely in influence and strength, both at home and abroad.

Austria's Relaxed Rule.

Austria relaxed her severity in Lombardy and Venetia, and removed the edict sequestrating the property of the emigrants. The Emperor Francis Joseph visited the provinces in January, 1857, accompanied by the Empress Elizabeth, who won all hearts, and sent his brother, the admirable Maximilian, to govern it, who was so successful that Cavour was afraid the hoped-for liberation of the territory might not be realised.

Revival of Clericalism.

At the same time, in Cavour's own government, Mazzini stirred up a useless and motiveless rebellion in Genoa in June, 1857, and in the general election in November, the first that had taken place since the legislation affecting the Church, the Clerical party obtained seventy seats out of a total of 200. Cavour was alarmed. "What," he said, "if eight years' labour were thrown away and the movement of the State turned backward?" Never would he advise a *coup d'état*, nor would his master consent to one; but, if the King abdicated, what then? Victor Emmanuel said to Cavour, "Let us do our duty, stand firm, and we shall see." The crisis was surmounted. Some elections in which the priests had exercised undue influence were declared null, and Ratazzi, who was a red rag to the Clericals, retired from office. Cavour found himself master of the Chamber.

Orsini's Attempt on Napoleon.

Ratazzi retired from the Ministry on January 15th, 1858; but the night before a terrible event had taken place at Paris. As the Emperor and Empress were driving to the theatre, bombs were thrown at the carriage by Felix Orsini; they wounded 150 persons and killed eight. The Emperor's carriage was struck by 76 projectiles, one of the horses was killed, the other wounded. The Emperor and Empress escaped by a miracle, as the general who sat opposite them was wounded. Antonio Pieri, teacher of languages, was seized immediately, with a large bomb in his pocket. Other persons arrested were Gomez, a Neapolitan servant, young Count Rudio of Belluno, and Orsini, who

was wounded in the head. The bombs, invented by Orsini, had been made by Bernard, a Frenchman, and filled by Orsini; one was thrown by Gomez, a second by Rudio, a third by Orsini.

Orsini's Plea.

Orsini wrote a letter from his prison to the Emperor, saying that on his will depended the happiness or misery of Italy, the life or death of a nation to which Europe owed a great part of its civilisation. "I conjure your Majesty to restore to Italy the independence which its sons lost in 1849 by the fault of the French. Remember that the Italians, amongst whom was my father, gave, with joy, their lives for Napoleon the Great, whenever he might please to lead them; remember that they were faithful to him to his fall; remember that the tranquillity of Europe and your own is a dream so long as Italy is not independent. Do not reject these last words of a patriot who is already on the steps of the scaffold; liberate my country, and the blessings of 25,000,000 people will follow you to posterity." There can be no doubt that the crime of Orsini stimulated the action of Napoleon with regard to the liberation of Italy.

Cavour Negotiates with Napoleon.

It might have been thought that the deed would have alienated the Emperor and put an end to all hope of achieving the liberty of Italy by the help of France. But this was averted by the diplomatic skill of Cavour and the manly straightforwardness of the King; and in May, 1858, Cavour received from Paris a letter written by a friend who was intimate with Prince Napoleon, which proposed an alliance between France and Italy, and suggested the marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clothilde. After this, Cavour sent Nigra to Paris, and the diplomatist reported that the Emperor really had ideas of this kind in his head. In June M. Conneau, an intimate friend of Napoleon's, came to Turin to invite Cavour to visit the Emperor at Plombières, where he was taking the waters. This was communicated to the King and La Marmora alone. Cavour arrived at Plombières on June 20th, and saw the Emperor on that and the following day.

An account of what passed is contained in a letter from Cavour to the King, although it is believed that a more accurate narrative exists in a minute which has not seen the light. The Emperor began by saying that he had made up his mind to support Sardinia in a war with Austria, if a cause could be found which would satisfy the public opinion of Europe. He suggested that something might be made of the revolutionary movements in Massa and Carrara. As to the future of Italy, the Austrians were to be driven from the country entirely, not a foot of ground being left

to them. The north of Italy was to be formed into a kingdom of Alta Italia, under the House of Savoy; the Pope was to keep Rome and its environs; Naples was to be left as it was; and a kingdom of Central Italy was to be created. These four States were to form a confederacy under the presidency of the Pope. The Emperor said that he would like a Murat to reign at Naples, and Cavour proposed the Duchess of Parma for Tuscany. Napoleon then touched upon the cession of Savoy and Nice. Cavour made no difficulty about Savoy, but said that Nice was thoroughly Italian; but the Emperor remarked that this was a secondary consideration. The conversation lasted from eleven to three.

In the afternoon the Emperor took Cavour for a drive, himself holding the reins. He then suggested a marriage between Prince Napoleon and Princess Clothilde, but did not make it an absolute condition. At the same time, Cavour was convinced that the Emperor desired that Prince Napoleon should be sovereign of Central Italy.

War with Austria Planned.

It now remained to find a decent pretext for the war with Austria. Odo Russell has reported that Cavour said to him on this occasion, "I will compel Austria to declare war," and there is no doubt that the Minister brought the whole force of his mind to bring this about. He conceived the idea of sending Garibaldi to the Duchies to promote an insurrection which would force Austria to action. He considered whether something might not be made out of the capture of Cagliari, which was causing much excitement, but a more hopeful project was to be found in the Duchies of Massa and Carrara, which belonged to the Duke of Modena. Napoleon twice requested Austria to assist in urging the Pope to give a better government to his dominions, but she twice refused. Cavour, as we have seen, was much troubled by the success of the government of Maximilian at Milan, which led the Milanese to feel that they would be content to have him as an independent King or a Viceroy. If this spirit spread there would be an end to all his plans.

Garibaldi Called In.

In October, 1858, Cavour had a long conference with La Farina to concert a plan for exciting a revolution in the spring of 1859 in Central Italy, Parma and Bologna, and if possible to force the Austrians to war. Massa and Carrara should begin; Garibaldi should go to Parma; a squadron should be sent to Leghorn, which would certainly drive away the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In December Garibaldi came from Caprera to Turin to confer with La Farina and Cavour.

These diplomatic movements were kept a secret till they were

revealed by the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon to the Austrian Ambassador on January 1st, 1859, which came like a thunder-clap upon Europe. As he passed before Baron Hübner on that day he said, in the hearing of all the diplomatic body, "I regret the relations between us are bad; but, nevertheless, tell your Sovereign that my sentiments towards him are not changed." When, ten days afterwards, Victor Emmanuel opened the session of Parliament, he said: "The horizon in which the new year opens is not altogether serene. Strong in the experience of the past, we meet with resolution the eventualities of the future. This future will be happy if we rest our policy on justice, on love of liberty and of our country. Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the counsels of Europe, by the ideas which it represents and the sympathy which it inspires. This condition is not exempt from danger, but at the same time, whilst we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of pain which rises towards us from every part of Italy."

While these war cries were resounding, Great Britain and Austria were doing all they could to preserve peace. In Great Britain a Tory Government was in office, which was not so much in favour of Italy as a Liberal Ministry would have been. But Austria sent troops into Italy and Cavour recalled the Government from Sardinia to the capital.

Marriage of Prince Napoleon and Princess Clothilde.

On January 16th Prince Napoleon came to Turin to claim the hand of Princess Clothilde, and discuss the details of the alliance with Cavour. On January 18th the treaty was signed which bound Napoleon to assist Piedmont in case of an aggressive act on the part of Austria. If the war were successful an Italian kingdom was to be formed, consisting of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 inhabitants, and Savoy was to be ceded to France, the question of Nice being left for future arrangements. It was also agreed that in case of war the Sardinian troops should abandon the territory between the Ticino and the Serio and concentrate in the defence of Alessandria and Casale, in order to protect the capital and assist the junction of the French forces which were to march by the Mont Cénis and Genoa.

On January 20th Prince Napoleon was married to the Princess Clothilde, the King accompanying the married pair as far as Genoa. He was received with enthusiasm, the first time that such feeling had been shown towards a King of Sardinia. Meanwhile, although Great Britain was opposed to an active policy, the stubbornness of Austria played into Cavour's hands. When Lord Malmesbury urged Austria to evacuate the Legations and use her

influence with the Italian princes to procure the concession of necessary reforms, Count Buol replied: "We do not intend to abdicate our right of intervention, and if we are called upon to protect the Italian Sovereigns with our arms we shall do so. We shall not recommend their Government to undertake any reforms. France plays the part of protectress of nationalities; we are, and shall be, protectors of national rights."

A Popular Loan.

At the beginning of 1859 there appeared in Paris a pamphlet entitled *Napoleon III. et l'Italie*, which had been written by Vicomte la Guerrière in 1858, and expressed the views of the Emperor. It proposed to form Italy into a confederation, with the Pope at its head, but was opposed to Italian unity, considering the differences in the peninsula too serious to make this possible. These were not the views of Cavour, who steadily kept in view the formation of a united Italy, and knew it could only be brought about by a war with Austria. He therefore asked the Chambers for a loan of £2,000,000. This was carried in the Lower House by a majority of 116 votes to 35, and in the Upper by 59 votes against 7. Rothschild refused to finance it, and it was thrown open to public subscription at 79. It was subscribed for with enthusiasm, and especially remarkable was the number of people who took five-franc and twenty-franc shares.

Gathering of the War Clouds.

In Paris the Chambers were opened on February 17th, and the Emperor declared war with Austria neither inevitable nor even probable. Indeed, the force of public opinion in France was against war. It was opposed by Walewski, Gortshakov, Lord Cowley, the newspapers, and the Empress. The Emperor was in favour of it, because it destroyed the treaties of 1815 and gratified the Italian sympathies of his youth. On February 23rd Lord Cowley was sent to Vienna to request the Austrians to evacuate the Papal dominions and to stop interference with Italian affairs.

But Cavour did not lose heart or hope. On March 8th he mobilised the army, in answer to Austria, which had massed troops on the Italian frontier, and on March 17th he formed the corps of the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, to which volunteers flocked from every part of Italy—from Piedmont, Tuscany, the Duchies, Lombardy, and Venice.

A Proposed Conference.

When Lord Cowley returned from Vienna, without having effected his object, Russia proposed a congress, which was supported by Great Britain. This was accepted by Buol, on condition that Piedmont should not be admitted to it, and that Austria should not attend it till Piedmont had disarmed and disbanded her volunteers. The Powers agreed to the exclusion of Piedmont,

and the idea of a congress seemed to find favour with the Emperor. On March 23rd Cavour went to Paris and saw Walewski, who told him that the Emperor had determined to support the project of an Italian confederation in the congress, and not to interfere in the affairs of Italy, except by peaceful means. Cavour was overwhelmed; he saw the work of seven years rendered useless. He determined to go away, without seeing the Emperor, to resign, and make the King abdicate, and was pacified with difficulty. On March 26th he did see the Emperor, and refused positively to disarm. He reminded Napoleon of the engagements entered into at Plombières, which included the marriage of Princess Clothilde, which had already taken place, and threatened that, if war were not declared, he would go to America and publish their correspondence.

Cavour's "Great Star."

On April 10th the congress was accepted by France and Great Britain, but Austria would not agree to it, unless Piedmont previously disarmed. Cavour telegraphed to Prince Napoleon on April 18th, "We will not disarm. It is better to fall with arms in our hands than to ruin ourselves miserably in anarchy." On the night of April 18th Cavour was awakened from his slumbers by a telegram from Walewski, in the name of the Emperor, saying that France had accepted the British proposals for a congress, and that Cavour must telegraph his acceptance immediately. It was a terrible shock. "Nothing remains," he said, "but to blow my brains out." He was obliged, however, to reply in the affirmative, but a ray of hope came from the reflection that Austria had not accepted. Indeed, he heard on April 20th that Francis Joseph had determined on war. But these two days were periods of indescribable anguish, the saddest in his life, not excepting those which followed Villafranca. However, on April 26th, Cavour learned that Austria had declined the British proposal to admit the Italian States to the congress, and his anxieties were relieved. The fact was that war with Italy had been decided upon at Vienna on April 10th at a council at which all the Grand Dukes were present, and she now sent Italy an ultimatum to disarm. This was the *stellone*, the "great star," the prize in the lottery, which cheered the Liberal statesmen of Italy and set the seal to the efforts of so many years. On April 26th the French Ambassador at Vienna informed Count Buol that the violation of the Sardinian frontier by an Austrian army would be considered in the light of a declaration of war.

The War Begins.

The Austrian army crossed the frontier on April 29th, about 200,000 strong, divided into two army corps, their object being

to crush the Sardinian army before the French could arrive. But the heads of the French columns had passed the frontiers of Savoy three days before, although the proclamation of the Emperor was not issued until May 3rd. The French army consisted of about 130,000 men and 330 guns, divided into five army corps, in addition to the Imperial Guard. Besides this, 8,700 men of the French troops landed at Genoa, and 4,000 went to the assistance of the Piedmontese in the Alpine valleys. Public opinion in France began to change in favour of the war, and this produced the enrolment of 30,000 volunteers.

The Forces Engaged.

The first French troops entered Turin on April 29th, and the Emperor Napoleon landed on May 12th at Genoa, where he was received by Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, and on May 14th he reached Alessandria. The French army might now be considered to have joined the Piedmontese, and the object of their strategical march had been attained. The Sardinian army numbered at this time 76,000 infantry, 5,400 cavalry, and 2,700 artillery, making a total of 84,000 men. But this force was not really present in the field, and after making the necessary reductions the forces of the sub-Alpine kingdom cannot be placed at more than 62,332 men with 90 guns. Besides these were the three regiments of Garibaldi, which did splendid service, and a National Guard of 26,000. Altogether, the forces of the Allies cannot be placed at less than 260,000 men, which was considerably more than the Austrians.

Austria's Mistaken Strategy.

Military authorities almost unanimously blame the strategy of the Austrians at this time. Instead of attacking the right wing of the Sardinian army or hindering the march of the French, they confined themselves to threatening the left wing of the Sardinians, and consequently gave the attack to their opponents. If they had decided on a defensive policy, it would have been better not to cross the Ticino, but to complete their preparations. As it was, the only advantage they gained was that they were occupying the enemy's country and living at the enemy's expense.

On the other hand, the enemy had full knowledge of their movements, their own information about the Allies being so extremely defective that their headquarters were frequently better informed by the newspapers than by their own agents. At first they were able to spend their time in healthy exercises, but on the evening of May 14th it began to rain, and they were driven into their camp. As the Austrians were very badly informed as to the movements of the Allies, Stadion was sent to reconnoitre, with a force of 18,000 men

THE BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO

Battle of Montebello.

This led to the first encounter between the two armies, on May 30th, an engagement generally known as the Battle of Montebello, a place distinguished in the wars of Napoleon I. The Austrians reached Casteggio about midday and found the place deserted, with windows and doors shut as if no one were living in it. The Austrian infantry took possession of it, and the hussars of the advanced guard went on to Genestrello. They reported that the village was held by the enemy's infantry, and Schaffgotsche determined to drive them out, although he had orders not to engage, that he might not be attacked himself. When Genestrello had been occupied without difficulty, Schaffgotsche observed that he had a strong body of the enemy in front of him, and therefore began a new attack about the middle of the day. This body was formed by the troops of Forey, who had marched up from Voghera to defend his outposts.

A Victory for the Allies.

The first cannon-shot was fired at 1.15 p.m., and the Austrians, who were up to this time superior in numbers to the French, continued to advance, but by 2 p.m. the rest of Forey's division had arrived in the field and the conditions of the battle were changed. At 3 p.m. Schaffgotsche had been driven from Genestrello, and had taken up his position at Montebello, which is situated on a hill of considerable strength. The two armies were now about equal in numbers, but the Austrians were fresh and had plenty of cover. Forey, however, did not hesitate to attack. The cavalry, artillery, and two battalions of foot soldiers, advanced along the main road, while the bulk of the infantry, leaving their knapsacks behind them, climbed the precipitous wooded slope to the southern point of Montebello, from which the village descends in one long street towards the high road. The French were obliged to capture house after house, and fight hand to hand with great loss of life. The artillery took scarcely any part in the engagement. At last the village was won and the Austrians retreated to Casteggio. Forey had thus in four hours driven back, first a brigade of 3,000 and then one of 4,000 men. Stadion had now 18,000 men under him, and of these 4,000 or 5,000 were really in hand. But he did nothing, and the French were allowed to claim the victory undisturbed. The Austrians lost 1,293 men and the French 723.

Capture of Palestro.

Giulay had in the beginning confined his attention to the north side of the Po, but the affair of Montebello led him to suppose that the main attack of the French would be delivered towards the south, in the direction of Piacenza, and he made his preparations accordingly. This theory, however, was erroneous, because

Napoleon's plan was to march towards the north and attack the right wing of the Austrians and advance upon Milan. The orders for the French army to march on the left flank were issued on May 27th, but the movement was to be masked by the Sardinian army, which for this purpose was to push on towards Robbio, by way of Palestro. The ground through which the Sardinians advanced was of such a nature that the Austrians were unable to see what was going on, whereas, on their side, the infantry found it difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to cross the rice fields, cut up by ditches and canals. Palestro is about six miles distant from Vercelli, which is situated on the other side of the Serio. The Serio, which is usually dry, was at this time full of water, from the abundant rain which had fallen, and a bridge over it had to be constructed with some difficulty, across which the Sardinian army passed. The crossing occupied the whole morning, but did not apparently attract the attention of the Austrians, and shortly after midday Victor Emmanuel was able to make an attack upon Palestro. The Austrians, at first, managed to repel all assaults; but when the Sardinians were able, by building a bridge, to attack on the other side, they were obliged to retire. An attempt to retake Palestro was frustrated by Cialdini, who arrived with superior forces, and the Austrians retreated to Robbio. In this engagement the Austrians lost 460 men and the Sardinians 140.

Austrian Attempt to Recapture Palestro.

Both sides were aware that Palestro was the key of the position, as it commanded the passage of the Serio. Victor Emmanuel, feeling insecure, asked for assistance from his allies, and Palestro was occupied by 14,000 men. The Austrians now made a serious effort to retake it and assaulted it with superior numbers. The first gun was fired at 10.30 a.m., and a battalion of jägers rushed to storm the village. Although the Sardinians had thrown up earthworks in the night, the Austrians penetrated to the first houses of the village, but were not able to hold their ground; they retreated, and the Sardinians pursued them as they fled. The left column met with no better success. Szabo attacked the French with his artillery, as they were crossing walls, and they suffered some loss. In another attack a number of Austrians were drowned in the canal and the Serio, and Szabo was compelled to retire with great loss. The result of the battle was entirely in favour of the Allies, the Austrians having lost more than 2,000 men in the two days.

In the meantime Garibaldi, who had been made a general in the Sardinian army, and was in command of the *Cacciatori delle*

Alpi, placed his headquarters at Varese. He repulsed an attack by General Urban, occupied Como, and threatened Monza, but failed to take the strong fortress of Laveno, on the shores of Lago Maggiore. The Austrians, however, were now in full retreat towards the Ticino. They were in worse condition than if they had never advanced but had waited to be attacked. In this case they might have met the Allies with seven complete army corps, and threatened the passage of the river with some hope of success. As it was, they were dispersed in a long line extending from Varese to Piacenza, the troops weary with marching, weakened by fighting, and disheartened by defeat.

The Battlefield of Magenta.

The Battle of Magenta was fought on June 4th, the day on which the Emperor had determined to pass the Ticino. Magenta is a village of 400 inhabitants, situated on the high road between Novara and Milan, about four miles from the left bank of the Ticino. About halfway between it and the river runs the canal of the Naviglio Grande, which carries the waters of the Ticino to Milan. The canal is deep and lies between high banks, so that it is difficult to cross. In this part of its course it is crossed by six bridges—that of Benevento in the north, Buffalora about a mile below, Ponte Nuovo di Magenta on the high road, the railway bridge about a third of a mile below, and by Ponte Vecchio di Magenta and Robecco to the south. All these bridges had been manned and placed in a condition of defence by the Austrians, and a strong redoubt had been built at the railway bridge. The bridge of Buffalora and the Ponte Nuovo had also special defences. From the bridge which crosses the Ticino at San Martino four roads diverge—the main road to Milan, which passes by Magenta, in the middle; to the left the road to Buffalora; to the right the railway; and still farther to the right the roads to Ponte Vecchio and Robecco.

A Surprise Attack.

Magenta thus formed a formidable defensive position, and Giulay had intended to concentrate the whole of his forces there. But, owing to various circumstances, he could not get together more than a third of them, while the French were not able to dispose of more than a quarter of their strength for the attack. On the morning of June 4th the Austrians were not expecting an attack, and had just finished their food, when they heard that three heads of French columns were advancing upon Buffalora. A brigade was immediately sent to protect the two bridges which had not been destroyed—that over the high road and that over the railway, and the slowness of the French advance enabled them to do this.

A Hard-fought Battle.

The heads of the French columns advanced at 10.30 a.m. The first shots were fired on the roads which lead over the Ticino to the Naviglio. Wimpffen led his troops partly by the Buffalora road and partly by the railway; while the Zouaves, with two pieces of artillery, marched along the central causeway. The Austrians fired at the advancing troops, gradually retiring on the railway. The French skirmishers were stopped by a heavy fire, and Wimpffen found the Naviglio well defended. But Canrobert had not arrived, and nothing had been heard of MacMahon, so the Emperor suspended his attack and withdrew Wimpffen to a position 400 yards in advance of the Ticino. At midday the fire of MacMahon was heard on the left, and Wimpffen resumed his advance. He was, however, driven back over the Buffalora bridge.

Attacks on other quarters were repelled by the arrival of Austrian reinforcements; the battle swayed backwards and forwards, as the forces were relatively greater in number on either side. At 2 p.m. two points on the Naviglio were in possession of Mellinet's division, which, however, consisted of only 5,000 men, and had no reserve to support it. Nothing had been heard of Canrobert and Niel, and the advance of MacMahon had been arrested. The position was very critical, but just at this moment Picard's brigade, which formed part of Canrobert's division, arrived. They reached the bridge of San Martino at 2 p.m., and were able to support Wimpffen, who was in difficulties. They gained possession of the village of Ponte Vecchio and made numerous prisoners, but could not get any farther. However, at 3.30 p.m. the position of affairs was decidedly more favourable for the French.

Where was MacMahon?

At the same time the position of the Emperor was very serious. When asked for reinforcements, he replied, like Napoleon at Waterloo, that he had none to send. The French columns on the Ponte Nuovo were visibly thinned; they could not advance, and they would not retreat. For hours nothing had been heard of MacMahon on the left, and the enemy were beginning to press with terrible force on the right. Just at this moment MacMahon's cannon were again heard, and Canrobert came up in person to announce that reinforcements were at hand. MacMahon had crossed both the Ticino and the Naviglio at Turbigo, far away to the left, to attack the right flank of the Austrians, but had met with unexpected difficulties. Leaving Turbigo at 9.30 a.m., he advanced towards Buffalora and Magenta in two columns; but they were stoutly resisted by the Austrian reserves. The result

was that his advance was delayed for two hours, and that he was unable to rejoin the Emperor. He and his staff remained in a condition of feverish impatience, whilst the musketry and cannon fire sounded fiercely from the Naviglio, and the south wind brought the smell of powder to their nostrils. At last Espinasse and La Motterouge were able to advance to Magenta and, after heavy fighting and considerable loss, the junction of the two columns was effected about five in the afternoon.

Results of Magenta.

At last MacMahon was able to re-form his lines and order the advance from all sides on the bell tower of Magenta. His troops marched forward, with drums beating and colours flying, and they found little resistance until Magenta was reached. Here every house was pierced for musketry, the streets were blocked with barricades, the gardens turned into redoubts, the churchyard and even the bell tower armed with artillery and riflemen. The battle raged with especial fury at the open space of the railway station, and here the gallant Espinasse was killed. No essential progress was made till the arrival of Trochu at the Ponte Vecchio at 7 p.m., and it was not till 9 that the field of battle was entirely in possession of the French. In the battle the Allies lost 4,500 men, of whom 100 were taken prisoners; the Austrians lost 10,000, of whom 5,000 were prisoners. MacMahon received the title of Duke of Magenta, which he had won by his successful exertions in marching the two divisions, and his wisdom in attacking the right and the reserve of the Austrians, by which many prisoners were made. After all, Magenta was very much a drawn battle. It was expected that the Austrians would renew the attack, but on June 5th Giulay ordered the retreat, the last order which he had the opportunity of giving, as he was immediately afterwards deprived of his command.

Triumphal Entry into Milan.

At midday on June 5th the Milanese discovered that there were no more Austrians in the city, and the municipality sent the keys of the town to Victor Emmanuel. On June 7th MacMahon's corps began to march down the street, and on the following day the King and the Emperor made their entry in a delirium of enthusiasm. Napoleon exclaimed, "How much the people must have suffered!" On the same day he issued a proclamation to the Italian people, in which he said: "Providence sometimes favours nations as it does individuals, giving them the opportunity of becoming great in a single day; but only on the condition that they know how to profit by it. Your desire for independence, so long expressed, so often disappointed, will be fulfilled if you know how to show yourselves worthy of it. Let

all of you unite in one sole desire, the liberation of your country. Organise your military arrangements. Fly to the banner of Victor Emmanuel, who has so nobly prepared for you the way of honour. Remember that there can be no army without discipline, and burning with the sacred fire of patriotism, be soldiers to-day that to-morrow you may become the free citizens of a great country."

Death of "Bomba."

In fact, the liberation of Italy was progressing well, with greater rapidity than Napoleon III. either expected or desired. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had left his country on April 29th. It was at this time ruled by Ricasoli, assisted by the baker Giuseppe Dolfi, of whom it was said that he could any day collect in the Piazza della Signoria 10,000 men who would do whatever he told them. The Duke went from Modena and the Duchess Regent from Parma as soon as the protecting Austrians were withdrawn and the Romagna demanded to be annexed to Piedmont. Farina was sent to administer Modena and Parma, and Massimo d'Azeglio the Romagna. Ferdinand II. of Naples—generally known as "Bomba"—died rather suddenly on May 22nd, and was succeeded by his youthful son. If he had joined Sardinia in the war against Austria he might have kept his throne, but his refusal rendered its forfeiture inevitable.

Austrian Withdrawal to the Quadrilateral.

It was now evident that the Austrians intended to withdraw to the Mincio, where they would be defended by the famous Quadrilateral of Mantua, Verona, Peschiera and Legnago. The Emperor attempted to impede this movement by dispatching troops to Lodi, hoping they would reach the Adda before the rearguard of the enemy, and be able to divide his forces. The movement failed, for the rearguard reached Lembo a few hours before the French. Except a brush with Benedek at Melegnano, no engagement of any importance took place until the Battle of Solferino, fought on June 24th, 1859, which put an end to the war. This was fought in a space bounded to the north by Lago di Garda and the railway, on the south by the Oglio, on the west by the Chiese, and on the east by the Mincio, being about twenty miles long and twelve miles broad.

Battlefield of Solferino.

This historic area contains some of the most beautiful scenery in Europe. It is traversed by three ranges of hills, one below the other, each of which played a part in the battle, the most important being the southernmost range, which overlooks the Italian plain. On the northern range lie the villages of San Martino, Ostiglio and Feniletta, which lay within the operations of the Sardinian army; on the central range were Castelvenzago

and La Madonna della Scoperta, and on the southern Vilsana, Fenile, Solferino and Cavriana. High in the midst rises the watch-tower of Solferino, which from its commanding view had obtained the name of La Spia d'Italia.

The plain below the hills is traversed by the high road leading from Castiglione to Mantua, on which lie Guidizzolo and Goito. The traveller proceeding along this road sees first the hamlet of La Fontana, then the village of Le Grote, half hidden under a fold of Monte Fenile, then some of the houses of Cavriana in the mountains, and then, at some distance, Volta with its conspicuous campanile. The fields are planted with rice, mulberries and maize. The wayfarer then reaches Guidizzolo, a large village, from which issue three carriageable roads, one to Volta, one to Cavriana, and one to Cenesara in the south. To the right of this great high road lie the villages of Carpenedolo, south-west of Castiglione, and Medole, to the west of Guidizzolo and Cenesara. The ground between Guidizzolo and Medole is covered with many houses, whose red-tiled roofs are visible through the trees, the hamlet of Rebecco forming the principal group. Still farther on the right are situated Acqua Fredda, the walls and towers of Castel Goffredo, and other villages.

Disposition of the Opposing Armies.

The French army consisted of five army corps and five Sardinian divisions, bringing up the strength of the Allies to seventeen divisions of infantry, five of cavalry, and a number of cannon, making a total of 160,000 men. The Austrian army had eight army corps of infantry and one corps of cavalry, making 124 battalions of infantry and sixty squadrons of cavalry, amounting altogether to about the same number of 160,000 men, under the personal command of the Emperor Francis Joseph. On the morning of June 23rd the headquarters of the Emperor of Austria were at Villafranca; those of the first army corps, under Stadion, were at Mantua; those of the second army corps, under Schlick, were at Custozza. The eighth army corps, under Benedek, forming the extreme right, was at Peschiera; the second, forming the extreme left, under Lichtenstein, at Mantua. The plan was that, on the morning of June 23rd the Austrians should advance from their positions to surprise the enemy, falling on their right flank and driving them towards the Alps, the decisive battle being left to the following day. According to this plan, they crossed the Mincio at six points and occupied, before the evening, a number of the villages already enumerated, Pozzolengo, Solferino, Cavriana, Guidizzolo, Rebecco and Medole, their advance posts being at Madonna della Scoperta, Le Grote and Castel Goffredo. It was

intended that the army should advance to the Chiese at 9 on the morning of June 24th.

An Unexpected Development.

Before this could be done the bulk of the allied army had crossed the Chiese, the intention of the French being to occupy the hilly country and to force a passage across the Mincio. On June 23rd the headquarters of the Emperor were at Montechiaro, and it was heard that on the following day the army would reach the Mincio, the headquarters being at Castiglione. The army was to begin its march at 2 p.m., in order to avoid the great heat of the sun. It thus happened that the two armies came into collision while they were preparing to make an offensive attack in opposite directions, neither being prepared to fight an immediate battle. The problem before both was to transform a line of march most rapidly into a line of battle.

The Battle of Solferino.

Accordingly the Battle of Solferino may be divided into two periods, the first resulting from the fortuitous shock of the two hosts, neither of whom had expected to meet the other, the orders given for the march on either side having not yet been modified; the second period, beginning when the action became general, may be divided into two smaller sections, the attack of the French on the centre, and that of the Austrians on the left. The Sardinians and the eighth army corps under Benedek had, as it were, a battle to themselves. It will thus be seen that two armies, nearly equal in strength, marching towards each other in a front of equal length, without knowing each other's positions, met in the line marked by the villages of San Martino, Solferino, Guidizzolo and Medole.

Summary of the Battle.

The Austrian army tried at first to execute its original plan of turning the French right, and driving it towards the Alps, while the army of the Allies concentrated towards its centre. In this manner the positions of Solferino and San Casciano were attacked by three French corps and defended by three Austrian corps. The French succeeded in piercing the centre of the Austrian army, because their three corps attacked simultaneously, whereas the Austrian corps only came up one after the other. At the same time, the Austrian corps which had been intended to turn the French right were defeated by two French corps, because they could not succeed in acting together, and one corps, which was intended to strike a decisive blow, was never engaged at all. On the Austrian right the eighth corps succeeded in holding back the Sardinians till nightfall, but could not redeem disaster in other parts of the field. The capture of Cavriana finally put an end to the battle, and the Austrians retired behind the Mincio.

THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO

Let us now describe the battle more in detail. By orders issued the night before the Sardinians were to march on Pozzolengo, Baraguay d'Hilliers on Solferino, MacMahon on Cavriana, Niel on Guidizzolo, Canrobert on Medole, and the Imperial Guard on Castiglione, the cavalry marching in the plain between Solferino and Medole. Setting out at 3 a.m., the French encountered no serious opposition till 5 a.m., when MacMahon perceived that the situation was becoming dangerous. He halted and remained inactive for two hours. About 7 a.m. MacMahon was informed that Niel had arrived before Medole, that as soon as he had taken that village he would concentrate on his left, and that Canrobert would do the same. MacMahon, therefore, at 8.30 a.m. took possession of Casa Marino, commanding the lower ground of Guidizzolo. He was opposed by a strong Austrian force coming from that place, which did not drive him back, but caused him considerable loss. He did not hear that Niel's corps was in a position to join him till 11 a.m., and he was then able to advance towards Solferino, where a vigorous battle had been proceeding for some time. It had thus taken six hours for the French right to change an order of march into an order of battle.

Retreat of the Austrians.

Early in the day the Emperor discerned from a height in the neighbourhood of Castiglione that a serious battle was proceeding. He determined to concentrate on his centre, and directed his attack on Solferino and Cavriana, giving orders to Niel and Canrobert to move towards their left, and to the Sardinians to move towards their right. Baraguay d'Hilliers was now assaulting the strong position of Solferino, held by Stadion, the hill covered with cypresses, the graveyard and the castle dominated by the well-known tower, " The Spy of Italy." The place was in excellent condition for defence, and well supplied with artillery. The walls of the cemetery, defended by a flank of the cypress-covered hill, defied all efforts, and the Austrians were able to act energetically on the offensive. The struggle was terrific, and it was not till 3 in the afternoon that the French could hoist their victorious flags on the tower and the cypress hills. At last the Austrians were driven from Solferino, and an important point had been gained. Cavriana still remained to be taken—a village strengthened by ancient walls and by a castle. This was attacked at 4 in the afternoon after Solferino had been taken. MacMahon was able to assault the strong position from the other side and, in consequence of this double attack, the place fell about 4.30 p.m. Two hours later the Austrians began to retreat in all directions, and their centre was entirely in the hands of the French.

Notwithstanding this success, Niel was not able to take Guidizzolo, which the Austrians held till 7 in the evening, and Victor Emmanuel could not capture San Martino till sunset, when the capture of Solferino and Cavriana was already known. The Sardinians were able to hold the high ground they had captured, but lost 6,000 men, considerably more than their adversaries. At the battle the Emperor of the French occupied the quarters which the Emperor of Austria had occupied the night before. But there was no pursuit. On June 25th the headquarters of Francis Joseph were at Villafranca, and on June 27th at Verona, and on this day the French occupied the line of the Mincio. It is reckoned that in the battle the Austrians lost 21,500 men and the Allies 18,500, of whom 13,000 were French.

Napoleon Negotiates with Austria.

Two great battles had been won by the French, but it was not possible to march on to Vienna, nor even to storm the Quadrilateral. It would be necessary to blockade the four fortresses one by one. The French army rested from June 25th to July 5th, and on July 6th, without consulting the King of Italy, Napoleon sent Fleury to Francis Joseph, proposing a meeting of the two Emperors at Villafranca, and early in the morning of July 7th the offer was accepted. On July 8th an armistice was arranged at Villafranca to last till August 15th, and La Marmora telegraphed to Cavour the suspension of arms. Cavour hurried to the headquarters of the King on July 10th.

Meeting of the Emperors.

On the following day the interview between the two Emperors took place at Villafranca. Francis Joseph spontaneously offered the cession of Lombardy, without Mantua or Peschiera, and was also willing to cede Parma, provided that the sovereigns of Modena and Tuscany were allowed to keep their dominions. Napoleon proposed a confederation of Italian States under the presidency of the Pope. The interview lasted an hour; no one was present at it, and it is probable that nothing was committed to writing. The Emperor communicated the results of the interview to the King in the presence of Prince Napoleon. It is not precisely known how Victor Emmanuel received the news. There is no doubt that he was disappointed, that he knew he could not persuade the Emperor to further exertions, and that he expressed his gratitude for the acquisition of Lombardy, which was a solid gain.

Peace of Villafranca

By the preliminaries of the Peace of Villafranca the Emperor of Austria ceded Lombardy to the Emperor of the French, who transferred it to the King of Italy. An Italian confederation, including Venetia, to which liberal institutions were promised, was to be formed, with the Pope at its head; Tuscany and Modena

were to return to their Dukes with a general amnesty; Parma was surrendered, but was afterwards retained on the recommendation of Russia. The Papal States were to have reforms, the Legations a separate administration. The articles were communicated to the King, who consented to them because he could not do otherwise.

Cavour and the Peace of Villafranca.

It is easy to blame Napoleon. There is no doubt he eagerly desired that Italy should possess Venetia and the Quadrilateral, but circumstances were too strong for him, and it was impossible to continue the war. How did Cavour receive the news? We will use the narrative of the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, who was probably well informed, and is certainly wise and temperate.

"Cavour," she wrote, "rushed from Turin to Desenzano, where he arrived the day before the final meeting between Napoleon and Francis Joseph. He waited for a carriage in the little café in the piazza. No one guessed who it was, and conversation went on uninterrupted; it was full of sneers at the French Emperor. Mazzini, someone said, was right; this was the way the war was sure to end. When a shabby conveyance had at length been found, the great statesman drove to Monzambano. There, of course, his arrival did not escape notice, and all who saw him were horrified at the change that had come over his face. Instead of the jovial, witty smile, there was a look of frantic rage and desperation.

"What passed between him and his Sovereign is partly a matter of conjecture; the exact sense of the violent words into which grief betrayed him is lost, in spite of the categorical versions of the interview which have been printed. Even in a fit of madness he can hardly have spoken some of the words attributed to him. That he advised the King to withdraw his army and abdicate rather than agree to the treason which was being plotted behind his back seems past doubting. It is said that, after attempting in vain to calm him, Victor Emmanuel brought the interview to a sudden close.

Cavour's Resignation.

"Cavour came out of the house flushed and exhausted, and drove back to Desenzano: he had resigned office. Kossuth relates that on July 14th Cavour said in his presence, to Pietri, the private secretary of Napoleon, that there was one thing in which a man can never compromise, and that was honour. 'Your Emperor has dishonoured me; he gave me his word that he would not desist till he had driven the Austrians out of Italy, and he took Savoy and Nice as a recompense. I persuaded my King to consent, to make the sacrifice, for Italy. My King, a good and honest man, consented, trusting to my word, and now the Emperor

carries off the recompense and leaves us in the lurch. Certainly—I say it not before you, but before God—this peace shall never be concluded, this treaty shall never be executed. I will make myself a conspirator, a revolutionary. No, this treaty shall never be executed. No, a thousand times no! Never, never!'"

Results of the Peace.

After all, what happened was probably for the best. Another Solferino might have driven the Austrians from Italy and established a powerful kingdom in northern Italy; but it would have left the rest of the peninsula under the virtual government of the Dukes and established a confederation, which would have made the unity of Italy impossible. The Peace of Villafranca was really the salvation of Italy. Otherwise Italy would have remained under the influence of France, and the other Powers of Europe would have looked upon the new kingdom as the creation of that country. As it was, both Prussia and Great Britain began to consider the unity of Italy as coming within the range of practical politics. The restoration of Italy—advanced a step further in 1866, completed in 1870—was to await the consecration of other efforts, if it should become a fabric resting on natural forces, and of such a character as to endure the shocks of circumstance and time.

CHAPTER II

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

THE Civil War in America between the Northern and Southern States arose out of the question of slavery. It will, therefore, be well to give a short history of this question from the time at which our narrative opens—the year 1815. At that date all the Eastern Middle States, excepting Delaware, were non-Slavery, or, as they were called in America, Free Soil. Slavery was prohibited in the North-West Territory, American citizens were forbidden to engage in the slave trade of foreign countries, subjects of foreign countries were prohibited from engaging in the American slave trade, and the importation of slaves into the United States was forbidden by law. Of the twenty-two States which, before 1820, composed the Union, eleven were slave-holding and eleven free, so that the two principles were equally represented in the Senate. In 1821 the State of Missouri was created, lying west of Mississippi, and being part of the Louisiana Reserve, in which slavery had been left an open question. Missouri had wished to be a slave State, but the Anti-Slavery party were determined that it should not be. A fierce struggle went on, and in 1820 the famous Missouri Compromise was effected, by which Missouri was admitted to be known as a slave-holding State, but in all the rest of the Louisiana Reserve slavery was "for ever prohibited." A few months previously Maine had been admitted as a free State, so that the balance in the Senate was preserved.

The Slavery Question.

Hostility to slavery as a moral and political wrong now spread widely and grew in intensity. A paper, called the *Liberator*, urging the abolition of slavery, was established at Boston by William Lloyd Garrison. Although violently attacked by the slave-holding States, Garrison gathered round him a band of abolitionists, and in 1832 founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society. The dissensions between the slave-holders and the abolitionists came to a head about the admission of Texas to the Union, which was finally settled in December, 1845. Texas, a slave-holding State, had been, first, part of the Mexican Confederation and then independent, and by its adherence to the Union slavery became illegal. The admission of Texas also led to a war

Anti-Slavery Movement.

with Mexico. At last, in 1850, feeling rose so high that there was grave danger that the Union would be broken up; and Henry Clay, who, after an absence of eight years, had come back to the Senate, bent all his talents and energies to the effecting of a compromise.

The Demands of the South.

Gold had been discovered in California, and it became necessary to admit that territory to the Union. Should it be slave or free? If it were free it would destroy the balance in the Senate, making sixteen free to fifteen slave-holding States. A similar difficulty arose about the admission of the Mormon State of Deseret or Utah, which had formed part of Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso, discussed in 1848, laid down that any State formed out of territory acquired from Mexico should be Free Soil. The South threatened secession if this were applied to New Mexico and Utah. The South, further, demanded more stringent legislation for the capture and return of fugitive slaves, and the North insisted on the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Clay proposed, as a compromise, that California should be admitted as a free State, that New Mexico and Utah should be made Territories without restriction of slavery, that the boundary between Texas and New Mexico should be settled, that slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of the inhabitants or without compensation, and that more effectual provision should be made by law for the return of fugitive slaves. These resolutions were referred to a committee of thirteen, and eventually, after much discussion and some amendments, were adopted.

Dependence of the South on Slavery.

If the cause of abolition were growing in the North, the South had good reason for resisting it. The possession of slaves gave her leisure, as it gave leisure to the Greeks, and fostered the growth of a ruling class, so that the Southern half of the Union was regarded as the mother of statesmen, born with the instinct for and the habit of leadership. The makers of America—Madison, Washington and Jefferson—came from the South. Virginian statesmen had held the Presidency for thirty-two out of the first forty years of the existence of the Union. Throughout American history the South had played a part, in the contest of parties, out of proportion to her importance in wealth and population.

Now the South was losing her pre-eminence. She had no manufactures and few immigrants, while the growth of industries and the influence of foreign immigrants were enhancing, every

year, the power and prosperity of the North. As time went on, the pressure of these forces became more intense. The population of the United States increased everywhere else by leaps and bounds, but in the South remained stationary. While the rest of the country gained each year new sources of wealth and power, none came to the South. Even her own population left her for the West and North. In obedience to such forces, the conditions of political parties began to change.

New Territories to be "Free."

From the Presidency of Washington to that of Monroe the country had been governed, much as Great Britain was governed, by the advice of a few distinguished leaders and conference between the most prominent members of the two Houses of Congress. A change set in on the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, and the old order disappeared for ever. The nominating convention by which Presidents are still virtually elected dates from 1832, and was finally consolidated during the next twenty years. The effect of this change upon the question of slavery was very serious. A strong feeling against slavery grew up. There was no desire to abolish it in the States where it was already established, for it was admitted that this would be a violation of the Constitution, but there was an extension of the Free Soil feeling, a determination that slavery should hold no part in any new additions to the United States. In every extension towards the west this question had to be fought out. It was always open, and could never be closed so long as there was new land to be occupied.

The Kansas-Nebraska Conflict.

The Democrats succeeded the Whigs as leaders of the South, as the champions of wise compromise and progressive Conservatism, and it took some time to form a party which could effectually oppose them. The Whigs had been defeated by the election of Franklin Pierce to the Presidency in 1852, and the American Party, or "Know-Nothings," took their place. For the next eight critical years politics were in a very confused condition, but the Anti-Slavery cause steadily gained in power. Its supporters were irritated by the purchase by Pierce of a territory in Mexico which it would be difficult to rescue from the grasp of slavery. The creation of the new Territories of Kansas and Nebraska led to a serious conflict. Should the new territories be Free Soil, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise, or decide for themselves whether they should hold slaves or not? This was, and remained, the burning question, even after the Nebraska Territory had been opened conditionally to slavery by the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

Formation of the Republican Party.

In 1856 the Republican party was formed in opposition to the Democrats; it united the men of very different opinions, but was essentially Anti-Slavery. It had a majority in fifteen States, eleven votes in the Senate, and 117 members in the House of Representatives. The Presidential election of 1856 was a contest between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Democrats elected James Buchanan, a strong supporter of the South, who remained President till 1861. The irritation of the Republicans against Democratic supremacy was stimulated by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, which was decidedly favourable to slavery, and by opening the Nebraska Territories unconditionally to slavery, knocked the bottom out of the Missouri Compromise.

Lincoln loses Senatorial Election.

The contest of the two parties came to a head in Illinois, when Douglas, the advocate of State rights with regard to slavery, and father of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was standing against Abraham Lincoln for election to the Senate. Lincoln stated the issue with his usual force and acuteness: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will come to be divided. It must have all one thing or all the other." The contest ended in the victory of Douglas, but the moral victory was on the side of Lincoln. He had become known all over the country and was in the running for the Presidency.

John Brown's Raid.

Still Buchanan continued the struggle, strongly advocating the acquisition of Cuba, which would mean an extension of slave territory, and desiring acquisitions in Mexico and in the Isthmus of Panama. The South began to threaten disruption, while the North opposed even more passionately the predominance of slavery. On October 16th, 1859, took place the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, for the purpose of liberating the slaves and bringing about a servile insurrection. Though he was hanged, he was a noble and courageous enthusiast, and the flame he kindled spread until it set the whole country in a blaze.

Lincoln Elected President.

In these circumstances came the Presidential election of 1860. The Democrats were divided against themselves; one section nominated Stephen A. Douglas as candidate, another section John C. Breckinridge. The Republicans voted solid for Lincoln, who was elected President by 180 votes; while his three opponents, —for John Bell, of Tennessee, had been added to the other two— only claimed 103 among them. At the same time, the popular vote, when analysed, showed that it was a narrow victory; indeed, the actual votes supporting Lincoln were nearly 1,000,000 less

than those cast for his opponents. Nevertheless, the South felt the defeat to be irreparable, and determined to sever their connection with the Northern States.

Civil War Breaks Out.

The Legislature of South Carolina had remained in session to hear the results of the election. When it knew that Lincoln was certain to be elected it summoned a constitutional Convention and renounced the Union, and before Lincoln was inaugurated in his office six other States had followed its example—namely, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. On December 14th a number of the slave State senators and representatives in Congress issued a manifesto from Washington calling on their constituents to organise a Southern Confederacy and asking each slave-holding State to separate from the Union. President Buchanan, it must be added, made no attempt to prevent the secession of the States. The next step was to seize the forts, arsenals, and custom houses belonging to the Federal or central Government. However, Major Anderson, who commanded a garrison of about sixty men in Fort Moultrie on the mainland, and was not able to hold it, transferred his force by a sudden movement to Fort Sumter, which was situated in the middle of Charleston Harbour, and could not be approached except by water. The capture of Fort Sumter was the first action of the Civil War. As it refused to surrender, the Confederate batteries opened fire upon it on April 12th, 1861, and on April 14th the fort surrendered and the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, no life having been lost on either side.

Formation of the Confederate States.

Although Lincoln was chosen President in November, 1860, he did not enter upon his office till March 4th, 1861, and during this period Buchanan was responsible for the maintenance of the Government and Constitution of the country. He was quite unequal to the emergency. He denied the right of the South to secede, but also declared his own power to coerce, and continued to offend both sides equally. The South, in the meantime, had not been idle, and her representatives gradually withdrew from the Senate and Congress. On February 14th they formed a provisional Government under the title of the Confederate States of America, and on March 11th adopted a permanent Constitution under the same name, Jefferson Davis being chosen President.

Lincoln was inaugurated as President on March 4th, 1861. In his address he declared the Union was perpetual and unbroken, and that the ordinances and resolutions of the secession Government were void in law, and promised to execute the law in all the

States. He concluded with an appeal to the South, saying: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, is the momentous issue of Civil War. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors." They shortly afterwards became the aggressors, as we have seen, by the attack on Fort Sumter.

Lincoln's Call to Arms.

On April 15th the President issued a proclamation calling out 75,000 militia for the service of the United States, and two days later Jefferson Davis, in a proclamation, offered to issue letters of marque and reprisal against Federal commerce. This was met by a counter-proclamation of Lincoln, declaring that the Southern States were in a state of revolution, and that privateers would be subject to the laws against piracy. The response to Lincoln's appeal for volunteers was much larger and more unanimous than could have been expected. Recruiting offices were opened in every town, men of all sorts and conditions left their businesses to step into the ranks, and in a few days there were placed at the disposal of the Government several times as many troops as had been called for. All kinds of buildings, even churches, were turned into temporary barracks; village greens and city squares were occupied by drilling soldiers; but there was a great scarcity of arms.

The First Blood.

The first blood was shed at Baltimore, where four companies of a Massachusetts regiment, who were attempting to march across the city, met a riotous procession carrying a Confederate flag. Some provocation being given, orders were issued to fire into the mob, and many fell. Three militiamen were killed, and their bodies were sent home to their native State, the firstfruits of a prolonged service of sacrifice. On the night of May 24th four regiments of Northern troops crossed the Potomac and took possession of Arlington Heights, which commanded Washington. One regiment, commanded by Ellsworth, who had distinguished himself by teaching a Chicago company the Zouave drill, marched to Alexandria, where a Secessional flag was flying over the principal hotel. Accompanied by two soldiers, he went to the top of the house and seized the flag, but as he was returning with it he was shot by the hotel-keeper on the stairs. Ellsworth became a hero of the national movement.

The North's Preparation.

The militia called out by President Lincoln were at first to serve only three months; but on May 3rd, by another proclamation, 42,000 volunteers were summoned for three years. He also took power to raise ten new regiments for the regular army and 18,000 volunteer seamen for the navy. These steps involved a stretch of Presidential authority, but when Congress met on July

4th the President's action was confirmed. He then asked Congress for 400,000 men and 400,000,000 dollars, and received 500,000 men and 500,000,000. At the same time, the Confederates had established their capital at Richmond in Virginia. The Federal army became anxious for a forward movement, and a cry was raised, "On to Richmond!" Some experienced officers, such as General Scott, were opposed to undertaking an offensive movement with raw troops, and advised that operations should for the moment be confined to the protection of Washington, the capital, and the retention of Maryland. However, the three months' term of the seventy-five militia regiments was rapidly running out, and political considerations seemed to require vigorous military action.

The Position at Manassas.

The Confederate army under Beauregard had been sent to occupy Manassas Junction, which was the railway centre of Northern Virginia. His army was 22,000 strong, and McDowell was sent to attack it with a force of 30,000 men. He started on his expedition on July 16th. The Southern army had some field works at Manassas, armed with fifteen heavy guns and garrisoned with 2,000 men; but Beauregard's main strength was posted along the south side of a stream called Bull Run, flowing in a south-easterly direction, about three miles east of Manassas. On July 17th the Confederate army was distributed along this space, seven or eight miles in extent, a brigade being posted at each passage of the river, two brigades being held behind in reserve. The Federal army in the field was commanded by McDowell, and his plan was to turn Beauregard's right flank, to seize the railway in the rear of his position, and so to defeat him. It was important that Beauregard should not be assisted by Joseph E. Johnston, who had an army of 9,000 men in the Shenandoah Valley, and Patterson had been told off to prevent this junction.

Bull Run.

McDowell reached Bull Run on July 18th, and the first engagement took place at Blackburn's Ford with the loss of about sixty men on each side. McDowell then determined to attack on the left wing, partly because he wished to secure the Manassas Gap railway, so as to prevent the junction of Johnston and Beauregard. Two days were spent in seeking for a passage higher up the river, and such a passage was found at a place called Sudley's Ford. The battle took place on Sunday, July 21st, the Federal army advancing three divisions, towards Mitchell's Ford on the right, Stone Bridge in the centre, and Sudley's Ford on the left, the reserve remaining at Centreville. McDowell, unaware that Johnston had succeeded in evading Patterson and had joined

Beauregard with part of his forces on the previous day, made a feint upon Stone Bridge; but the bulk of his force marched to Sudley's Ford, which was two miles and a half distant. He passed the river without opposition, but was soon met by the Confederates coming from Stone Bridge. The rest of the Federal army remained on the left bank of the stream. The Confederates fell back and established themselves on better ground, more capable of defence, and also received reinforcements from the right, whereas the Federal army became separated and fought in detachments.

Rout of the Federals.

In the early afternoon a brigade, 5,000 strong, arrived by rail, formed at right angles to the Federal right, and fell upon it at about 4 in the afternoon. The Federals broke and fled over the Bull Run, but the Confederate reserves, crossing the river, advanced upon Centreville and threatened the reserves posted there and the line of retreat, so that the retreat degenerated into a rout and a race for Washington. Arms and accoutrements were thrown away, drivers of army wagons cut the traces, leaped upon the backs of horses, and rode through the crowd of fugitives, abandoning guns and trains. The loss of the Confederates was about 1,900, that of the Federals 1,500 killed and wounded and as many more taken prisoners. The Confederates remained in possession of the battlefield for weeks. The Confederates were as much surprised as the Federals themselves at their sudden victory, and there was little pursuit. Sherman, who commanded a brigade in the Federal Army, said, "It was one of the best planned battles in the war, but one of the worst fought"; while Johnston declared, "If the tactics of the Federals had been equal to their strategy we should have been beaten."

Humiliation of the North.

The victory of Bull Run produced a feeling of wild excitement in the South, and helped to cherish the confidence that it would eventually lead to independence. On the other hand, it was a bitter disappointment and profound humiliation to the North. Lincoln and Congress had not expected anything of the kind. Scott, their general, had confidently looked forward to victory. Indeed, the result would have been different if Patterson had succeeded in holding back Johnston at Winchester. Several members of Congress had gone to the front, to be present at the battle, and one of them was taken prisoner and kept for several months in confinement at Richmond. But in spite of the sense of chagrin the defeat at Bull Run had the effect of deepening the zeal, courage and determination of the Government, Congress, the army, and the nation at large.

McCLELLAN TAKES COMMAND

The Army of the Potomac.

General McClellan was now summoned to Washington, owing to the retirement of Scott through age and infirmity, and in a short time formed what was afterwards known as the Army of the Potomac out of the new regiments of three-year volunteers who were passing into the capital. McClellan had gained a brilliant success in West Virginia, having captured seven guns, the greater part of the camp equipment and baggage of the Confederates, together with nearly 1,000 men, his own loss having been under fifty. His arrival at Washington roused warm enthusiasm. He had in his favour youth, industry, and a winning personality. He wrote, "By some strange operation of magic I seem to have become the power of the land. They give me my way in everything, full swing, and unbounded confidence." Unfortunately this too sympathetic treatment engendered an exaggerated self-esteem which did not escape the notice of Lincoln; but, for the moment, his countrymen regarded him as a young Napoleon. He succeeded Scott as Commander-in-Chief, and thus had control over all the forces of the Union, with an army of nearly 125,000 effective soldiers under his personal command, thoroughly organised, drilled, and armed.

Disaster of Ball's Bluff.

The popular hero, however, remained in irritating inactivity. The only serious force opposed to him was the Confederate army of less than 50,000 men, under Johnston, who had planned several offensive movements, but had not been able to carry them out for want of troops. Although McClellan was superior to the enemy immediately in front of him by three to one, the best season for operations was allowed to pass away. At the end of October, 1861, he determined to send a strong reconnaissance to Leesburg, to gain the position of the enemy and cross the Potomac into Maryland. The expedition ended in complete disaster. The Federal troops gave way before their opponents, broke, and ran towards the river, swarmed down the steep bluff, pursued by the Confederates, who shot and bayoneted them as they ran. They crowded along the bank of the river, throwing away arms, accoutrements, and clothing; indeed, nearly half the force engaged was either killed or captured.

Such was the disaster of Ball's Bluff, and it had an exasperating effect on public opinion. When Congress met in December, it created a Joint War Committee of the two Houses, which played an important part throughout the whole war by its examination into and criticism of military affairs. In the meantime, the Confederates established batteries on the Virginian side of the Potomac, thus creating an almost complete blockade of the river.

Finally, McClellan's army went into winter quarters, and the general himself fell ill. In January, 1862, Lincoln said that if something were not done soon the bottom would be out of the whole affair, and that if General McClellan did not want to use the army he would like to borrow it, provided he could see how it could be made to do something.

British Sympathy with the South.

At this time an event occurred which, while it relieved the tension in the North, threatened to disturb the peaceful relations with Great Britain. When the war broke out Great Britain determined to take up a position of strict neutrality, and recognised the Southern States as belligerent. The popular feeling in Great Britain probably favoured the South, although the more intellectual and more cultivated part of the nation espoused the cause of the North. This support of the Confederates was partly due to the fact that the blockade of the Southern ports deprived Lancashire of the cotton which was the foundation of its prosperity.

The *Trent* Affair.

The Federals were naturally annoyed at this attitude. Knowing the passionate hatred which Great Britain had always shown towards slavery, and the sacrifices she had made for the extermination of the trade in slaves and for the abolition of slavery in her colonies, they thought that she would take the side of those who were contending against slavery, and would not have recognised a slave-holding power as belligerent. The North naturally complained that this action had converted civil into international war. Towards the close of 1861, Captain Wilkes, an officer of the United States Navy, stopped a Royal Mail steamer, called the *Trent*, on her voyage from Havana to England, and arrested two Southerners, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way to represent the Confederate States at London and Paris. The Cabinet at once decided that this insult to the British flag must be made good, and sent a large expedition to Canada. There was considerable danger of a war, which, however, was averted by moderation on both sides of the Atlantic. In England, at a Privy Council, held at Windsor just before his death, the Prince Consort suggested a modification of a dispatch, by the insertion in it of the belief that the action of Captain Wilkes had neither been directed, nor approved of, by his Government, and in this view Lincoln had the wisdom to acquiesce.

Area of the Fighting.

Before we proceed to narrate the further events of the war, it will be well to give a sketch of the geographical areas in which the principal struggles took place. For this purpose we may divide the territory of the United States into three great sections, the first extending from the eastern coast to the Alleghany Mountains,

the second from these mountains to the Mississippi, and the third from the Mississippi to the western coast. But besides the battles fought in these regions, a most important incident in the war was the strict blockade of the eastern coast, which extended from Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Rio Grande, on the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico. This not only prevented foreign ships from landing arms or munitions of war for the South, but also prevented Confederate vessels from carrying cotton for sale to Europe. It had a serious effect on the social and political life of the South, which was deprived of the enjoyment of foreign products and lost its credit in the world.

Richmond the Objective of the North.

Of the three geographical sections mentioned, the first was the most important. The two capitals of the belligerent Powers were Washington on the Potomac and Richmond on the James River in Virginia, only 115 miles from each other. It was the business of the Federals to defend the one and capture the other, their efforts to effect the latter object leading to the most important battles of the war, the action of the Federals, in consequence of their superior numbers, being almost always aggressive.

The Struggle for Control of the Mississippi.

The determining influence in the other two sections was the Mississippi, which divided them. On this river were situated the two great commercial cities of the west—St. Louis, which belonged to the Federals, and New Orleans, which belonged to the Confederates. There was, therefore, a constant struggle for the possession of the Mississippi. The Confederates, who had the advantage of possession, did their best to fortify the waterway at the best available points; but the Federals had the advantage that the State of Illinois, which was part of their territory, reached down between the Ohio and the Mississippi to their junction at Cairo, which was farther south than any other part of the Northern dominions. Moreover, the Northern States in this region were especially populous and energetic. It follows, therefore, that the operations of the war after 1861 were devoted to three main objects—the maintenance of the blockade, the capture of Richmond, and the conquest of the Mississippi.

"The Gibraltar of the West."

In our narrative we shall pursue mainly a chronological order and begin with the events which led to the Battle of Shiloh. The command in the west was now held by Halleck, who had succeeded Fremont. He had been ordered by McClellan to concentrate the mass of the troops on or near the Mississippi, in order to undertake operations from Cairo to the Gulf of Mexico. From Cairo to the sea the Mississippi pursues a winding course of nearly 1,100 miles, in which it only falls 322 feet. It flows through an alluvial

valley enclosed on each side by bluffs or hills, which approach the river only at a few points, and therefore afford only occasional opportunities for fortification. In order to capture the upper reaches of the river, the Confederates had advanced into Kentucky to seize and fortify the Heights of Columbus, twenty miles below Cairo, which they did so effectually that it became known as "the Gibraltar of the West." Buell commanded in Kentucky, but did not get on with Halleck. On January 7th, 1862, Lincoln was obliged to interfere, and sent an identical despatch to both, ordering them to act together and to name a day when they would be able to march southwards in concert, as delay was ruining the cause and it was indispensable to secure definite results.

Grant's Successes.

On the previous day Halleck had ordered Ulysses S. Grant, a subordinate general, posted at Cairo, to make a demonstration with land forces and gunboats against Columbus, and also to examine Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Observation convinced Grant that it was possible to break through the Confederate lines on the Tennessee. After obtaining permission with difficulty, he captured Fort Henry after an hour's bombardment on February 6th, and assaulted Fort Donelson on February 15th. Next morning Buckner, who was in command, proposed an armistice to arrange terms of capitulation. To this Grant replied, "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works." Buckner at once surrendered the fort with its garrison of 14,000 men. This led to the evacuation of Columbus.

The Merrimac-Monitor Duel.

In March there took place the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. The latter vessel was really a steamer that had been sunk at Norfolk and been raised by the Confederates, who had transformed it into an ironclad. The *Monitor* was altogether novel in design, Southern officers describing her as "a tin can on a raft." When fighting she showed nothing above water but a low hull, well protected by armour, a circular turret plated with iron and carrying two heavy smooth-bore guns, and a low conning-tower in front—of course, a dangerous type in an open sea. The *Merrimac* had rifled and six smooth-bore guns of heavy calibre. She had attacked the Northern fleet and done considerable damage to the wooden vessels; but on March 9th her career was effectually checked by the *Monitor*. The duel indeed was indecisive; but the further destruction of the fleet was stopped. The *Merrimac* was destroyed by the Confederates in May, and the *Monitor* foundered in December with the loss of some of her men.

but she had done her work by preventing the breaking of the blockade. The battle is important in history as the first action fought between armoured steamships.

McClellan Superseded.

Two days later, on March 11th, Lincoln issued his War Office Order No. 9, relieving McClellan from the command, entrusting him with the campaign against Richmond, and forming the Department of the Mississippi, which was placed under Halleck. The latter now undertook an expedition into Tennessee, which led to the Battle of Shiloh, one of the bloodiest of the war, called after a little log church in the south-west of that State. The Confederate general, Albert S. Johnston, was at this time posted at Corinth with a large force. This place, situated in Northern Mississippi, had been fortified as a position of great importance, being the point where the Memphis and Charleston Railway is crossed by the Mobile and Ohio Railway.

Grant's Move on Corinth.

Grant moved forward to attack Corinth, with 40,000 men, expecting to be joined by a similar force from Nashville. On April 6th he had reached Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the broad Tennessee river, about twenty miles north of Corinth. One portion of his army was at Crump's Landing, about five miles to the north, and the force expected from Nashville had just reached the shore of this river opposite to the landing. All Grant's troops were comparatively raw, two divisions having never been under fire. They possessed courage enough, but had not learnt the necessity of precaution. They were so intent upon an advance that they had made no preparations for defence. Sherman wrote, "At a later period of the war we should have made this position impregnable in one night." On the morning of Sunday, April 6th, they were suddenly attacked by 40,000 troops under Johnston, who had, during the last two days, marched from Corinth. The battle lasted the whole day, and the field was hotly contested; but, on the whole, the Confederates steadily gained ground. One Federal division was captured, but Johnston himself was killed. When the battle ended the Federal line had been driven back two miles. Grant said of the battlefield, "It was so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground." On one side of it Federal and Confederate troops were mingled together in nearly equal proportions, but on the rest of the field nearly all were Confederates.

During the night the Nashville contingent, commanded by Buell, crossed the river, and at daylight Grant renewed the attack. Beauregard, who had replaced Johnston, must have known that

resistance was hopeless, but did his best to hold the road which passes by Shiloh Church in order to secure his retreat. Sherman advanced and recaptured his camp, which had been taken on the previous day, and around Shiloh Church the battle raged with the greatest fury. At last Beauregard withdrew, leaving his dead on the field, and there was no attempt at pursuit. In the battle Sherman, commanding a division, especially distinguished himself. The losses were large: the number of killed and wounded was about the same on either side, the Federal loss being, if anything, the heavier, while they also had 2,000 more men missing than the Confederates. After the battle Halleck laid siege to Corinth, which was defended by Beauregard and not evacuated till May 29th. By some authorities the Battle of Shiloh has been thought to be the turning point of the war, as it opened for the Federals the way to the sea, and an army could not be prevented now from marching to the rear of the Confederates and cutting off the supplies of the troops who held Richmond, thus compelling their surrender. The loss of Johnston was very serious; had he survived he might have turned the fortune of the war.

Capture of New Orleans.

Nor was Shiloh the sole success of the Federals at this period, for Admiral Farragut succeeded in capturing New Orleans, by far the largest and most influential city in the Confederacy, and a point of the highest strategical importance. Farragut was a Southerner by birth, but from conscientious reasons had taken the side of the North. He opened the bombardment from his fleet on April 18th, and continued it for six days and nights. Six thousand shells fell in and near the forts, St. Philip and Jackson, which, garrisoned by 1,500 Confederate soldiers, defended the city towards the sea. A shell fell about every minute and a half, but the forts were not rendered untenable, nor their guns silenced, although more than fifty of the defenders were killed and wounded. In the meantime the Confederates had prepared fireships, flat-bottomed boats loaded with dry wood and turpentine, which they lighted and sent down the stream. Farragut, however, intercepted them and disposed of them without suffering damage.

He now formed the plan of running by the forts, destroying and capturing the Confederate fleet and bringing the city within range of his guns. He started on April 24th, just before sunrise, an opening being made in the chain which closed the harbour to let him through. Three of the ships in the rear failed to make the passage, but those that got through began at once to destroy the enemy's flotilla and then pushed on and took possession of New Orleans. The two forts, being isolated, surrendered to Farragut,

as he expected, on April 28th. The victory was one of first-rate consequence politically, as we are told by the envoy of the South in Paris that if New Orleans had not fallen the recognition of the Confederacy by France could not have been much longer delayed. This great feat, which sets the name of Farragut beside that of Grant, was accomplished with a loss to the fleet of only 37 killed, 147 wounded, and one small ship rammed and sunk.

McClellan's Failure to Seize Richmond.

We must now consider the operations against Richmond. On March 13th, 1862, it had been determined to attack the city by way of Fort Monroe. This plan was accepted by Lincoln on condition that Manassas were permanently occupied and the city of Washington made perfectly secure. The forces went down the Potomac in boats, and on April 5th there were concentrated at Monroe 121,500 men, with arsenals, wagons, batteries, pontoon bridges, and other requisites. McClellan arrived there on April 2nd, with the intention of leading the army up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Had he moved at once he might possibly have taken Richmond without difficulty, but circumstances caused delay. On April 4th he marched with 50,000 men against Yorktown, which was defended by a comparatively small force. McClellan, instead of storming the place, laid regular siege to it, and on May 3rd, when he was ready to open the bombardment, Joseph Johnston, who was in command, stole away, leaving dummy guns in the embrasures. Johnston said that this delay not only saved Richmond, but gave the Confederates time to convert a handful of troops into an army. On May 5th McClellan fought another battle at Williamsburg, twelve miles distant. Both sides claimed the victory, but the loss of the Federals was greater than that of the Confederates, who retired without hindrance.

Lee Takes Command of the South.

The Confederate army now went into camp about three miles from Richmond, and McClellan, advancing, placed his forces as a line about thirteen miles in length on the left bank of the Chickahominy. On May 31st he commanded 127,000 men; and Johnston, who opposed him, only 62,000. However, a violent storm gave the Confederates an opportunity of attacking a portion of the Federal army which was separated from the rest by water; but the ensuing battle at Fair Oaks was without decisive results, the Federals losing 5,000 and the Confederates 6,000 men. Late in the evening Johnston was seriously wounded, and his place as commander of the armies around Richmond was taken by Robert E. Lee in June, 1862. Lee was a Virginian, and had been marked out by Scott as a possible commander of the Federal

army; but on April 20th, 1861, he tendered his resignation and was placed in command of the Virginian troops who were fighting for the South. In course of time he became General-in-Chief of the Confederate armies. His ablest lieutenant was "Stonewall" Jackson, so called from an incident in the battle of Bull Run, where General Bee, of South Carolina, who was killed later in the day, rallied his wavering men by appealing to them to follow the example of Jackson's brigade, standing there "like a stone wall." Lee repeatedly astonished his adversaries by his marvellous rapidity and his appearances in unexpected places.

Lee Drives McClellan from Richmond.

The beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, which lies between the Blue Mountains and the Alleghany Mountains, was favourable to an army threatening Washington, and unfavourable to one attacking Richmond; for the Confederates, as they marched down the valley, came at every step nearer to the Federal capital, whereas a Federal army marching up the valley was gradually carried farther and farther from Richmond. In the valley McDowell was opposed to Jackson, and there was a chance of Jackson being overwhelmed, but he contrived to escape and joined Lee at Richmond. Lee was making preparations for driving McClellan from the peninsula, and wrote to Jackson that unless McClellan could be driven out of his entrenchments he could come so near to Richmond that he would be able to bombard it. Pains were taken to conceal from the Federals the fact that Jackson's army was to join Lee's. The result of Lee's arrangements was the seven days' battle, which lasted from June 25th to July 1st, and ended in the retreat of McClellan from Richmond. As a preliminary, Lee, leaving about 30,000 men to defend Richmond, crossed the Chickahominy with 35,000, intending to join Jackson, who had 25,000, and with this overwhelming force suddenly attack the 20,000 men who were posted on the north side of the river, and, after destroying them, ere reinforcements could come up, capture McClellan's base. Jackson, for once in his life, was late, so that the plan failed, Lee losing 3,000 men.

The Battle of Gaines Mills.

Next day followed the Battle of Gaines Mills, also called the Battle of Chickahominy, or the first Battle of Cold Harbour, in which the Federal line was broken. After Jackson's arrival on the field, two Federal regiments were made prisoners and two guns were taken. McClellan now changed his base from the Chickahominy to the James River, where he was attacked by Magruder, who had been left behind at Richmond. The attack failed and the Federals were able to defend the road which led through White Oak Swamp. Jackson now crossed the Chicka-

hominy, and attempted to follow McClellan's rearguard through White Oak Swamp, but was unable to do so. Hill and Longstreet, however, had crossed the river, farther up the stream, and marched round the swamp, striking the retreating army near Charles City Cross Roads on June 30th. There was terrific fighting all the afternoon, but the Federal army held their ground. MacCall, however, was captured and carried off to Richmond. Darkness put an end to the fighting, and McClellan retreated to Malvern Hill, having lost two guns and suffered severely in other ways.

Battle at Malvern Hill.

The last battle of the series was fought at Malvern Hill, where McClellan made his final stand. It is a plateau on the side of the James, about 80 feet high, a mile and a half long, and a mile broad, and can only be approached by the north-western face. McClellan's army was arranged in a semicircle, with the right wing thrown back so as to reach Harrison's Landing on the James. His position was strongly defended by artillery. Lee was not able to make the assault till July 1st. The battle began by an artillery duel, which was not very effective on the Confederate side. The infantry attack was made with too little regard for concentration, and, although fighting continued till 3 p.m., the line was never shaken nor were the guns in danger. The battle had cost Lee 5,000 men, and he desisted from the pursuit of the Northern army. McClellan retired during the night to Harrison's Landing, where he was protected by gunboats and had collected his supplies. The losses during the seven days' fighting were estimated at 15,000 on the Federal and over 19,000 on the Confederate side.

Halleck Appointed Northern Commander-in-Chief.

Lincoln now saw that nothing substantial could be effected unless the Northern army were very considerably increased, and he appealed to the Governors of the States for 300,000 volunteers. He also issued an order on July 11th constituting Halleck Commander-in-Chief of the land forces. The Army of the Potomac was withdrawn from Harrison's Landing and united with the Army of Virginia under Pope; while Lee, relieved from all fears about the safety of Richmond, assumed the offensive and marched against Pope.

From July 11th to November 7th numerous engagements took place between the two forces, one side eager to reach Richmond, the other Washington. Generally the advantage was with the Confederates, who had superior skill and dash but inferior numbers, yet Washington was never really in danger, and on several occasions greater energy on the part of the Federals might have achieved the entire defeat of the South.

Second Battle of Bull Run.

McClellan's conduct of this campaign has been much discussed. It is alleged that he was dilatory, and that he overrated the strength of his adversaries and underrated his own, and later information seems to have strengthened the case against him. But it must be remembered that the Southern troops were, in the first place, more fit for war than the Northern. The position, indeed, resembled that of the Cavaliers and the Puritans in the Civil War in England. The South were mainly gentlemen, " men of a spirit," to use the expression of Cromwell, whereas the North needed much training and consolidation to bring them up to their level. McClellan's hesitation and delay may therefore have been justified; but Lincoln, having borne long with him and shown tenderness and patience towards him, at last gave way and put Burnside in his place. Nevertheless, whatever changes were made in the personnel of command, many engagements had to be fought—long, stubborn and bloody—ere the miserable struggle reached its end. One of the most important of them was the Second Battle of Bull Run. In the middle of August, 1862, Lee and Jackson had together a force of 70,000 men, whereas Pope, having only 50,000, retired beyond the Rappahannock. On August 25th, Jackson, with 18,000 men, moved up the Rappahannock and completed a circle round Pope's right. He then passed over the Bull Run Mountains and destroyed a railway station in the rear of the Federals. Pope marched against him and Jackson retired to Manassas Junction, where he took a number of prisoners and destroyed a quantity of commissariat stores. Pope, being reinforced by some of McClellan's army, sent McDowell, with 40,000 men, to intercept Lee, who was marching to join Jackson, and himself advanced against Jackson. This gave Lee the opportunity of meeting Jackson, which McDowell had been powerless to prevent. The consequence was that, on August 30th, Lee was able to attack Pope and inflict a severe defeat upon him, causing him heavy loss. After this battle Pope's army crossed the Bull Run at Stone Bridge and encamped upon the heights round Centreville, but afterwards fell back still farther and occupied Fairfax Court House and Germantown. Lee now attempted to cut Pope off from Washington, and the latter was forced to withdraw to the fortifications of Washington, where his army became merged in that of the Potomac. Lee claimed that in these operations he had captured 9,000 prisoners and 30 guns, and Pope's killed and wounded could not have fallen short of 10,000 men.

Lee now crossed the Potomac and marched into Maryland, by way of Leesburg and Frederick, issuing a proclamation to the

inhabitants to join the Confederacy; but the appeal was without result, as all Marylanders who intended to join the South had already done so. He also hoped he might gain a decisive battle over McClellan, advance into Pennsylvania, occupy Philadelphia, and dictate peace in Independence Hall. McClellan arrived at Frederick on September 12th, two days after Lee had left it. Here he found a sketch of the campaign which Lee had drawn up, from which he learned that Lee had divided his forces, leaving some in Maryland and sending others across the Potomac to capture Harper's Ferry, which was effected by Jackson. Eleven thousand men were taken in the capitulation, with 73 guns and much camp equipage.

Antietam a Drawn Battle.

The Battle of Antietam was fought on September 17th, 1862. Lee's forces numbered 40,000 men. He occupied a strong position, both wings resting on the Potomac and the Antietam Creek flowed in front. The creek was passable by four stone bridges and a ford, all, except the most northerly bridge, strongly guarded. McClellan determined to throw his right wing over the unguarded bridge, assail the Confederate left, and then force the remaining bridges with his left and centre. The struggle went on all day without any very definite results. About noon Burnside carried the bridge opposite to him, and attacked the Confederate right, taking a battery on the ridge. Lee, however, came up with fresh forces, drove Burnside from his position, and retook the battery. The Battle of Antietam was at first regarded as a Federal victory, and it certainly caused the Confederates heavy losses and stopped all ideas of invading Maryland and Pennsylvania; but, in reality, it was a drawn battle, both sides having suffered equally, and neither being able to resume the struggle.

McClellan at the Potomac.

Lee withdrew to Winchester, and McClellan took up his position on the Potomac. Here, at the beginning of October, he was visited by Lincoln, who urged him to cross the Potomac, give battle to the enemy, and drive him south. Lincoln said, "Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the capital with your operations, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men." McClellan, however, remained inactive, saying that his army was in need of shoes and clothing. At last, on October 26th, he did cross the Potomac, and marched southwards, on the eastern side of the Blue Mountains, while Lee moved parallel with him on the western side. But nothing decisive was done, and on November 7th, the President, as we have seen, relieved McClellan and put Burnside in his place.

Burnside's Great Failure.

Burnside was a graduate of the West Point Academy, and had at first devoted himself to civil pursuits, but had re-entered the army at the beginning of the war. Besides his military training, he had a handsome person and winning disposition. He undertook the command of the Army of the Potomac reluctantly, as he doubted his ability to perform the duty, and it was only when urged by McClellan, who was a valued friend, that he consented. Burnside, after reorganising his army into three great divisions, under Sumner, Hooker and Franklin, aimed straight at Richmond and set out for that place by the north bank of the Rappahannock and the city of Fredericksburg. Lee immediately marched to cover the Confederate capital, and stationed his army on the heights south and west of Fredericksburg, which he strongly fortified. His line was 5½ miles long, but it was very strongly defended.

Burnside did not succeed in crossing the Rappahannock till December 12th, being much impeded by Lee's fire, and next day proceeded to attack the heights on which the whole of the Confederate army was concentrated, Longstreet being on the right and Jackson on the left, with every gun in position. The attack, which was not delivered at the right place, was a complete failure. At one spot the advance was made along a road with a wall on one side, and the Confederate army was so numerous that each man posted at the wall had two or three men behind him to load his muskets, and all he had to do was to lay them in turn upon the wall and fire them rapidly without exposing himself. At last nearly half the attacking force was shot down and the rest retired. Burnside, in great wrath at his ill success, ordered Hooker to advance with the reserve. He reluctantly obeyed after a remonstrance, and lost 1,700 dead and wounded out of 4,000. After he had been completely defeated, Burnside was anxious to make another attack next day, but was dissuaded by Sumner. He recrossed the Rappahannock in the night of December 15th during a storm, and the campaign was at an end. In the attack on Fredericksburg the Federals had lost 12,353 men and the Confederates 4,201.

"The Mud March."

This defeat was so disastrous and so discreditable to Burnside's military capacity that Lincoln ordered him to make no other move without his knowledge. However, on January 21st, 1863, he started his army on what was afterwards known as "the Mud March," because it was cut short by a rain-storm which rendered the roads impassable. The soldiers blessed an intervention of Nature for saving them from massacre. Burnside quarrelled with his officers and sent in his resignation, and Lincoln, seeing that

reconciliation was hopeless, relieved him and appointed Hooker in his place.

How Lincoln Appointed Hooker.

He did this in a most characteristic letter: "I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me sufficient reasons, and yet I think it right for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which within reasonable bounds does rather good than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honourable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for its commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have assisted to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness. But with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

Hooker's Defeat at Chancellorsville.

Hooker was not a much greater success in the field than Burnside had been. It is said he planned well but fought badly. After spending some time in restoring the relaxed discipline of the Army of the Potomac, he opened the spring campaign with every prospect of success. Lee remained entrenched at Fredericksburg, and Hooker, by April 30th, 1863, had collected four army corps at Chancellorsville, eleven miles distant, to attack his rear. Lee, however, brought his troops up from Fredericksburg and extended them in front of Hooker. He then organised a flanking movement under Stonewall Jackson, which surrounded the Federal right and, by a furious attack, threw it into great disorder. After a series of battles which lasted four days Hooker was entirely

defeated; but in one of the battles, which were called by the collective name of Chancellorsville, Stonewall Jackson was killed. Riding forward in front of his troops, he came between the fire of both sides, and was shot by accident by his own troops. He was carried into the hospital and his arm amputated, but he died within the week.

Lee's March North.

After these successes public opinion in the South began to demand that Lee should invade the North, or at least threaten Washington. His army had been reinforced by Longstreet; losses had been supplied by a levy of conscripts, which called even boys of sixteen from school; and the army had unbounded confidence in itself. Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, was being besieged by Grant, and its fall would deal a severe blow to the Confederacy unless it were neutralised by a victory in the east. There was, moreover, the hope that, if a great battle were won by the Confederates, they would receive recognition, if not active assistance, from Great Britain and France. For these reasons Lee began his northward march in the beginning of June and invaded Pennsylvania.

Lincoln's Advice to Hooker.

Hooker at first thought that this would be a good opportunity for a dash at Richmond, but Lincoln disapproved of the plan and advised Hooker, in case he found Lee moving to the north of the Rappahannock, not to cross to the south of it. "I would not take any risk," he wrote, "of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is the best objective point." Hooker took the President's advice and began well, but after a time dissensions between the commanders broke out and Hooker asked to be relieved of his command. Lincoln, knowing that harmony and effective co-operation were of final importance, appointed Meade in his stead.

Battle of Gettysburg.

Lee continuing his advance, a contest took place at Gettysburg on July 3rd. Both armies were in full force, and both felt that the impending struggle would be not only of a decisive character, but probably determine the result of the war. The forces were posted on opposite elevations—the Federals on the Cemetery Ridge, the Confederates on the Seminary Ridge. The early part of the day was spent in ominous silence, and the battle did not begin till 1 o'clock. For two hours there was a furious cannonade from ridge to ridge, the continuous and deafening roar being audible fifty miles away. The shot and shell tore up the ground and shattered gravestones, the fragments of

which, flying among the troops, exploded caissons and dismounted guns.

"Pickett's Charge." Lee now organised his attack and, forming 15,000 of his best troops in long columns, moved forward to the charge. They had to cross a mile of open ground, but before they had got halfway over the Federal artillery ploughed through and through the ranks; the gaps were filled up and the columns did not halt. As they drew nearer the batteries used grape and canister, and some infantry poured volleys of musketry into their right flank. The principal attack was directed towards the now famous "clump of trees" in a depression in Cemetery Ridge, and it was here that "Pickett's Charge" was made—a brave but ill-judged onslaught against superior odds that resulted in fearful loss.

Lee's Retreat. The result of this battle was the entire defeat of the Confederates. Of the magnificent columns which left the Seminary Ridge, only a broken fragment returned, nearly every officer, excepting Pickett, having been killed or wounded. Lee gave orders for a retreat during the night, and next day the Confederates retired, first to Hagerstown and then across the Potomac. The retreat was very pitiful, as the roads were in a bad condition. Few of the wounded had been properly cared for, and, as they were jolted along in agony, they groaned, cursed, babbled of their homes, and called upon their mates to put them out of their misery, while there was also constant apprehension of an attack in the rear. The loss of the Confederates was 36,000 killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Federals 23,000. Lee left 7,000 of his wounded amongst the unburied dead, and 37,000 muskets were picked up on the field.

Attack on Vicksburg. On the very day of Lee's retreat, July 4th, Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, the largest town in the State of Mississippi, surrendered. It is situated on a high bluff, overlooking the river, whence it makes a sharp bend, ending in a long, narrow peninsula. Farragut, after he had captured New Orleans in April, 1862, went up the river in May and demanded its surrender, but the demand was refused and the town could not be captured without a land force. The attack was renewed at the end of 1862 by Grant and Sherman, but serious operations were not begun till the spring of 1863.

Grant then undertook a new plan. Porter, who commanded the fleet, ran past the Vicksburg batteries with a number of his vessels, and Grant marched his army by a very circuitous route of seventy miles down the western bank of the river. At last he reached a place where he could cross, and on April 30th his army

of 33,000 men reached high land on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Shortly after this Grant proceeded to attack the Confederate army, defeating it at Raymond and Jackson, the capital of the State, and then moved on to Vicksburg.

Capture of Vicksburg.

On May 16th he encountered the bulk of the Confederate forces, 20,000 strong, under Pemberton, at Champion's Hill, about halfway between Jackson and Vicksburg. Here he fought the severest battle of the campaign, in which the Confederates were defeated with heavy loss. They retreated towards Vicksburg, the Federals in quick pursuit, and on May 18th Pemberton shut himself up in the town, which Grant, with a force of 30,000 men, invested next day, Sherman being placed on the right at Haines's Bluff. The line of attack was eight miles long, and there was danger of Grant being assailed in his rear. He, therefore, ordered an assault on May 22nd, but the result was disastrous, and he settled down to a regular siege. Thousands of shells were thrown into the town, the inhabitants finding refuge in caves. Provisions became scarce and mules were eaten for food. At last the besiegers brought their trenches so close to the defences that the soldiers bandied jests with each other across the narrow space. After forty-seven days spent in this manner, when a grand assault was imminent, Pemberton surrendered unconditionally with his army of 31,600 men, 172 guns, and 60,000 muskets. By the capture of Vicksburg the Mississippi was open to the Federals, and the forces of the Confederates were cut completely in two.

Dedication of the National Cemetery.

The dead and wounded of the Federal army at Gettysburg, as well as those abandoned by Lee, were humanely cared for. A portion of the battlefield was transformed into a National Cemetery, in which the fallen soldiers found orderly burial. It was dedicated for this purpose on November 19th, 1863, and President Lincoln delivered on this occasion an address, which is one of the masterpieces of literature, strongly resembling the famous speech of Pericles at Athens, delivered in the Ceramicus on a similar occasion, which in all probability Lincoln had never read, or perhaps even heard of. He said: "Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth in this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether this nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are now in a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a last resting-place for those who have given their lives that that

nation might live. It is altogether fit and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far beyond our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to this imperishable work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to this grand task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we shall highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Fight for Chattanooga.

The vicissitudes of the war now carry us into another region. Chattanooga is in Tennessee, not far from the borders of Alabama and Georgia, and Rosecrans, opposed by the Confederate General Bragg, was manœuvring to get possession of it. He succeeded in capturing the town, and proceeded in pursuit of Bragg. In the course of a week the two armies came up with each other, and there was fought, on September 19th and 20th, 1863, a great battle on the bank of Chickamauga Creek, one of the most murderous of the war, Bragg having 71,500 men and Rosecrans 57,000. Bragg took the offensive, and his plan was to make a feigned attack on the Federal right, while he directed his main strength towards the left, with the intention of crushing it and seizing the roads which led to Chattanooga.

Battle of Chickamauga Creek.

On the first day the battle began at 10 a.m. and lasted until the evening. The projected attack on the left failed, and, although the Federal positions were for a time forced back, they were resumed before night, and at the end of the day's fighting the situation was unchanged. The night was spent by both sides in preparing for a renewal of the struggle on the morrow, Bragg's design being to carry out the plan of the day before; but the fighting did not begin until the day was well advanced and the Confederates could make no permanent impression. However, through a mistake or a misunderstanding of orders, a gap of two brigades was made in Rosecrans's line. The Confederates discovered this gap, and poured through it with an energy before which the whole Federal right and part of the centre

crumbled away and were dispersed in flight towards Chattanooga.

The "Rock of Chattanooga."

Rosecrans retired, under the impression that the day was hopelessly lost, and, on reaching Chattanooga, telegraphed the disaster to Washington. He was, however, mistaken. Thomas, who commanded the centre, had, in the manœuvring, been sent to the extreme left, where he found a strong position on the head of a ridge, around which he posted his own command of seven divisions in a flattened semicircle, and thus formed a nucleus for all the reserves who had not been under fire, with such portions of the brigades and regiments as had not been wholly destroyed by the defeat on the right. In this manner he got together about half of what remained of Rosecrans's force and held his position against Bragg's army, flushed as it was with victory. Bragg repeated his assaults throughout the whole of the day, but could not shake the lines or the courage of Thomas, who received the name of the "Rock of Chattanooga" from his devoted troops. At night Thomas began his retreat, and continued it without opposition, so that, on the morning of September 22nd, the Federal army was protected by the fortifications of Chattanooga, which had not been destroyed by Bragg when he evacuated it. The losses were very severe, those of the Federals being 16,179 men, those of the Confederates 17,804.

Grant Takes Command.

The army of Rosecrans was not destroyed, but it was still in danger, as Bragg's army was blockading it with greatly superior numbers. The Confederates were able to cut off Rosecrans's supplies, both by rail and river, so that he depended upon a difficult road sixty miles long. Provisions and forage were soon exhausted, horses and mules perished by thousands, and the garrison began to feel the effects of famine. By October 19th, a month after Chickamauga, the situation had become so strained that Rosecrans was relieved and Thomas put in his place, while Grant was given the command of the three departments in the West and ordered personally to Chattanooga, where he arrived on October 22nd. With the help of his chief engineer, Smith, Grant arranged for a better system of supply, and, when reinforcements arrived under Hooker and Sherman, the Federals were superior in numbers and the Confederates were obliged to act on the defensive.

Battle of Chattanooga.

Eventually the great Battle of Chattanooga took place on November 24th–25th, 1863, one of the most important of the war. In order to understand it, it is necessary to give some account of the ground. The valleys of the Chickamauga and the

Chattanooga are parallel to each other, and also to the general course of the Tennessee River. They are divided by Missionary Ridge, fourteen miles long and 500 feet high, ending in Lookout Mountain, over 1,000 feet in height. This mountain is three miles south of Chattanooga, and on the other side of it is Lookout Valley, watered by Lookout Creek. Grant had under him about 100,000 effective soldiers, under the commands of Thomas, Hooker and Sherman. Thomas was in Chattanooga, Hooker in Lookout Valley, and Sherman in the hills on the other side of the Tennessee.

Capture of Lookout Mountain.

On the morning of November 24th Sherman crossed the Tennessee, three miles north of Chattanooga, and attacked the northern end of Missionary Ridge, with the intention of moving southwards along the top of it, to take the entrenchments of the enemy in flank. But his progress was barred by a deep depression, of the existence of which he was unaware, and he was obliged to stop and entrench himself. On the following day he endeavoured to carry out his plan, but made little headway. In the meantime, Hooker, from Lookout Valley, had crossed Lookout Creek and climbed Lookout Mountain. He drove the Confederates into Chattanooga Valley and planted the Federal flag on the top of the mountain amid the cheers of the whole army.

Federals' Great Feat.

Grant was watching the operations from the top of Orchard Knob, and in the afternoon of November 25th ordered Thomas to advance along the western base of Missionary Ridge. His army, starting with alacrity, formed a line a mile in length with such order as if they were going on parade. They found in front of them a steep and rocky ridge, defended by thirty cannon and two lines of rifle pits. However, they dashed forward and, without command, to the dismay of Grant, viewing them from his point of vantage, stormed the hill. Fighting in small parties, clambering up the rocks and over the fallen timber, undeterred by the rifle-pits, they drove the enemy steadily before them, until, after an hour's fighting, they reached the summit of the crest and captured the batteries. Bragg, Breckinridge, and other Confederate generals were amazed and nearly captured. The loss of the Federals was terrible, but they had performed one of the finest exploits recorded in military history. They next descended into Chickamauga Valley and captured another ridge which was defended by eight Confederate guns. On November 26th Bragg's army was in full retreat, defeated and demoralised. The Federals pursued them, taking 6,000 prisoners, 46 guns, and 7,000 stand of small arms. They had, however, lost 5,824 men and the

Confederates 6,687. After the battle Grant sent Sherman to relieve Burnside, who was being besieged by Longstreet at Kingsville, eighty-four miles distant. But before he reached the place Longstreet had been driven back and forced to take refuge with Bragg's retreating army.

The Wilderness.

In February, 1864, a new complexion was given to the war, when Grant was placed in command of all the Federal armies, with the title of Lieutenant-General, under the supreme command of the President, a position which had previously been held only by Washington and Scott. Grant took up his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, which he considered as his centre. He placed Butler in command of the Army of the James River on his left wing, and the Western armies under Sherman as his right wing, Banks's army in Louisiana being designed to act against the Confederates in the rear. Grant intended that all the armies should move simultaneously—Butler to Petersburg to cut off the communications of Richmond with the south; Sherman against Johnston's army in Georgia, with the view of capturing Atlanta; Banks to take Mobile and to close its harbour to blockade runners. Sigel was to drive back the Confederates from the Shenandoah Valley, and the Army of the Potomac was to follow Lee and fight him whenever it had an opportunity. The principal scenes of conflict were now laid in the Wilderness, a district of about ten or fifteen miles square, south of the Rapidan. It had formerly been the site of numerous ironworks, mines having been opened to dig the ore and the woods cut down to supply fuel for smelting. After the mines were abandoned a tangled growth of underwood grew up, and the whole region was deserted, except for a few open spots and a few roadside taverns.

Disposition of the Forces.

In the east the armies lay opposite to each other, north and south of the Rapidan, near Fredericksburg, a little south of the ground on which the first Battle of Bull Run had been fought nearly three years before. On April 30th, 1864, Grant's army numbered 122,146 men, veterans thoroughly well armed and equipped. Lee's army was estimated by Grant at 80,000. Lee had the advantage of conducting a defensive campaign upon interior lines, among a population every man of which was on his side. Grant crossed the Rapidan on May 4th, and by the evening of next day his whole army, including a train of 4,000 wagons, was across the stream. Through the forest of the Wilderness two roads run north and south, which are crossed by two other roads running east and west—the Orange Turnpike and the Orange Plank Road. There are also numerous cross-roads and wood-

paths. Grant slept on May 4th at a Wilderness tavern, situated at the junction of the Germania Plank Road and the Orange Plank Road.

A Drawn Fight.

As Lee had not disputed the passage of the Rapidan, Grant debated whether he would fight in the Wilderness at all. However, on the morning of May 5th Grant found himself attacked, and it was obvious that Lee designed to send his whole army down the two parallel roads and fight Grant on this difficult ground. Grant recalled Hancock's corps from the front and hurried up Burnside from the rear. The battle inevitably assumed the character of a hand-to-hand engagement, and when night fell no decisive advantage had been gained by either side. Lee had succeeded better on the left than on the right, and Longstreet's command had not arrived in time to take part in the engagement. The night was spent in cutting down trees, collecting logs for breastworks, and digging trenches. On the following day Hancock attacked the Confederates; but, Longstreet coming up, he was compelled to retire. Longstreet, however, had to leave the field through a similar accident to that which had happened to Jackson a year before. As he was riding through the trees, some of his own men mistook the party for Federal troops and fired upon them, and he was wounded in the head and neck. The conflict continued all day with no very definite results, the losses on each side being not fewer than 15,000 men.

Grant's Assault at Spotsylvania.

On May 7th Grant moved his army forwards to Spotsylvania, wishing to place it between Lee and the capital. The courthouse of Spotsylvania is about fifteen miles south-east of the ground on which the Battle of the Wilderness was fought, and some twelve miles south-west of Fredericksburg. On the morning of Sunday, May 8th, the Federal cavalry reached the courthouse, but discovered that the Confederates had arrived first and had posted themselves on very favourable ground, lying in an irregular semicircle about three miles across, with a salient jutting out towards the north, nearly a mile long and about half a mile wide. With his wonted diligence Lee had formed a vast fortified camp of great strength. This was attacked by Grant on May 10th, but he suffered a defeat. He wrote, however, to Washington that after six days' very hard fighting and heavy losses the result had been on the whole favourable to the Federals, and he added, "I purpose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." He made another assault on May 12th in very wet weather, a fierce struggle taking place for the possession of the salient, known afterwards as the "Bloody Angle." Eventu-

ally the Federals succeeded in capturing the salient, together with 3,000 prisoners and 20 guns. But they were still not able to attack Lee's line in front. Grant continued to advance southwards, but Lee was always before him, seizing favourable points for defence and blocking his pathway. The two antagonists were equally matched, and the strategy of both was of the highest merit.

Sheridan's Raid.

On May 8th Grant dispatched Sheridan with his cavalry to ride round the Confederate army, to tear up railways, destroy bridges and depots, and capture trains. He succeeded in demolishing ten miles of railway and several trains, cutting all the telegraph wires, and recovering 400 Federal prisoners who were being taken to Richmond. The last engagement took place at Yellow Tavern, seven miles north of Richmond. He even broke into the defences of Richmond and captured some prisoners. He then crossed the Chickahominy and rejoined the main army on May 25th.

Federal Check at Cold Harbour.

Grant now moved towards the North Anna River, hoping to engage Lee before he had time to entrench himself. For this purpose he sent Hancock to Richmond, on the chance that Lee might fall on him with his whole army, upon which Grant would attack him undefended by earthworks. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of a shorter line, and saved their capital. Having effected this, Lee took up a very strong position, his line extending from Little River, by North Anna River, to Hanover Junction. Burnside assailed this position, but could do nothing. The two armies then came face to face at Cold Harbour, about eight or ten miles from Richmond, but the Federals were held back by the threatening position of the Confederate artillery. The assault was delivered at half-past four o'clock in the morning of June 3rd, and in a single hour 4,000 veterans lay dead or wounded under the fire of the skilfully-constructed Confederate batteries, raising the casualties of the first twelve days of June to nearly 10,000.

Grant's Skilful Move.

Grant was obliged to report that it was the only general attack made from the Rapidan to the James which did not inflict upon the enemy losses which compensated for his own. He wrote to the Government after this that he had discovered in thirty days' experience that the enemy had determined to run no risks, but to act purely on the defensive, and, therefore, he could not carry out the plans he had formed without a greater sacrifice of life than he felt justified in risking. Accordingly, he determined to cross the James River and invest Richmond from the south. He carried out this difficult manœuvre with masterly skill, having to

withdraw his army from the front of the enemy, march fifty miles, cross two rivers, and bring it into a new position. He accomplished this design during the following week. He left Cold Harbour on June 12th, threw a pontoon bridge across the Chickahominy, by which Wilson's cavalry crossed, and reached the James on June 14th. Between afternoon and midnight on that day a bridge, 3,580 feet long, was laid across the James, and before daybreak on June 17th the whole army was on the south side of the stream, in immediate junction with Butler. The united armies of Grant and Butler amounted to 150,000 men, and Lee, with his 70,000, withdrew into the defences of Richmond. Thus an army of more than 100,000 men, with all its baggage, had been moved from trenches which were only a few yards from the enemy, and placed in a position to threaten the enemy's capital, without any mishap. After this feat of generalship and the substantial advantage gained by it, the Confederate cause might well seem hopeless.

Sherman's Plans.

When he assumed command of the United States Army it was part of Grant's plan that Sherman should move southwards from Chattanooga and capture Atlanta, thus attacking the Confederates in an entirely new place and securing a city which was useful as a railway centre and as a manufacturing place of military stores. The distance between Chattanooga and Atlanta in a straight line is about 100 miles. The road was defended by Johnston, stationed at Dalton with a force of 43,150 cavalry, artillery and infantry, while Sherman's attacking force numbered 100,000 with 254 guns. They were the flower of the Western soldiers, seasoned men, commanded by officers of sound judgment and trained courage. They had carefully prepared for the work they had to do, and realised Sherman's own description, that they were a mobile machine, willing and able to start at a minute's notice and submit to the scantiest food.

A Series of Fights.

Sherman left Chattanooga on May 5th, the day that Grant entered the Wilderness, and followed the line of railway to Atlanta. Johnston had fortified a position on the railway called Tunnel Hill, which prevented Sherman from continuing his march to Dalton, so he was obliged to pass through the hills and strike at Resaca. McPherson, who commanded this detachment, found Resaca fortified, and when Sherman came up he learned that Johnston himself had retreated from Dalton to Resaca, and had made the position very strong. Sherman eventually gained possession of Resaca without a battle, and five days later reached Kingston. Here he halted to consolidate his army, supply it with

provisions, and repair the railway in his rear. After this he came into conflict with Johnston at New Hope Church, and fought in that neighbourhood for six continuous days, gradually gaining the advantage. At the end of the month of May it was found that with the loss of 10,000 men on each side Sherman had successfully taken strong positions in which Johnston had entrenched himself, and was gradually approaching Atlanta.

Capture of Atlanta.

For the first half of June the two armies remained opposite to each other at Pine Mountain. On June 27th, however, Sherman made a vigorous attempt to capture Johnston's position in the Battle of Kenesaw, but it ended with failure and with great loss. He therefore determined to recross the railway and move his army to the south, by which he compelled Johnston either to retire to Atlanta or come out to fight him. Johnston was superseded by Hood, who, however, did not prove a success. Eventually, on September 2nd, 1864, Sherman became master of Atlanta, after four months' hard fighting and clever strategy. During his stay at Atlanta the Presidential election took place, and Lincoln was re-elected by a large majority, being opposed by McClellan. Lincoln remarked with regard to his own candidature that " it was best not to swop horses when crossing a stream."

Sherman's March to Savannah.

By the end of October Sherman had, in counsel with the President and Grant, determined upon his march through Georgia from Atlanta to Savannah upon the sea, which eventually put an end to the war. He made careful preparations for his enterprise, sending away all his sick and disabled men, and reducing his baggage to a minimum. He left Atlanta on November 2nd, 1865, and nothing was heard of him for six weeks. He had with him 55,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 68 guns. Besides these, there was an enormous number of ambulances and wagons. The army was principally composed of veteran soldiers, all of whom had unbounded confidence in " Uncle Billy," as they called their leader. The distance to be covered was 300 miles. The army was divided into two wings, marching by parallel routes, generally a few miles apart, each wing having its own proportion of cavalry and trains.

It is important to pay attention to the instructions issued for the conduct of the march, as they have been frequently referred to when similar circumstances have arisen elsewhere. The columns were to start at 7 in the morning and march about fifteen miles a day. The artillery and wagons were to keep the road, the troops marching at the side. The troops were permitted to forage so as to keep the wagons supplied with provisions for ten days. The

soldiers were not allowed to enter dwellings or commit any trespass, but during a halt they were permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and drive in stock in sight of their camp. The power of destroying houses or mills was permitted to the commanders of corps alone, and this right of destruction was only allowed when the march was molested by irregular troops, or if the inhabitants burned bridges or obstructed roads. In these cases the commanders were to enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of hostility shown. Horses, mules, and wagons might be appropriated freely, a distinction, however, being made between the rich and the poor. In all foraging the parties engaged were to leave behind a reasonable portion for the maintenance of the family.

Sherman's Christmas Gift.

Sherman's army marched in accordance with these instructions, occupying a space from forty to sixty miles wide. The wealthier inhabitants, as a rule, made their escape, but the negroes followed the army. There was scarcely any fighting excepting within a few miles of Savannah and at the city itself. Savannah was occupied on December 21st, and Sherman wrote to the President, " I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about 25,000 bales of cotton." His entire loss during the march was only 764 men.

Sheridan's Victories in the Shenandoah Valley.

This successful march was the beginning of the end, if it were not the end itself; but Sherman had still work of a similar kind to do. On February 1st, 1865, he began a march northwards, through Columbia, which was more difficult and more dangerous than the previous journey and required more military skill. Columbia was captured on February 17th, without opposition, and Charleston was evacuated on the following day. Leaving Columbia on February 20th, Sherman reached Fayetteville on March 11th. After this he fought a victorious battle, which enabled him to reach Goldsboro, on the direct road to Petersburg and Richmond. In the latter part of February Sheridan moved up the Shenandoah Valley with 10,000 cavalry, defeated Early with heavy loss, and joined Grant on the James River. At the beginning of April Sheridan gained a battle at Five Forks, which enabled him to render effective assistance to Grant, and at the same time the latter broke through the Confederate lines, while Sheridan moved up on the left, so that Petersburg, which is only twenty-three miles from Richmond, was completely surrounded.

Lee telegraphed to his Government that both Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated, and next morning the Confederate

capital was taken possession of by a detachment of the Federal army. The end came at Appomattox Courthouse, where, on April 9th, 1865, Grant and Lee arranged the surrender of the Army of Virginia. The men were allowed to lay down their arms and return to their homes without molestation, provided that they did not take up arms against the United States. On the same terms Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina, and by the end of May all the Confederate armies had surrendered, while Jefferson Davis, who had been President of the Confederate Republic, was taken prisoner on May 10th.

Assassination of Lincoln.

The war was virtually at an end, but ere its conclusion the man who had done more than anyone else to secure the victory was treacherously murdered in Washington. On the evening of April 4th the President and Mrs. Lincoln, along with friends, went to Ford's Theatre to see a play called *Our American Cousin*. About 10 o'clock, while Lincoln was seated in an arm-chair watching the play, a young actor, John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical Secessionist, opened the door of the box and, holding a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other, put the pistol to the President's head and fired. Major Rathbone, who was in the box, tried to seize him; but Booth jumped on to the stage and, turning to the audience, uttered the motto of Virginia, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" He then moved to the stage door, mounted a horse, and rode away, but did not escape punishment for his crime. The ball had entered the back of Lincoln's head and, passing through the brain, had lodged behind his left eye. He was carried, alive but unconscious, to a house across the street and, after lingering all night, watched by his family and members of his Cabinet, expired on the following morning, at about half-past seven. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, assumed the Presidential office, and Lincoln—one of the greatest and most typical men the United States has yet produced—was buried on May 4th, amid the most profound public mourning.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY: THE MAN OF BLOOD AND IRON

ON October 7th, 1858, Prince William of Prussia was made Regent of that country in the place of King Frederick William IV., who was in bad health. He had, in fact, exercised these functions for nearly a year without having been formally appointed; Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became his Prime Minister. In his first official speech the Prince declared that the welfare of the Crown and country was inseparable and depended on the maintenance of sound, strong, Conservative principles. After some words in favour of toleration in religion, he said that the army had created the greatness of Prussia and had won its territory; the army of Prussia must, therefore, be powerful and conspicuous, if Prussia were to possess political influence in international affairs. The world must learn that Prussia was prepared to stand everywhere as an upholder of justice.

Prince William as Regent.

On April 14th, 1859, Archduke Albert of Austria appeared in Berlin to announce the policy of his country with regard to the war in Italy, which was just beginning, and to ask for the co-operation of Prussia. He said that Austria was about to send an ultimatum to Turin, and that if this were refused Piedmont would be immediately occupied and Austria would also direct her arms against France. He was ready to devote to a campaign on the Rhine 260,000 Austrian troops, who would be united with the federal army of Germany. Then the South Germans should unite with Austria under his command, and the North Germans should attack the Lower Rhine under the leadership of Prussia. This meant that Prussia and Germany should throw themselves into the quarrel, and shed their blood for the preservation of Austrian dominion in Italy and her headship of the German Confederation.

Austria's Overtures to Prussia.

This offer was definitely refused by the Prince Regent, who determined, however, to strengthen his army in order to be able to speak with authority when the time came. Therefore, on April 20th he mobilised three army corps, on April 29th six more, and on June 14th, ten days after the Battle of Magenta, he mobilised six divisions of the Guards, and on July 6th sent three of them to garrison Cologne, Coblenz and Treves. The Peace of

Villafranca, concluded suddenly on July 11th, as we have already narrated, put an end to further extension of this policy for the present, but what had been already done had produced a certain amount of irritation in Austria.

Reorganisation of the Prussian Army.

The Regent, however, pursued his reconstruction of the Prussian army, and in his speech from the throne on January 12th, 1860, accentuated his policy. He said that Prussia must not break with the tradition of a glorious past, and that in the future, as well as in these days, the Prussian army must be a Prussian nation in arms. This duty must be fulfilled so far as the finances of the kingdom would allow. A new effort must be made for the protection and development of the Fatherland; it must be protected against all the chances which Fortune might have in store for it. To carry this out a law of compulsory military training was proposed on February 10th, similar to that which had been passed in September, 1814.

Prussian Compulsory Military Service.

This project has not received the attention which it deserved in the light of after events. The then existing law of military service dated from 1820, when Prussia had a population of 11,000,000. From these 40,788 recruits were raised by ballot and kept for two years under the colours. Although the population had increased to 18,000,000, the number of recruits continued nearly the same; indeed, in 1858, the number was only 40,537—that is, fewer than in 1820. It was believed, on good evidence, that the number of recruits could be raised to 63,000 without impairing their efficiency. But further alterations were necessary. The law imposing the duty of service up to the age of thirty-nine affected only 26 per cent. of those who were liable to serve. They served two years under the colours, then ten years with the reserve, then seven years in the first division of the *Landwehr* and four in the second. Consequently, during the last eleven years those who served had not only to perform their ordinary civic duties, but to remain subject to constant interference from military superiors, so long as they continued in the first division of the *Landwehr;* and if they were mobilised their condition became far worse. In short, the larger part of the population available for service did not serve at all, and those who did were oppressed by an intolerable burden. The number of those who had, by lot, become subject to military service was diminished every year, between their entry into the reserve and their liberation from the *Landwehr*, by death, illness or emigration, so that a heavier burden lay upon those who remained. The drainage from these causes was estimated at not less than 26 per cent. per annum. It was therefore

determined that all the infantry should serve for three years, which corresponded with the arrangement made in September, 1814, and that the cavalry should serve for four years. The Regent was strongly in favour of this change, and he was supported by Albert von Roon, who in 1859 took the place of Bonin as Minister of War. These proposals were strongly opposed, but were eventually carried, with some alterations in form, in May, 1860.

Formation of the Progressive Party.

King Frederick William IV. died at Sans Souci on New Year's Day, 1861, and the Regent became King William I. of Prussia. In his first speech he declared that Prussia ought not to be contented merely with what she possessed. She could only maintain her position among European Powers by the energetic exercise of spiritual and moral forces, sincere devotion to religion, the union of obedience and freedom, and by strengthening her army. In the *Landtag*, the lower house of the Prussian Parliament, a vote for the expenses necessary for the reorganisation of the army was only carried by eleven votes, and the election of a new House, which followed in the summer, saw the foundation of the so-called *Fortschrittspartei*, that is, Progressive Party, which was opposed to spending more money on the army and to the increase of the term of military service. In the elections this party won a hundred seats, and in the debate on the budget, which took place on March 6th, 1862, it gained a signal victory. Accordingly, the House was dissolved in the hope that new elections would give the military party a majority. Prince Hohenlohe Ingelfingen was made Prime Minister, and the Liberal members of the Cabinet resigned their portfolios.

The Rise of Bismarck.

But the elections of May showed a complete victory for the party of progress, which in September passed a motion that all the expenditure necessary for the reconstruction of the army on its new footing should be annulled. It was impossible to carry this out, because the money had been already spent. They, therefore, fell back upon the dismissal of the Ministers and the return to the system of two years' service. The King found himself at war with his Chambers, and strong measures were necessary if the policy on which he had set his heart were to be maintained. In pursuance of this, on September 23rd, 1862, the King appointed Bismarck-Schönhausen Prime Minister, who, he knew, would support at all costs and without flinching the policy he favoured. The rise of Bismarck to the first place in the counsels of his Sovereign was the opening of a new phase in the history of Prussia.

Bismarck's Ambition for Prussia.

Bismarck began his Ministry with the determination to place Prussia instead of Austria at the head of Germany. For this purpose political power must lie in the hands of the King, as no Parliament, divided by party, would be strong enough to carry an enterprise of this kind to a successful issue. Finding, therefore, that the King and the Parliament were in hopeless disagreement about the organisation of the army, he determined that Parliament must give way, and advised his Sovereign to continue the struggle. The King was so disheartened by the opposition with which he was met that he thought seriously of abdication, but Bismarck appealed successfully to his feelings of honour as a soldier to maintain his post. He attempted at first to effect a reconciliation with the Liberals, and offered to include their leaders in the Ministry if they would support the new military arrangements. But they clung to the two years' military service, which the King would not accept.

An Autocratic Minister.

Bismarck therefore prorogued the Chambers before they had passed the army estimates, or even voted a budget for 1863, and governed without a budget and, indeed, without Parliamentary sanction, pursuing a course which in England in Charles I.'s time had cost Strafford his head, but which in the Germany of William I. was to have a very different result. He broke with the Liberals and gave all his confidence to the Conservatives. He appointed them to important military and administrative posts, and lost no opportunity of showing his dislike and distrust of his opponents. He kept a tight hand on the Press and gradually established an autocratic authority. He had no fear of revolution, as he could depend on the army, and the mass of the people took no interest in constitutional politics. He had the middle classes on his side, as he knew that they would appreciate his foreign policy and profit by the exaltation of Germany. The Conservatives on whom he depended in the House only numbered eleven votes.

Meeting the House in the autumn of 1862, Bismarck began by stating that the budget for 1863 would be withdrawn, and that a new budget for the year would be laid before them as soon as possible. This statement was not well received, as it was regarded as a return to the practice of not settling the budget until the beginning of the year to which it applied. Bismarck then had to face the budget committee, the members of which were for the most part opposed to his policy. The committee passed a resolution that the budget for 1863 should be immediately laid before them, and that it was contrary to the

Constitution to spend any money which had been refused by the House of Representatives. The committee consisted of about thirty members, and the speeches were largely of the nature of conversations; and of these there were no verbatim reports, but, as the sittings were public, what passed could be remembered by many who heard what had been said.

Bismarck Expounds Prussia's Position.

Bismarck warned the committee not to exaggerate their powers, as the right of settling the budget did not rest with the House of Representatives alone, but was shared with the Upper House and the Crown, so that difference of opinion must be settled by compromise and not by forcing the vote on either side; and, after all, patriotism and devotion to the interests of their common country were the most important things. He then proceeded to give his views of the Prussian character and to show how difficult it was for Prussia to adopt a constitutional form of government. Prussia was too educated, too critical; the habit of discussing public affairs was too universal; there were in the country too many Catilinians who had an interest in revolution. If Prussia were to have a predominating influence in Germany, this would be due, not to its Liberalism, but to its power. The territory of Prussia, as fixed by the Treaty of Vienna, was not favourable to a limited monarchy. The great questions of the age were not to be settled, as was attempted to be done in 1848 and 1849, by speeches and divisions in Parliament, but by "blood and iron." He begged them to have confidence in the Ministry, and not to force a quarrel, so that their devotion to their country and their fundamental honesty might be implicitly trusted.

The Olive Twig.

The first attempt at conciliation failed. The report of the committee was adopted, and an amendment proposed by Winckler, which Bismarck was willing to accept, was rejected. Bismarck warned them not to push the conflict too far; if they did, a peaceful solution would be impossible. He showed the President of the House a twig of olive, which he said he had gathered at Avignon on his way up from Toulouse to present to the House, but the time for doing this did not seem to have arrived.

Bismarck and Royal Prerogatives.

Fortunately for Bismarck, the Prussian Constitution provided that all taxes and other imposts should remain in force until they were abrogated or altered by law. If a proposed budget failed to pass the Chambers the Government were justified in having recourse to this provision. It is true that the Constitution declared that the budget must be passed in anticipation of each year. But it is also declared that the budget must be established by law. A law must be agreed to by three authorities to make it valid—the

Lower House, the Upper House, and the Sovereign. If the Lower House refused to agree to a new budget, that did not prevent the other two bodies from providing for the necessities of the country. Bismarck said: "We will give you what the Constitution entitles you to; we will not allow you anything which conflicts with the prerogative of the Crown. The Prussian monarchy has not yet fulfilled its mission; the time has not yet come for making it a superfluous detail in the parliamentary machine."

Insurrection in Poland.

The attention of the political world was now turned to a new quarter. In the night of January 22nd, 1863, the Russian garrisons of fourteen towns in Poland were attacked by the inhabitants, and many soldiers murdered in their sleep. This led to a general insurrection in Poland, which established a provisional Government and nominated Mieroslavski as Dictator. Bismarck immediately perceived the danger of the situation. He said, "The Polish question is to us a matter of life or death." The insurgents, to whichever party they belonged, would not be contented with liberating Russian Poland alone; they would liberate Posen, and would not rest until they had gained the coast of the Baltic and deprived Prussia of her Eastern Provinces. If the Poles became reconciled to the Russians the danger to Prussia would be greater. Russia and Poland might join together on the common basis of a Slav nationality, but there never could be peace between the Slav and the Teuton.

Prussia and Russia Unite Against Poland.

King William sent Alvensleben to St. Petersburg with an autograph letter to the Tsar proposing that the two Governments should take steps to meet the common danger, and it was agreed to prevent assistance from Posen from being given to the insurgents, and to allow Russian troops to cross the Prussian frontiers in pursuit of the rebels; four army corps were also mobilised so as to be able to guard the frontier. The Emperor Napoleon proposed that Austria, Great Britain and France should send identical notes to Prussia remonstrating on her conduct towards the Poles and threatening active measures. Great Britain, led by Lord Russell—Lord John had been ennobled in 1861—refused to take part in this action; but, at the same time, Buchanan, the British Minister at Berlin, was instructed to moderate the action of Prussia as far as possible.

There is no doubt that Bismarck's policy enabled Gortshakov to suppress the Polish insurrection, and also established a close alliance between Russia and Germany, which subsisted for a considerable time. It required great boldness to take this line. If war actually broke out, Prussia would bear the brunt of it,

because Russia could have procured little assistance against France and Austria. Bismarck did not believe in the likelihood of war; but he had, nevertheless, placed his country in a critical condition, and the Prussian Liberals resented his alliance with Russia. Prussia was becoming unpopular in Europe, whilst Austria was gaining fresh sympathy in consequence of her defence of Poland.

Prussia Stands Aloof from Federation Scheme.

In July, 1863, the Emperor of Austria convened at Frankfort a meeting of all the German Princes to obtain their consent to a scheme of federal reform, which should place the central authority of the Federation in the hands of Austria and the Southern German States, her allies. No sovereign was obliged to attend the meeting unless he wished to do so. The Emperor did his best to persuade the King of Prussia to take part in the congress, on the ground that it offered the best mode of reforming the Confederation on conservative lines and preventing revolution, and William was on the point of yielding to these representations. Bismarck, however, saw that the success of the congress would strengthen the position of Austria, and persuaded the King with considerable difficulty to have nothing to do with it. Bismarck even threatened to resign unless his wishes were yielded to, and William knew that the assistance of the Minister was indispensable in the struggle with the Parliament. In the absence of Prussia nothing could be accomplished at the congress, and the Southern States, jealous for their independence, rejected the proposal of Austria, as they had before rejected the proposals of Prussia for a closer union. Austria, finding that she could not obtain the assistance of the smaller German States in her rivalry with Prussia, was driven to make terms with her antagonist. Bismarck had, therefore, succeeded in improving the position of Prussia both with regard to Russia and to Austria.

Prussia as Mediator.

Napoleon proposed, on November 5th, that a congress of all the Powers should be held in Paris to discuss the condition of Europe. This was directed against Austria, which formed an obstacle in the settlement of the Italian Question. He took steps to secure the friendship of Prussia, which might help him against Austria. Austria was naturally opposed to this congress, but did not like to refuse it, as she was already on bad terms with Russia over the Polish Question. So Rechberg, the Austrian Minister, had recourse to Prussia, to frustrate the congress with her help. Prussia, therefore, found herself approached by the two rival Powers, Austria and France, and in the position of a mediator.

Denmark Absorbs Schleswig.

At this moment the Schleswig-Holstein Question entered into a new phase. The relations between Denmark and the Duchies had been settled by the London Protocol of 1852, but Denmark had refused to carry its provisions into effect. She trusted to the antagonism between Austria and Prussia, and the Polish insurrection, which seemed likely to lead to a European war, also favoured her plans. On March 30th, 1863, a new Constitution was proclaimed in Denmark on the authority of the Crown, by which Schleswig became a Danish Province, Holstein retaining to some extent an independent position. In doing this Denmark had acted with gross illegality. She had forced the new Constitution on Holstein without asking her consent, and, by annexing Schleswig, had disobeyed the conditions of the London Protocol and disregarded the rights of the German Confederation.

Austria's Position with Regard to the Duchies.

This event caused intense excitement in Germany. The only way to carry out the agreement of 1852 was to separate the united Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark and establish them as an independent territory under the Duke of Augustenburg, and public opinion strongly urged that this should be done. Such a course could have been supported at the Federal Diet by most of the German States. But Austria and Prussia followed a policy that was in accordance with their own views and interests. Austria had no special reason to desire the emancipation of the Duchies. She knew by experience that the Schleswig-Holstein Question was one of the most difficult in Europe, and was likely to cause trouble and embarrassment to anyone who meddled with it. As she was at present engaged in the settlement of the Polish Question with Russia, she was not anxious to have other quarrels on her hands. At the same time she could not allow such a matter to be adjusted without her co-operation, nor, having urged the adoption of a scheme of Federal reform which should place her at the head of Germany, could she afford to neglect a subject which the smaller States considered to be of vital importance. She therefore proposed that the German Confederation should demand the withdrawal of the Charter of March 30th, under penalty of federal execution, on the ground that the rights of Holstein were violated by it.

Bismarck's Dilemma.

Bismarck had no reason to desire the establishment of a separate sovereignty of the two Duchies under the House of Augustenburg, as such a course would be opposed to the unity of Germany and the supremacy of Prussia. A small State of this kind would be driven to lean upon the protection of Austria, in order to escape absorption by Prussia. His real desire was, what

he eventually achieved, the union of both Duchies with a German Confederation of which Prussia should be the head. This, however, could not be effected without war with Denmark, since that proud, though tiny, State would not give up Schleswig without a struggle, and the Great Powers would not view the dismemberment of Denmark with indifference.

Moreover, Prussia was unpopular with most of the German States and, if she went to war, would in all probability be attacked by them, supported by Austria. It was necessary, therefore, to gain time. The Austrian proposal of a federal execution would at least give Bismarck breathing space for the making of his plans, as it could not be carried out without some delay, and in the interval fresh circumstances might arise and place Prussia in a more favourable position. For these diverse reasons, therefore, Austria and Prussia, in spite of their bitter disagreement about the Polish Question, joined in carrying a resolution in the Federal Diet on July 9th, 1863, that Denmark should be ordered to annul the Charter issued in March and comply with the provisions of 1852. If she refused, Holstein would be immediately occupied by the troops of the Confederation.

Death of the King of Denmark.

The Danish Government met this by repudiating every kind of compromise, and announced on September 28th that a Constitution would be proclaimed to act according to the provisions of the Charter, and twelve days later the German Confederates determined, amidst great enthusiasm, to take immediate action. This decision was embarrassing both to Austria and Prussia. They could not stand aloof, yet were not prepared to enter into a war with Denmark, as she was almost certain to be supported by Great Britain. Bismarck was approached by Blixen, the head of the Moderate Party in Denmark, and by Sir Andrew Buchanan, acting under the instructions of Lord Russell, to delay the execution, which he was very willing to do. He was assisted by the fact that Napoleon was renewing his favourite proposal of a congress in Paris to settle disputed European questions, and this circumstance also disposed Austria to delay. In the midst of these complications King Frederick VII. of Denmark, the last of an ancient line, was suddenly seized with erysipelas and died after a short illness on November 15th, so that the whole question assumed an entirely different aspect.

Napoleon's Proposed Conference.

Napoleon said, in his Speech from the Throne on November 5th, 1863: "The treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist; what is more reasonable than to summon the European Powers to a congress which should form a high court of arbitration for all

questions in dispute?" On the same day invitations to attend such a congress in Paris were issued to all European sovereigns. The tidings came like a thunderclap upon Europe. The suggested congress was welcomed by the smaller and weaker Powers, but it would throw the Frankfort Congress into the shade, while Great Britain and Russia regarded it as an act of impertinence. The consequence was a change of alliances. Hitherto France and Austria had been opposed on the Polish Question to Prussia and Russia; now Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Great Britain were formed into a combination against France.

The Rival Claims to Schleswig-Holstein.

In Denmark Prince Christian had been designated as sovereign by the protocol of 1852, but he was obliged, in deference to Danish opinion, to accept the Constitution, and thus broke with Germany. On the other hand, Prince Frederick of Augustenburg laid claim to Schleswig-Holstein by hereditary right. His father, indeed, had renounced his claim in 1852, but the Germans ignored this in their desire to liberate the Duchies from the detested Danish yoke. The Confederation seemed to support his claims, and he was acknowledged by some of its members, such as Baden and Coburg; but Austria and Prussia were bound by the protocol which they had both signed, and, therefore, were obliged to acknowledge King Christian IX. as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.

Holstein Occupied by Germans.

At the same time, Bismarck saw that the dispute had not been entirely disposed of. It was true that the protocol settled the question of the sovereignty of the Duchies, but the Constitution of November went farther than this, and violated the protocol by incorporating the northern Duchy with Denmark. If King Christian sided with the Eider-Danes, that is, with the party which desired the Eider to be the southern boundary of Denmark, and confirmed the Constitution, the Germans could take their stand upon the protocol and make it difficult for Great Britain and other friendly Powers to interfere on behalf of the Danes. If a war broke out Prussia would play a leading part in it and be able to dispose of the spoils of victory as she pleased. The Austrian Government was inclined to follow a similar line and to base its policy on the solid ground of the London Protocol and the resolution of the Bund. But, in doing this, it did not, like Bismarck, hope for war, but looked forward to a peaceful conclusion. The two Powers having thus come to agreement, Holstein was occupied in December, 1863, by Hanoverian and Saxon troops, the armies of Austria and Prussia being at their back. The Danes retired from the southern Duchy without a blow, but were prepared to defend Schleswig by a stubborn resistance.

BISMARCK'S ASTUTENESS

Prussian Parliament Disregards Bismarck.

It was hardly to be expected that the astute and foreseeing policy of Bismarck would be understood and recognised by public opinion in Prussia or even in the rest of Germany. The predominant desire in Germany was that the Duchies should not be Danish, and the London Protocol seemed to hand them over to King Christian. But a policy bound upon the observance of the protocol was not in accordance with German feeling; the best way of securing the independence of the Duchies was to hand them over to Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg. This feeling found expression in the Prussian Parliament and, on December 2nd, 1863, the Lower House, by a large majority, demanded the immediate acceptance of Duke Frederick, in opposition to the policy of Bismarck. A similar revulsion of opinion showed itself in the Bund. The Federal Diet, in a resolution of January 16th, 1864, refused to continue the execution, thus declining to acknowledge the right of King Christian to the Duchies, and breaking with the provisions of the London Protocol.

Austria Declares War Against Denmark.

This action was turned to good account by Bismarck, for it exactly suited his policy. He could now disregard the Confederation and act independently, as representing one of the great European Powers who had signed the London Protocol. Austria, in her dread of Napoleon, afraid to sacrifice the friendship of Prussia, adopted a similar policy, and on January 16th, 1864, agreed to send a joint ultimatum to Denmark, demanding the repeal of the Constitution. If Denmark refused, Schleswig would immediately be occupied by 60,000 Austrians. This arrangement was so hastily concluded that there was no time to consider what should be the result of this action, or what should be done with the Duchies in the future. This was left to mutual agreement. Bismarck had thus secured the co-operation of Austria in the conquest of the Duchies, without binding himself in any way not eventually to attach them to his own kingdom. Rechberg asked for the laying down of some principles on which future agreements would be based, but it was easy for Bismarck to turn a deaf ear to these representations, and as time pressed they remained unanswered. Things turned out as Bismarck had suspected. Denmark rejected the ultimatum, war was declared, and Schleswig was attacked.

Bismarck's Assurance to Denmark.

Some years afterwards Count Beust asked Bismarck how he had persuaded the Danes to fight, seeing that they were certain to be beaten, and he replied that he contrived to assure them that they were certain to receive assistance from Great Britain. At this time the future Lord Lytton was Chargé d'Affaires at

Copenhagen, in the absence of the Ambassador, Sir Arthur Paget. One day he received a dispatch from Lord Russell, promising British assistance to the Danes against the attacks of Austria and Prussia. This dispatch was so important and so certain to bring about a European war that Lytton put it, for the moment, into his pocket and said nothing about it, waiting for further information. Russell had sent this dispatch without the knowledge of the Queen, who was at the time in the Isle of Wight, much withdrawn from public affairs, in the early years of her widowhood. When it came to her knowledge she refused to give her adhesion to the policy, unless it were endorsed by all the members of the Cabinet, expressed in public. She knew well that this consent could not be given, and, in fact, a week later a dispatch was sent of a very different character, which was not likely to lead to extreme measures. Lytton was able to congratulate himself upon his foresight, but Bismarck had probably become acquainted with the purport of the first dispatch and had based upon it the information given to the Danes, although he must have known that it was extremely unlikely that Great Britain would risk a war on their behalf.

Bismarck's Isolation.

Bismarck had to pursue an isolated policy without sympathy or support, against the opposition of his country and the Court which he served. On January 22nd, 1864, the Lower House of the Prussian Parliament refused supplies for the war and, what was worse, the King began to waver. The Duke of Augustenburg was a favourite at the Prussian Court, and an intimate friend of the Crown Prince, and when he came to Berlin he was well received by the King. The Crown Prince Frederick had no great sympathy with the general policy of Bismarck, either then or afterwards. He considered that, by weakening the position of the smaller German States, he was impairing his own future authority as King of Prussia. Roon, also, the Minister of War, was in favour of the claims of Augustenburg. Bismarck, however, clearly saw that the recognition of the claims of Duke Frederick and the creation of the two Duchies into an independent sovereignty would be hostile to the interests of Prussia. Among other things, it was important to secure Kiel for the creation of the German fleet, which was one of his favourite plans. Besides, to desert the firm ground of the protocol might give other Powers a pretext for supporting Denmark. To gain his way, therefore, Bismarck was driven to adopt his usual expedient of threatening resignation, and the King could not dispense with the Minister who alone could support him against the unfriendly

Chambers. He therefore accepted the line of foreign policy upon which Bismarck insisted.

Denmark's Natural "Impregnable" Defence.

The troops destined for the invasion of Schleswig were collected at the Eider at the beginning of January, 1864. They consisted of three army corps, the first under the command of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, known as "the Red Prince," the Austrians under Gablentz, the third a division of the Prussian Guard under von der Mülbe. The whole army, 57,000 strong, was commanded by Wrangel, a vigorous man of eighty, but too old for the work. To these forces the Danes opposed an army of 55,000 men under the command of de Meza, but of these only 40,000 were available in Schleswig. The Danes were inferior in numbers, but trusted to the difficulties of the country, the deep sea-inlets, the swamps, the hedge-divided fields, and, above all, to their fleet. North of the Eider the threatened Duchy was defended by the Dannewerk, an ancient earthwork, protected by deep morasses, stretching between the town of Schleswig and the sources of the river Rheide, and also by the broad fiord of the Schlei. The Dannewerk was garrisoned by 22,000 infantry and artillery, with a reserve of 5,000, and 2,000 dragoons. This defence was regarded as impregnable, and the Emperor Napoleon expressed the opinion that it would keep the Germans back for at least two years.

The Dannewerk Proves False.

Mülbe said that the war was easy to begin but difficult to end. He was opposed to direct attacks. He recommended the passing of the Lower Schlei and the capture of Flensborg rather than the storming of the Dannewerk; the occupation of Jutland rather than the attack on Düppel; if this did not bring peace the seizure of Fünen would end the war. Unfortunately Wrangel did not follow these instructions. The Eider was crossed on February 1st. The Danes retired without resistance, and the first conflict took place next day at the trenches of Missund. In the following days the Prussians crossed the Schlei, and the Austrians attacked the Dannewerk. To the joy of the Germans and the dismay of the Danes, it was found that the morasses were hard frozen and offered no obstruction to the enemy. Nothing was left for the Danes but to evacuate the position, and the Dannewerk was occupied by the Germans five days after the beginning of operations. The effect of this sudden surprise caused the greatest consternation. De Meza, who had saved the Danish army, was driven from his post, and in Paris the startling news was declared to be a fabric of falsehood. Palmerston threatened to assist the Danes materially in the spring, a step which public opinion in

Great Britain rendered impossible. In Germany the opponents of war were divided in opinion, but suffered a common disappointment. The smaller States were especially sorry that Schleswig should be occupied by the Prussians, who, they thought, were not likely to surrender what they had once conquered. To calm this excitement Manteuffel was sent to Hanover and Dresden, and the fears of King George and King John were quieted by his assurances.

Attack on Düppel.

The allies had now the alternative of storming Düppel or occupying Jutland. After deliberation it was agreed that Prince Frederick Charles should remain before Düppel, and that Gablentz should enter the Northern Province. The Austrians, however, objected, and Mülbe hastened to Berlin to persuade the Emperor and Bismarck that his plan of campaign must be carried out. Operations were hindered for nearly a month, during which time France and Great Britain had a fair opportunity to devise expedients to put an end to the war. At last the Austrians gave way, and the march into Jutland began on March 6th, and by March 20th the greater part of the province was in German hands. Now began the attack on Düppel, which opened on March 15th. An attack on Alsen was prevented by bad weather, and the forces of the Allies were concentrated in Düppel. At the end of March it had become necessary that the position of Prussia with regard to Europe should be strengthened by the gaining of a decisive victory.

Bismarck Temporises over the Conference Proposal.

The Danes were averse to the British proposal to call a conference in London to reconsider the protocol of 1852, because they believed that not only would the Powers intervene on their behalf, but that it was possible civil war might break out in Germany. The Danish Ministers adhered strongly to the incorporation of Schleswig, and were opposed to the union of the two Duchies as a separate State. But the occupation of Jutland had produced the effect Mülbe had expected, as Denmark was deprived of the income and the profits she derived from that province. In the meantime Bismarck replied to the British invitation to attend a conference on April 12th, that it was impossible for Austria and Prussia to make any decision without the consent of the Bund, and when this body took the matter into consideration on March 26th they determined to send Beust to represent them.

Storming of Düppel.

With great exertions the Prussians were able to open the bombardment of Düppel at the beginning of April; but it was impossible to effect its capture before the opening of the conference. The date of the assault was eventually fixed by Prince Frederick

Charles for April 18th. The whole of the preceding day was occupied by a murderous fire from the Prussian batteries, and at two in the morning the columns advanced to the attack. At daybreak the cannonade began again and, as the clock struck 10, the cannonade ceased and the storm columns advanced from the parallels. In a few minutes the ditches were occupied, all obstacles overcome, and in less than half an hour the six batteries were conquered, the defenders were killed or made prisoners, and the Prussian flag was planted on the parapet. The capture of the second line of defence succeeded that of the first, and in three hours everything was over. The Danes had suffered such losses and were so entirely broken that Gerlach could no longer hold the bridge-head, but led his troops across the Alsen and destroyed the bridge. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Düppel, and with it the whole of Schleswig, was in the hands of the conquerors. The Prussian loss was 1,100 killed and wounded out of a total force of 16,000. The Danish loss was about the same out of 11,000, but 3,600 were taken prisoners and 118 guns and 4,000 rifles were lost.

Enthusiasm in Berlin.

News of the victory roused Berlin to enthusiasm. The King received the telegram announcing it just as he had finished a review of the Guard. Hurrying back to the review ground, he communicated the tidings to the troops and sent his thanks to Prince Frederick Charles and the victorious army. He went himself to Schleswig and reviewed his conquering troops on April 21st. He was soon followed by Moltke, head of the general staff. Jutland was overrun, but the Danish Government, determining to continue the war, transferred the garrison of Fredericia to the Island of Fünen and gave up the place to the Austrians.

No Intervention for Denmark.

The victory of Düppel did not put a stop to the strife of parties in Germany, though it produced a profound effect in Europe. Clermont Tonnère informed his Government that it was impossible to maintain the union of the Duchies with Denmark, and the correspondent of *The Times* expressed the same opinion. In Paris Lord Cowley told Goltz that it was obvious that the Duchies desired to be free from Denmark, and that it would be un-English to keep them under Danish rule. King Leopold compared the union of the Duchies with Denmark to that of Belgium with Holland, to the division of which he owed his crown, and Queen Victoria came over at last to the same view. Palmerston, however, still remained obstinate, but it now appeared that Bismarck had been right in his forecast that no intervention would be undertaken by the Powers. Great Britain had to content itself with

summoning the signatories of the protocol of 1852 to a conference in London. Immediately after the fall of Düppel a truce was arranged at the conference, which met in London on April 25th.

Bismarck's Steadfast Aim.

It is interesting to trace the skill with which Bismarck, who had steadily set before himself the object of uniting the two Duchies to Germany, gradually gained his end; he was the only one among the negotiators who knew his own mind and had a clear and settled policy. To assist his projects public opinion began to turn in favour of the Prussian annexation of the Duchies. France, embittered with Great Britain for many reasons, among them the persistence of plots against the Emperor's life and the visit of Garibaldi, came round to the side of Prussia and secretly offered her the possession of the Duchies. A popular agitation in the Duchies themselves favoured annexation, and, despite Bismarck's contempt for popular opinion, he carefully fostered it. In England sympathies in favour of Denmark were once more aroused by the appearance of Tegethoff's fleet in the English Channel, and an Austrian victory over some Danish ships made the Germans afraid that if Austria gained the upper hand she might assume a preponderating position in the settlement of the question. This inclined public opinion in Prussia to Bismarck's views, while the agitation in Germany in favour of some practical result from the war might, if not satisfied, cause a revolution, and fear of this brought Austria over to her side.

A Futile Conference.

In the conference Rechberg declared that the provisions of 1852 were at an end, and Bismarck made a formal demand for the separation of the Duchies from Denmark. The Danes refused all compromise, and on June 25th the conference broke up without result. The resumption of the war was inevitable, but Prussia was now in a more favourable position than before. Russia was on her side, and France was her friend, while Great Britain found that an understanding with Austria and Prussia was the best safeguard against the dangers of Napoleon's restlessness. The Great Powers, therefore, left Denmark to her fate, and she could expect no assistance from Sweden.

Bismarck and Augustenburg.

There remained the difficulty of Augustenburg. If the Duchies were separated from Denmark and made into a separate State, this would be naturally governed by Duke Frederick, and this would not be in accordance with Bismarck's views. He therefore set himself to get rid of these obstacles. King William being still in favour of Augustenburg, Bismarck affected to support his claims, but demanded certain guarantees for the security of Prussia. For instance, the army, the post office, and the railways must be under

Prussian control. Austria did not like this, and under her influence the Duke refused any conditions which might limit his independence. This made his cause hopeless. At the beginning of June Bismarck published his offers to Augustenburg and the Duke's refusal of them, and this convinced the King and a large portion of the Prussian people that the accession of Augustenburg would be inopportune. Bismarck now began to reap the fruit of his labours. His policy was generally approved by the country, and some members of the Opposition came over to his side. Indeed, both parties in the Prussian Parliament became convinced that to establish a Sovereign in the Duchies who would be in league with Austria would be a serious danger to Prussian interests and the future of German unity, and they set themselves to discover means by which the Duchies could be annexed to Prussia or a Protectorate established over them.

Capture of Alsen.

Before the conference actually closed, Prince Frederick Charles prepared for an attack upon Alsen. He collected, in advance, as many pontoons and boats as he could lay his hands on, so as to throw a force of 2,500 men into the island, who were to be reinforced at intervals of half an hour. On June 21st he was able to inform King William and Bismarck, who were at Carlsbad, that everything was ready, and he heard with joy that on June 26th the armistice would be at an end. The expedition set out in the early morning of June 29th. The Danes made what resistance they could, but by 9 everything was over, and on July 1st not a single Dane was left in the island. The loss of the Danes had been twice that of the Prussians, half of their army had been made prisoners, and the spoil of the conquerors included two gunboats, 108 guns, 200 rifles, and a large quantity of munitions of war. The defeat fell like a bolt from the blue on Copenhagen. The Eider-Danes were in despair; the expected assistance from Great Britain was not likely to be forthcoming, and the defeated army threatened the war party with an attack unless they concluded peace.

"All is Lost."

After the occupation of Alsen King Christian ordered his ambassador in Paris to ask the Emperor categorically whether assistance might be expected from him. The answer came in the early morning of July 8th: "All is lost; the Emperor will do nothing for us." The King did not wait for his Privy Council. He sent for Monrad, the head of the Eider-Danes, who immediately resigned his post and was succeeded by Bluhne, who, on July 12th, made proposals for an armistice and peace to Berlin and Vienna. In the meantime the Allies continued their opera-

tions. On July 14th Prince Albert and Falkenstein rode with their staffs to the Skaw, the northern extremity of Jutland, where the waters of the North Sea and the Baltic meet. As they gazed over the expanse of the stormy sea, they saw some Danish transports on the waters, and hoisted the allied flags of Prussia and Austria in their sight. The whole of Schleswig and Jutland was now in the possession of the allies. The armistice began on July 30th.

Bismarck Dictates Terms.

It was now necessary to determine the terms of peace. Bismarck proposed to Rechberg that King Christian should surrender his rights over all territory south of the King's Island, and recognise any arrangements which the Allies might make about the three Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenberg. Some settlement must also be made with regard to the public debt and the costs of the war. He thought the idea of including Denmark in the German Bund impracticable and undesirable. He made preparations during the armistice for an attack on Fünen, notwithstanding the opposition of Austria. He then had an interview with Prince Gortshakov at Carlsbad, in which he secured the adhesion of Russia to his plans for peace. When King William departed for his cure at Gastein, Bismarck persuaded him to confer with Rechberg at Vienna. Here Bismarck personally conducted the negotiations for peace, the conditions of which, naturally, seemed hard to the Danes; but preliminaries were eventually signed on August 1st, 1864.

Peace of Vienna.

Schleswig-Holstein was now free from Danish rule, and the German language and German education were to prevail undisturbed from the King's Island to the Eider. After signing the preliminaries, Bismarck left Vienna and joined King William at Gastein, committing the conclusion of the definite treaty to other hands. A long correspondence took place between Rechberg and Bismarck, which ended in the retirement of the Austrian Minister on October 27th, and three days later the Peace of Vienna was signed. The differences of opinion between Austria and Prussia had nearly brought about a war, but, for the moment, peace was assured and Francis Joseph and William remained on the most friendly terms.

Differences between Prussia and Austria.

The Duchies were now subjected to a joint administration of the two allied Powers, and the differences of opinion which arose out of this situation eventually led to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. It is, therefore, worth while to consider how these differences came into existence, and what was their nature. The moment the war was concluded the divergence between the

policies of Austria and Prussia became evident. Austria, anxious that Prussia should not obtain a large accession of territory in consequence of the war, wished the Duchies to be handed over to Augustenburg. She would thus be relieved of the duty of garrisoning Schleswig and would secure the favour of the smaller German States. Bismarck was, of course, opposed to this, but saw clearly that the end he was aiming at could only be accomplished by war, and afterwards expressed the opinion that it would have been better if war had come at that moment. But King William had made up his mind that he would not draw the sword against Austria unless it were clear that she was attacking the honour and welfare of his country. Besides, it would not be wise to make war with Austria if there were any likelihood of France interfering on her behalf. Bismarck therefore rejected the Austrian proposal on the ground that the titles of all claimants, including that of Oldenburg, must first be examined; and Austria, however much she might have considered war inevitable, did not desire it at present, especially as she was being threatened in her Italian dominions by France.

Rechberg Resigns.

Austria also suffered a defeat in her commercial policy. The Prussian Zollverein, or Customs Union, was renewed in October, 1864, for another period of twelve years. Austria would have been glad to form a similar combination of her own with the South German States; but as this was not done, no alternative was left them excepting to join Prussia. From the victories of Federal Reform, the Danish War, and the Customs Union it was obvious that Prussia represented German feeling far more than Austria did, and that the supremacy would gradually fall into Prussian hands. This led to an attack upon Rechberg, who was accused of offending both the smaller States and the great Powers of Europe, and of pursuing a policy which would inevitably lead to the domination of Prussia. The supporters of the Anti-Prussian policy were Schmerling, the Home Secretary, and Biegeleben, a Privy Councillor. Rechberg foresaw what would happen—that Bismarck would never yield to threats, that war was inevitable, and that the consequence would be the loss of Venice. It was, therefore, better to remain on good terms with Prussia, even at the cost of sacrifices in Schleswig-Holstein. But he was not a Bismarck, and as the Emperor could not spare Schmerling from the Home Department, Rechberg resigned. He was succeeded by Count Mensdorff, a Conservative and a strong supporter of the alliance with Prussia. But he was too much under the influence of Biegeleben, who made it his policy to consolidate the smaller

German States and settle as soon as possible the question of Schleswig-Holstein.

The French in Rome.

Whilst Prussia had reached the first stage in the unification of Germany by the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein, the Emperor Napoleon took an important step towards his favourite project of the independence of Italy. French troops still formed the garrison of Rome, as the Emperor found the support of the Clerical party necessary to the security of his throne. Yet the presence of the French garrison was a continual grievance to Italy, and many representations were made to the Emperor for its removal. At length it was suggested that the removal of the capital of Italy from Turin to Florence might tend to produce the impression that the Italians had surrendered the idea of claiming Rome, and pave the way for the withdrawal of the French garrison.

The Claims of Florence as Capital.

There were, indeed, many reasons why Florence should make a more fitting capital for Italy than Rome. She was the spiritual head of the Italian peninsula. The mighty dead whose monuments adorn the walls of Sante Croce—Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavelli, and others—were the real source of Italian greatness in the modern age, and the intellect of Europe turned to Italy with passionate devotion. Every street in Florence throbbed with the Italian spirit. The majestic pile of the Palazzo Vecchio, the sacred gloom of the Duomo, the gay elegance of Giotto's Campanile, the alabaster windows of San Miniato, the sculptured doors of San Giovanni, spoke to the Italians of the glory of their country. On the other hand, Rome, by the influence of the Jesuits and the presence of the Papacy, had become almost a non-Italian city. It contained nothing of the Republic, little of the Empire, much of foreign influence and domination. Florence recalled a glorious past and stimulated a prosperous future. Rome might be the capital of an organised Church; Florence was the source of a spiritual Italy which based its aspirations for the future on the intellectual triumphs of the past. At the same time it was a hard task for Victor Emmanuel to depose the city of his birth. He had surrendered to the French the cradle of his race, and was now asked to reduce the capital of his kingdom to the level of a provincial town.

Eventually a treaty providing that the French garrison should evacuate Rome within two years was signed on September 15th; of course, with the condition that the capital should be transferred to Florence. The change was resented by riots in Turin, and these could not be put down without bloodshed. The King, whose

real sympathies lay with the rioters, dismissed the Minghetti Ministry on September 23rd, 1864, and summoned La Marmora to his counsels. He formed a Ministry which consisted almost entirely of Piedmontese, who quieted the apprehension of the people, secured the approval in both Chambers of the Convention with France, and transferred the Government to Florence, the King taking up his residence in the Palazzo Pitti. But such a change could not be effected without symptoms of disintegration. There was now a violent Piedmontese party, over which Mazzini was able to exercise considerable influence, in opposition to the Government. The Ministry had a large majority in Parliament, but the existence of discontent amongst those holding extreme opinions on either side deprived it of the homogeneous authority it had before possessed.

The Schleswig-Holstein Differences.

The differences between Austria and Prussia with regard to Schleswig-Holstein still continued acute. Bismarck had his mind fixed firmly on the acquisition of the Duchies, but was reluctant to break with Austria. Mensdorff, on the other hand, was persuaded by Biegeleben that he might force Bismarck to give way by an attitude of firmness, and he wrote three dispatches to Berlin on the subject, the result of which was to dismiss the claims of Oldenburg and to revive those of Augustenburg, in order that the Duchies might not fall into Prussian hands. Bismarck saw that the first step was to get the troops of the Bund out of the Duchies, and, with that object, he made an application to Hanover and Saxony, who supplied them. But these smaller States were also jealous of Prussia, and supported Austria in her reluctance to see the federal occupation come to an end. Eventually the Bund decided by a majority that the occupation should cease, whereupon the administration of Holstein should be undertaken jointly by Austria and Prussia, as that of Schleswig had already been.

Austria's Difficulty.

The condition of affairs was now as follows. The Bund held firmly to the rights of Augustenburg, but they had no authority to enforce their opinions. Bismarck, on the other hand, recognised that Christian IX. was the only legal sovereign of the Duchies, but he denied his right to the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark. Austria oscillated between these two views. She had begun by recognising the rights of Christian IX., but when she feared that this might lead to a Prussian occupation and annexation of the Duchies, she leaned to the side of Augustenburg; yet she would have sacrificed the Duchies could she have obtained adequate compensation for herself. Eventually she concluded that

her only safeguard against Prussia lay in supporting the authority of the Bund; and Bismarck, on his side, was convinced that his only chance of realising his policy lay in getting rid of that authority. Eventually Bismarck informed Mensdorff, in February, 1865, that he would admit the claim of Augustenburg, on condition that the Duchies should enter into the Zollverein and adopt the Prussian system of customs, that the posts and telegraphs should belong to Prussia, that the control of the North Sea and Baltic Canal, which was soon to be constructed, should remain in her hands, that Friedrichstadt, Düppel and the mouth of the canal should be surrendered to her. He asked further that the army and fleet of the Duchies should be under Prussian control, that Rendsburg should receive a Prussian garrison, that the Duchies should be subject to Prussian military law, that the recruiting system for the army and navy should be in Prussian hands, and that the troops of the Duchies should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Prussia and be under his orders.

Bismarck's Caution.

To this Austria replied that they had always opposed the formation of Schleswig-Holstein as a half-Sovereign State, and that if it were admitted into the Confederation it must be on the same footing as other members. Austria was ready to concede to Prussia all the advantages which were reasonably demanded by her sacrifices, her expenses, and her geographical position. It was right that Rendsburg should be made a federal fortress, that Kiel should be a harbour for the Prussian navy, that the canal should be made between the North Sea and the Baltic, that Schleswig-Holstein should enter the Zollverein; but, when Prussia made demands which were inconsistent with the existence of the Bund, Austria must protect her own interests and those of Germany and decline to enter upon negotiations on such a basis. Nothing, therefore, remained but a continuance of the joint occupation, to the delight of Bismarck and the distress of Mensdorff. At the same time the tone of Austria in this answer made Bismarck cautious, and induced him to ask Moltke to make a report on the strength of the Austrian army. For the time the world had peace. On February 27th a commercial treaty was concluded between the two rival States, with as much unanimity as if a difference between them had never existed.

Value of the Duchies to Prussia.

Bismarck had good reason to hope that the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia would eventually be accomplished. Their financial position was not such as to render their separate existence possible. The income of the united Duchies was 6,500,000 thalers, but the cost of collection, together with the expenses of

local government, was 4,500,000, and their share of the Danish debt was 1,000,000; there remained, therefore, only 1,000,000 for the civil list, the army, the fortresses, the navy, and the charge of the central Government. Nothing was left for the future development of the country or the creation of a German fleet, and the only advantage would be that Germany would possess thirty sovereigns instead of twenty-nine. On the other hand, annexation with Prussia would extinguish the expense of the civil list, diminish that of the central Government, give Germany additional 10,000 combatants in peace and 30,000 in war from every million of inhabitants, and make it possible to lay the foundations of a German fleet. For these reasons annexation would further the interests of the Duchies, of Prussia, and of Germany.

Prussia Establishes her Naval Station at Kiel.

Unfortunately, these facts were unknown or unrecognised by the population. They had sworn allegiance to the Duke of Augustenburg, whom they regarded as their protector from the hated domination of the Danes, were satisfied with their local independence, and had no desire to become part of a great nation. An address in favour of annexation to Prussia slowly obtained 200 signatures, but a similar address in favour of Augustenburg was speedily signed by 50,000 persons, of whom four-fifths came from Holstein. His Highness Duke Frederick VIII. was the darling of the people. Austria took advantage of this feeling by encouraging the Augustenburg agitation in the Duchies, and endeavoured to induce the smaller German States, who were, naturally, in favour of it, to bring about a division of the Bund in the same sense. This step was contrary to the agreement of January 16th, 1864, and it became necessary for Prussia to do something. Therefore, on March 24th, 1865, King William ordered the naval station of Prussia to be transferred from Dantzig to Kiel.

Divergence of Austrian and Prussian Policies.

Austria, however, pursued her course in spite of the warning of Bismarck that they were following gradually diverging lines. The Bund passed a resolution in favour of Augustenburg, and Austria protested against the establishment of the naval station at Kiel. Bismarck replied, somewhat ungraciously, that there was no reason why Austria should not follow the Prussians' example and transfer their station from Pola to Kiel if it pleased them. Bismarck now proposed that the local parliament of Schleswig-Holstein should be summoned to discuss the situation, but Austria imposed conditions for its meeting which could not be accepted. Excitement in the Duchies became more intense,

and at last Bismarck found himself obliged to face the question of a war with Austria. A Council to discuss the question was summoned at Berlin on May 29th, at which the Crown Prince Frederick and Moltke were present. The alternative was the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, which would certainly bring about a war with Austria, or the recognition of Augustenburg, who was known to be friendly to Prussia and would accept the conditions which she proposed. The King was in favour of the first course, the Crown Prince of the second. Bismarck was convinced that war was inevitable, but did not wish it to take place immediately. Ultimately it was decided that no steps should be taken likely to provoke war, and that another attempt should be made to arrive at an understanding. Austria was not anxious for war, and she knew that France was well disposed to Prussia.

Convention of Gastein.

Accordingly, prolonged discussions took place in which the differences between the two Powers became more and more accentuated, until at last a compromise was arrived at by the Convention of Gastein on August 14th, 1865. This stipulated that the territory in dispute should be jointly administered, Austria being responsible for Holstein and Prussia for Schleswig, Lauenburg being surrendered to Prussia on the payment of a sum of money to Austria, while the rights of Augustenburg were left undecided. Bismarck was certain that war would eventually break out, but accepted the compromise as a temporary expedient. He wished, before war broke out, to secure the alliance of Italy and the neutrality of France. Prussia lost nothing by this arrangement, and Austria gained nothing. On the whole, the Convention was regarded as a triumph for Bismarck, and it brought him some friends in his own country, where the opposition to his policy gradually declined. The South German democrats called a meeting at Frankfort in October to insist upon the investiture of Augustenburg, but it proved a complete failure and very few Prussians attended it. Bismarck appeared to have the Prussian nation at his back.

The arrangements come to at Gastein were known in Paris some days before their ratification. Mensdorff had given the information to Metternich, and Metternich had communicated it to Drouyn de l'Huys. Public opinion in France was not favourable to what had been done. Austria and Prussia were accused, on the pretext of safeguarding the rights of the population of Schleswig-Holstein, of having forcibly wrested the Duchies from Denmark and of violating the ancient right of the Duchies to

personal union. The whole of the Parisian press echoed these sentiments, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for once agreeing with the *Revue Contemporaine.*

Goltz, under instructions from Bismarck, did his best to remove these feelings, and succeeded so far that the French Minister spoke of a possible understanding between France and Prussia in case of war, and of the possible compensation which France might receive for the aggrandisement of Prussia. There can be little doubt that Luxemburg was hinted at. At the same time France joined Great Britain in a public denunciation of the Convention.

Bismarck Reassures Napoleon.

Bismarck thought it well to have a personal interview with the Emperor, and for this purpose travelled to Biarritz on September 30th and stayed there till October 12th. The day after his arrival he was received in audience by the Emperor, who asked him whether he had given Austria any securities with regard to Venice, and Bismarck said decidedly not. He declared he was opposed to any step which might bring about a European war, and that we must not make opportunities, but let them open of themselves. Napoleon then asked how Bismarck proposed to arrange the question of the Duchies with Austria; he replied that he would give Austria pecuniary compensation for Holstein, to which the Emperor made no objection. With regard to France receiving a compensation for the increase of Prussian territory through the annexation of the Duchies, Bismarck avowed that the addition of a million inhabitants to the existing population of Prussia was of no moment, and must rather be regarded as a pledge for the fulfilment of the mission which events had imposed upon the Prussian State. A strong Prussia would be an assistance to a friendly France, but a weak Prussia would always be seeking for alliances to defend herself against a France of whom she was afraid. For further compensation the Emperor expressed his conviction that they must await the development of events. He hoped the King of Prussia would write to him if any new circumstances should arise, and said it was impossible that France should ever ally herself with Austria against Prussia. When Bismarck returned to Berlin on November 7th he had the firm conviction that France would look upon the aggrandisement of Prussia with no unfriendly eye, and that no difficulties in the development of Prussian policy were to be apprehended from that quarter.

Such is the account of the interview at Biarritz given by Sybel in his famous *History of the Founding of the German Empire*

under William I., but a different story is told by Roloff in the *Cambridge Modern History*. He says that Napoleon encouraged Bismarck to proceed against Austria, signifying a wish for compensation should Prussia gain fresh acquisitions from the war. In answer to this Bismarck made no promise, but seemed to imply that if Prussia improved her position in Germany there would be no objection to France's acquiring new territory, obviously either in Belgium or on the Rhine. Roloff avers that the Emperor was strongly in favour of the alliance between Prussia and Italy, and promised to recommend it in Florence.

Two Great Protagonists.

Both statesmen parted on excellent terms. Napoleon counted on war in Germany, with France, as arbiter, receiving a share of the spoils. Bismarck was confident of vanquishing Austria with the help of Italy and of then evading the necessity of compensation to France. Henceforth Bismarck and Napoleon are the two protagonists in all European struggles, and a contest, at first secret and then open, began between them which finally ended at Sedan.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEGEMONY OF PRUSSIA

WE have seen how Bismarck, by his visit to Biarritz, had assured the neutrality of France in the event of war between Prussia and Austria. We must now consider how he obtained the alliance of Italy. Whilst he was still in France the Court of Vienna was surprised by a diplomatic offer from La Marmora. As no regular diplomatic relations had existed between Austria and Italy since 1859, La Marmora sent Count Malaguizzi of Modena as his envoy. He offered to purchase Venetia from the Austrians at the price of 2,000,000,000 lire, or £80,000,000, to make a favourable commercial treaty with Austria, and to treat the Pope with consideration. Malaguizzi spent two months in Vienna and found that his proposals met with favourable consideration. Statesmen doubted whether, in view of the hostility of Prussia, Venetia could remain long in their possession, and merchants rubbed their hands at the proposal of Free Trade with Italy. The Prime Minister liked the prospect of two milliards to restore their shattered finances.

Italy's Proposal to Austria.

On the other hand, the clergy were unwilling to have anything to do with an excommunicated sovereign. Austrian officers regretted the loss of a pleasant Italian sojourn, and the Emperor was personally opposed to this scheme. But how was the Austrian deficit to be met? Count Larisch sought for a loan in Paris, but Rothschild positively refused to lend anything, and eventually the promise of a large sum was obtained at ruinous interest. The offer of Bismarck to purchase the Duchies put an end to the matter. Austria had already sold Lauenburg, and the proud old Empire was not prepared to barter away one by one the pearls of its diadem. The Emperor gave a decided negative to both propositions. If Italy desired Venetia, she must fight for it. Austria, however, was disposed to treat Italy with consideration and to prefer her friendship to that of Prussia, when suddenly Prussia acknowledged Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, a step in which she was followed by the whole of the Zollverein, excepting Hanover and Baden, always devoted to the interests of Austria.

Bismarck and Italy.

In the meantime, friction arose between Gablentz, who represented Austria and Holstein, and Manteuffel, who was

Prussian Viceroy in Schleswig. During a journey from Altona to Kiel the Princess of Augustenburg was received everywhere with delirious enthusiasm, Gablentz preserving a friendly neutrality. Manteuffel could not put up with this, and remonstrated with Gablentz. Bismarck threw himself into the quarrel, and it was felt there would be no peace unless Augustenburg left the Duchies.

Bismarck Breaks with Austria.

Now came the crisis of Bismarck's career. He had long ago determined upon creating a new Prussia and a new Germany, but how was this to be done? Should he march hand in hand with Austria with a common policy, or should Austria be driven from the Bund, which would thus remain under the hegemony of Prussia? He could not but recognise the dangers of the second course—the indignation against Prussia as the destroyer of the peace of Europe and the possibility of a European war. He was willing to pursue peaceful methods so long as they were feasible, and share with Austria the command of military strength, which should direct the destinies of the German Federation to beneficent ends. But this course had proved impracticable before, and it was impracticable now. The attempt to carry it out in the two Duchies had failed, and brought the two Powers to the verge of war. To his mind it was plain that he must either submit or conquer, and if his ideals were to be realised Austria must be crushed. On January 13th, 1866, he wrote to Usedom, in Florence, that the arrangements of Gastein had proved unworkable, and that, if a new policy were adopted, he would like to know what would be the attitude of Italy.

Meanwhile, matters continued to grow worse in the Duchies. A demonstration in favour of Augustenburg, arranged to take place at Altona on January 23rd, was not prevented by Gablentz. Four thousand people, including delegates from South Germany, met and gave three cheers for their rightful, beloved Prince, Duke Frederick. Bismarck and the King were deeply stirred. On January 26th Bismarck wrote to Werther, in Vienna, to complain of the aggressive policy of Austria, and to inform Mensdorff in the clearest language that, unless Austria proposed to maintain, in every respect, the principles of their common action, Prussia must choose by herself the path most conducive to her own interests. Mensdorff appreciated the significance of this language, but his reply of February 7th was couched in somewhat cold and haughty tones, and he denied the right of Prussia to interfere in the administration of Holstein, which had been committed to Austrian hands. On receipt of this letter Bismarck expressed his regret to Karolyi that the relations of Prussia and Austria were

no longer of that intimate nature which had previously characterised them. It was clear that the alliance between Prussia and Austria was at an end.

The King Averse to War.

If war with Austria were inevitable after the dispatch of February 7th, how was it to be brought about? The sooner it was begun and over the better for Prussia; in this Moltke, Roon and Manteuffel were agreed. The King was also convinced that war was the only way out of the difficulty, but he felt the full responsibility of the decision. All his private relations disposed him against a breach with Austria, and equally against an alliance with France. But the Court influences in Berlin were not entirely on the side of Bismarck, and his conversations with his Sovereign must have caused them both very anxious moments. Napoleon preserved absolute neutrality in the event of a war, but he said that Prussia was more likely than Austria to consider general interests in the case of a change in the political condition of Europe. He laughed at the idea of compensating Austria for the loss of Venice by giving her the Danubian Principalities. Roumania would not like to be absorbed by Austria, and Russia would certainly object.

Bismarck Doubts La Marmora.

Although Austria was determined not to surrender Venetia, her growing dislike of Prussia made her better disposed towards Italy. At the beginning of January she granted an amnesty to the political exiles from Venetia and gave the country a more liberal government. Mensdorff told Grammont that Austria was ready to extend to the rest of Italy the commercial advantages she had already granted to Sardinia, provided France had no objection, and Drouyn de l'Huys willingly gave his consent. But La Marmora was, for many reasons, not very anxious to accept the offer. Indeed, the policy of La Marmora at this time struck an uncertain note, and Bismarck began to have doubts how far he could be depended upon.

In these circumstances King William summoned a council on February 28th, at which, besides Bismarck and the other members of the Ministry, the Crown Prince, Goltz, Moltke, Manteuffel and Alvensleben were present. The final conclusion was not to hurry on a war, but to try once more the effect of diplomatic negotiations. The King closed the conference by saying that he wished for peace; but that, if war must come, he would not shirk it, as he was sure that his cause was righteous.

It was now necessary to come to terms with France and Italy. Goltz went to Paris to discuss matters with Drouyn de l'Huys and the Emperor. The first question was that of compensation.

Napoleon would not expect anything from the annexation of the Duchies, but France would require an equivalent for any further extension of Prussian territory, either in Belgium or on the Rhine. Bismarck firmly declared that under no consideration would German territory be ceded to France, and the matter remained undecided, it being understood that France was to preserve a friendly neutrality if war should ensue. Goltz, however, learnt the welcome news that Napoleon had agreed with Victor Emmanuel to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with each other.

Austria Alarmed.

On February 24th, 1866, Prince Cusa had been compelled to resign the throne of Roumania, and his place was taken by a provisional Government. This gave an opportunity for compensating Austria and obtaining Venetia without war. La Marmora was rather in favour of this project, and Govone was sent to Berlin with the object of urging the Prussians to declare war in order that Austria might be frightened into concluding some arrangement of this kind. The project, however, ended in smoke, as Great Britain and other European Powers were decidedly opposed to it. Austria began to be seriously alarmed, and an Imperial Council, held at Vienna between March 7th and 18th, was in favour of mobilisation and of placing a northern army on the frontiers of Prussia and a southern army on the frontiers of Italy. Mensdorff was opposed to any active measures for the present, but his anxiety was not relieved by the following news from Berlin.

Bismarck's Frankness.

Countess Hohenthal, while sitting next to Bismarck at dinner with the Saxon Ambassador at Berlin, said to him, "Is it really true, Excellency, that you are intending to go to war with Austria and conquer Saxony?"

Bismarck answered, "It is quite true, dearest Countess; I have had no other idea since the first days of my Ministry. Our cannon are cast, and you will soon see how superior they are to the Austrian artillery."

"Horrible!" said the Countess; "but tell me, I have two estates, one in Bohemia, the other in Saxony, near Leipzig; in which would you advise me to take refuge?"

"I would advise you not to go to Bohemia," replied Bismarck; "for we shall beat the Austrians just in the neighbourhood of your property, and you might have some terrible experiences. Go quickly to Saxony; nothing will happen at Leipzig. You will even be secure against billeting, for your house at Knauthagen is not on the line of march."

PRUSSIA'S ALLIANCE WITH ITALY

Bismarck afterwards tried to laugh this away, but Beust took it very seriously, and it is well known how the great Chancellor embarrassed his secretaries by talking openly about the most important secrets.

Austria's Preparations.

At any rate, steps were taken to strengthen the Austrian garrisons in Bohemia and Moravia. Further, on March 16th, Mensdorff asked Bismarck whether he really intended to break the Convention of Gastein; and on the same day a circular was sent by Austria to the German Governments, telling them what had happened, and saying that, if Bismarck gave an unsatisfactory answer, the Diet would be asked to decide about Schleswig-Holstein, and, if Prussia resisted, the forces of the Bund would be mobilised, excepting the three army corps which belonged to Prussia. Bismarck replied that, if an answer were expected, he must have the question in writing, for to a verbal question he could only reply in the negative, as he had received no orders from his Sovereign to say anything else. It was also remarked that, while Prussia was not arming at all, Austria was massing troops on the frontier, which might lead to war, as it had led before. The real answer was given by a circular letter on March 24th, in which Prussia asked whether she could depend on the assistance of her allies in the event of her being attacked by Austria.

Prusso-Italian Alliance.

Eventually a treaty of alliance between Prussia and Italy was signed on April 8th. Its provisions were that, if the negotiations which the King of Prussia was conducting with regard to the reform of the German Federation should come to nothing and he were compelled to have recourse to arms, Italy should immediately declare war against Austria; that the war once begun should be carried on with energy, and that neither Power should make peace without the consent of the other; that the consent must be given if Austria surrendered to Italy the Lombardy Venetian kingdom, and to Prussia corresponding territories of similar importance; that the alliance was made for three months, and should not come into effect if Prussia had not declared war against Austria within that period. Moreover, if the Austrian fleet left the Adriatic before the declaration of war, Italy was to send a portion of her fleet to the Baltic to act in conjunction with that of Prussia. Bismarck thus obtained the assistance of Italy, which Moltke, who had been sent to Florence at the beginning of March, thought absolutely necessary, and the neutrality of France and the protection of Italy had been secured. Italy did not enter into the alliance without great searchings of heart, and was only induced to do so by the consideration that its execution depended

on the declaration of war by Prussia, a prerogative which the King would never let pass out of his hands.

Bismarck a Subtle Conspirator.

The alliance with Italy laid upon Bismarck the necessity of bringing about war with Austria within three months. Two roads lay open to him for this purpose—a project for the reform of the Federation, and defence against the military preparations of Austria, preparations which could only be met by similar action on the part of Prussia. Bismarck's whole action was that of a subtle conspirator, which cannot be justified on any abstract principle of morality, and can only be defended by overmastering considerations of expediency. He had made up his mind, as he had told the Countess Hohenthal, that the only solution of imminent difficulties was to secure the unity of Germany with Prussia at its head, and that this could not be effected except by a war with Austria.

Bismarck now had to devote the whole force of his intellect and character to the task of goading Austria to war, much as the picador in the bullfight goads the reluctant animal to resistance, and to persuade his Sovereign, the soul of honour and the possessor of a tender conscience, to consent to the means his Minister was employing to achieve his ends. Besides this, he had to assure Italy of the honesty and straightforwardness of his intentions, to prevent her from joining Austria in an attack upon Prussia, after the three months were over, if war had not been declared; to preserve the goodwill of France, and yet prevent Napoleon from urging his favourite device of a European congress—which would spoil the whole of Bismarck's plans—and amuse him with dreams of compensation, without committing himself to any promise; to keep the smaller German States quiet, and prevent them from a sudden warlike union with Austria; to justify his policy for the union of Germany and the aggrandisement of his country—first, to the public opinion of that country itself, which was by no means friendly, and then to the public tribunal of Europe.

The King Hesitates.

The fulfilment of such a task might seem to transcend human powers, and Bismarck had to strain his physical energies to breaking point. Indeed, some calm and unprejudiced observers have condemned Bismarck's action, even after its triumphant conclusion, as the act of an unprincipled and reckless filibuster, who embroiled Europe and set the whole fortunes of his country upon a stake which he might lose and could only win by an extraordinary combination of good fortune. King William was determined not to subject himself to blame of this kind; it should never be said of him that he had forced the hand of Austria by premature

armament; and public opinion was on his side. Even those who were most opposed to Austria and most in sympathy with the objects for which Bismarck was contending were anxious for a peaceful solution of the question and afraid of some evil stroke from the side of France. At the same time the suspicions of Italy were aroused by the backwardness of Prussia in arming herself, which was really due to the hesitation of the King. Fortunately, Austria, becoming weary, like the baited bull, of the maddening ambitions of her neighbours, began to move troops in Moravia and Venetia. This induced the King, at the end of March, to make some military preparations, but not yet to mobilise his army.

Bismarck's Change of Method.

Bismarck's attempt to bring about war by a proposal to reconstruct the German Federation proved an entire failure. On April 9th he brought forward, before the Diet at Frankfort, a motion advocating the creation of a strong central authority and the representation of the people by universal suffrage. His object was to rouse the opposition of Austria, and make himself popular in his own country. But it had the opposite effect. The Prussian nation refused to support him, because they knew that the Minister who was governing without parliamentary control over the finances could be no true democrat. Bavaria also was opposed to him, Great Britain was hostile, France unsympathetic. Indeed, the hollowness of the proposal was generally seen through, and Bismarck was compelled to retrace his steps and have recourse to other methods.

Austria Mobilises.

At this time mobilisation in Austria would require seven weeks, in Prussia three, which would give Prussia the advantage of four weeks in beginning a war. On March 31st Mensdorff wrote to Berlin that nothing was further from his mind than an attack upon Prussia, both on personal and on public grounds. Bismarck replied, on April 4th, that the concentration of troops by Austria on the frontier of Prussia had compelled him to make corresponding preparations for defence. This produced an uncomfortable feeling in Vienna, and on April 8th a military conference determined on the raising of 85,000 troops. The proposal of Prussia for the reform of the Bund, which we have already mentioned, increased the feeling of uneasiness, and the pressure of the Austrian generals became more intense and the resistance of Mensdorff weaker. On April 13th Austria armed her northern fortresses, next day recalled her reservists and the soldiers on leave and purchased horses, and on April 15th mobilised a northern and a southern army. Then followed proposals for mutual disarmament,

and the friends of peace hoped that before the end of April all danger would have passed away. At this very moment news arrived at Vienna that Italy was arming, and had mobilised a force of 100,000 men. This was entirely without foundation, as all that had been done was in accordance with the usual practice; indeed, La Marmora was much disturbed by the apparent quiescence of Prussia, and determined to take no steps for mobilisation a day before his ally.

Italy Prepares for War.

However, the war party had gained the ascendancy. On April 21st a council of war decided to mobilise the Austrian army on a large scale. Archduke Albert was given command of the southern and Benedek of the northern army. The Finance Minister, although at his wits' end for money, contracted a new loan for £60,000,000, and unnegotiable paper money was created to the extent of £115,000,000. The financial pressure became so great that Austria could not wait for peace; it was necessary she should force a definite declaration of Prussian policy with respect to the Duchies and Venetia. On April 26th Austria proposed that the question of Schleswig-Holstein should be left to the decision of the Bund, and Mensdorff wrote on the same day to France that he would surrender Venetia to Italy if France and Italy remained neutral while the Austrians reconquered Schleswig. The answer to this was the mobilisation of the whole Italian army, to the inexpressible joy of the nation. Party conflicts were forgotten, and the enthusiasm of the people flowed out in a united stream towards war with the hated Austrians for the liberation of Venice.

Germany Arming.

Prussia, however, still held back, and it was not until the beginning of May that the complete mobilisation of the army was decided upon at Berlin. This was followed by the smaller German States, first Saxony, then Bavaria, and then Würtemberg, Darmstadt and Nassau. The delay in the mobilisation of the Prussian army arose from two causes—the King's reluctance to go to war, and the existence of foreign complications. On April 25th Goltz reported a conversation with Napoleon, in which the Emperor had referred to the idea of a European congress which he had first proposed in 1863. The difficulty lay in the settlement of a compensation for France. The Emperor said, "If you had a Savoy, everything would be easy." On May 2nd a formal proposal to take part in a congress was made by Benedetti at Berlin. Bismarck believed the congress would produce discord and not peace, but did not refuse to take part in it, but wished, as a preliminary, to have a clear understanding with France. The Emperor did not agree with this, which he said would create

confusion in Europe; but he told Goltz at a court ball that Austria had offered him the Rhine frontier as the price of an alliance, and he wished that Prussia would do likewise. Bismarck doubted whether Goltz's information was trustworthy, and we do not know what offer had actually been made by Austria, but it is certain that he regarded the possession of Venetia by Italy as necessary for the security of peace in Europe. At the same time the national feeling of France was strongly opposed to the creation of a united Germany.

Austrian Terms for the Cession of Venetia.

On May 5th the Emperor told Nigra, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, that Austria was ready to surrender Venetia as soon as she became mistress of Schleswig, but that Venetia would be given to the Emperor, who would then make it over to Italy, and that Italy would pay Austria a certain sum, which would enable her to fortify her new possessions. He asked whether it was possible for Italy to give up her connection with Prussia. There was, indeed, some possibility of this, because, although Bismarck had declared that he was personally prepared to defend Italy against an attack by Austria, he was not bound to do so by the terms of the treaty. Nigra replied, according to the instructions of La Marmora, that Italy could not honourably desert her ally, but that the treaty would end on July 8th, and that after that Italy would be free to act as she pleased.

Bismarck's Terms for Peace.

On May 21st Bismarck made a final proposal for peace with Austria. The Duchies should be united under the government of Prince Albert of Prussia, Düppel and Sonderburg being surrendered to the Prussian kingdom; Prussia and Austria were to undertake the common work of the reform of the Confederation; a common army should be formed with similar organisation and discipline, Prussia commanding in the north, Austria in the south; and in order to complete these arrangements, the smaller German sovereigns and the representatives of the free towns should meet at Weimar. This offer was approved of by the King. However, the propositions were not well received by the smaller States, and eventually Mensdorff wrote, on May 28th, that he was sorry that the strained relations between the two countries did not admit of friendly negotiations, but that he hoped that matters might improve.

Napoleon's Embarrassment.

At this time the Emperor Napoleon was in great embarrassment. Public opinion in France was opposed to the warlike tendencies of Prussia. But peace in Germany meant the retention of Venetia by Austria, and this entailed the sacrifice of his dearest wishes and perhaps the explosion of more bombs. He therefore

harked back to his idea of a congress. In his heart he desired to abrogate the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna by the creation of a new European tribunal, but he had neither the strength of mind nor the firmness of body to carry this out with vigour, and he therefore had resort to temporary expedients and a tortuous policy. His plan now was to give the Duchies to Prussia, and compensate Austria for the loss of Venetia by the absorption of Silesia. Prussia was to be enlarged by Saxony and some other German territories, and be the head of North Germany. The southern and middle German States were to form a federation, not under Austria, but attached by ties of gratitude to France. The left bank of the Rhine, from Alsace to Holland, was to form a neutral State on the model of Belgium, which would be a reconstruction of the Confederation of the Rhine. If the negotiations for the congress were spun out beyond July 8th, Italy would be free to act as she pleased. Bismarck would not accept these proposals, and Italy was reluctant to do so, because she feared that Napoleon was not in favour of a united Italy, but would prefer to have a Murat in Naples, Prince Napoleon in Tuscany, and a reigning Pope in Rome.

France's Terms for Neutrality.

In the meantime official invitations to the congress were sent to the European Powers and acknowledged before June 7th. Austria declined the congress and took the important step of summoning the Bund to settle the difficulties in Germany. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, because it was certain that the Bund would give its verdict against Prussia, and that Prussia would resist. Napoleon now made an arrangement with Vienna on the terms that France should remain neutral, that the Emperor should do his best to secure the neutrality of Italy, that Venetia should be surrendered in exchange for Silesia, and that France should receive some compensation on the Rhine. It is clear that this agreement, which was signed on June 12th, would be a humiliation for Prussia, since it must effectually prevent the unity of Germany and the unity of Italy.

Diplomatic Preliminaries to War.

From this moment war was certain. On June 3rd Bismarck announced to the Court at Vienna that he regarded the reference of the questions in dispute to the Bund as a breach of the Convention of Gastein. He also declared to the Federal Diet that Schleswig had nothing to do with the Bund, and that it was part of the arrangements of January 16th, 1864, that the affairs of the Duchies should be settled by mutual consent between Prussia and Austria. Austria now asked the Bund to arm against Prussia, because she had violated the Treaty of Gastein, forgetting that

the treaty had been concluded between Austria and Prussia acting as great European Powers and not as members of the Federation. Bismarck was, in fact, rather pleased at this turn of affairs, because it put Austria more decidedly in the wrong.

Position of the Smaller States.

Diplomatic relations were now interrupted. On June 12th Austria recalled Count Karolyi from Berlin, and Baron Werther asked for his passports in Vienna. On the same day Bismarck sent a note to the Prussian representatives in Germany that he should regard the acceptance of the Austrian proposal by the Bund as a declaration of war. He also laid before the King a plan of military operations, formed on the alternative suppositions that the smaller German States remained neutral and that they did not. The lot of these States was not a happy one: they were willing to light the match but did not wish to be blown up by the explosion which would follow.

Prussia Dissolves the Confederation.

At last June 14th arrived, the day on which the resolution of the Bund was to be taken. In the voting Austria accepted the proposal, Prussia protested against it. Bavaria, Saxony and Darmstadt voted for the proposal, so far as it implied an arrangement for the preservation of peace, but did not consider that the breach of the Convention of Gastein was a sufficient reason for war. Hanover agreed to this, but thought that no federal general should be appointed for the present. Würtemberg followed Austria, Baden stood aloof. The Elector of Hesse agreed with Austria; but Hanover, Luxemburg and the Saxon Duchies were against the proposal. When the votes had been given, the President declared that the amendment of Bavaria for a limited interference had been carried by nine to six. The representative of Prussia then said that the introduction, let alone the passing, of this proposal was in contradiction of the fundamental laws of the Bund, and the Emperor of Austria could not be regarded as a member of the Bund for Holstein. He said that his master, the King, now regarded the Confederation as dissolved, and would attempt to make a new combination to accomplish the unity of Germany. The President declared, in answer, that it was impossible for Prussia to dissolve the Federation, and that it would continue to do its work as before. When the King was informed of what had passed, he recalled his ambassadors from Dresden, Hanover and Cassel, and orders were given to the great army to begin an immediate attack upon Bohemia.

The Austrian Forces.

The war having broken out, the Austrians determined to assemble their troops in the neighbourhood of Olmütz in Moravia, where six army corps were gradually collected. Three divisions of

cavalry were already in Bohemia, and a fourth had been sent in advance to Austrian Silesia. The whole strength of the Austrians amounted to 238,000 men, which was afterwards increased by 23,000 from Saxony. There were, however, certain defects. Financial difficulties had prevented her from keeping her army in a high condition of strength and efficiency, and a large proportion of the soldiers had only been trained for a year. They were also lacking in culture and education, and were, in this respect, far behind the Prussian troops. In arms the Austrians had nothing to compare with the needle-gun of their adversaries, and were not likely to be effective with the bayonet, which in these years was often decisive in a battle. On June 16th the army collected at Olmütz comprised 174,000 infantry, and Benedek, the Commander-in-Chief, thought he could not depend on more than 158,000, which would give the Prussians an advantage of more than 40,000. The armies of the smaller German States were also in a most unsatisfactory condition.

The Prussian Forces.

The Prussian forces were divided into three armies: one in Silesia, called the Second Army, under the command of the Crown Prince, 111,000 strong; the First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles, 93,000 strong; and the Elbe Army, 46,000 strong, under Herwarth von Bittenfeld. Another army never engaged the enemy, being used for garrison purposes. The whole Prussian force amounted to 263,000 men, as opposed to the Austrian total of 261,000.

Saxony Overwhelmed.

On the morning of June 15th Schulenburg, the Prussian Minister in Saxony, asked Beust, the Saxon Prime Minister, to make an alliance with Prussia, on the conditions that her troops should be placed upon a peace footing, and that a Parliament should be summoned, whereupon Prussia would guarantee her sovereignty on the basis of the reform proposals of June 10th. An answer was to be given in the course of the day, and a refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war. The Saxons had already made preparations, and 36,000,000 thalers had been safely deposited in Munich. The answer was not doubtful: Saxony could not disarm without an order of the Diet. In the evening Schulenberg communicated the declaration of war privately to the King, and at the same moment Herwarth von Bittenfeld's battalions crossed the frontier; Beust immediately demanded the assistance of the Bund, especially of Austria and Bavaria. But Benedek was at Olmütz, and the Bavarian troops were not yet assembled, so King John, the first Dante scholar in Europe, retired to Pirna, and then led his troops across the

mountains into Bohemia. Dresden was occupied by the Prussians without resistance on June 18th, and the whole country submitted quietly to Prussian domination.

Hesse Absorbed by Prussia.

In Electoral Hesse the Government had ordered the mobilisation of its army corps on June 14th, and summoned the Parliament in order to provide the money. The Parliament, however, refused supplies, and demanded the reversal of the mobilisation and the preservation of complete neutrality. At this moment Röder appeared to lay the Prussian ultimatum before the Hessian Minister, who referred him to the Elector. The Prince received him ungraciously, and refused to give a decided answer; but all idea of mobilisation was at an end. The Hessian troops retired, in order that they might not come into conflict with the Prussians, and made an abortive attempt to carry off the treasure. In the evening the Elector declined to give an answer. Röder declared war, and Beyer advanced into Hesse from Wetzlar and reached Cassel on June 19th. The Elector stayed at Wilhelmshöhe and refused to recognise the declaration of war. He was regarded as a prisoner, and was removed, first to Minden and then to the castle at Stettin, where he was treated with royal honours. Hesse was then administered by Beyer.

Hanover Occupied.

In Hanover, King George had no idea of acceding to the demands of Prussia, or of submitting to an unarmed neutrality. He summoned a council of Ministers, to whom he repeated his determination to be neutral, but said that it would be dishonourable to recall the mobilisation which had already been ordered, and degrading to sacrifice his divine right to Prussian projects of reform. His Ministry agreed with him, which, of course, meant a declaration of war. Orders were sent to all soldiers to return to Göttingen, in the southern half of the kingdom, and at a meeting of the Chambers Benningten proposed the dismissal of the present Ministry and the declaration of complete neutrality. The people, however, were excited by the news that the Prussians were already in Harburg. The King endeavoured to temporise, but Ysenburg was firm and declared war, and King George set out to join his troops at Göttingen. Two hours later Manteuffel crossed the Elbe, and Falkenstein was on the march to Hanover, which he reached on June 17th.

Capitulation of the Hanoverians.

There could not be a greater contrast than the activity and determination of the Prussians and the vacillation of their opponents. Within three days three kingdoms which could supply 75,000 men to the federal army were occupied by Prussia. In Göttingen the King took command of his troops; but, being

blind, had to depend on Tscherschütz, his adjutant. He pressed for a further advance to the south to join the Bavarians, but the army was not in a condition to proceed. At last they reached Langensalza on June 23rd; here an armistice was arranged by the Duke of Gotha, which might have led to a peaceful conclusion. King William, who was unwilling to make war against his friend and brother, offered most honourable terms, which King George, after considerable deliberation, refused to accept. His answer cost him his crown. Eventually a battle took place at Langensalza, which resulted in the defeat of the Prussians. They lost 170 dead, 600 wounded, and 900 prisoners, while the Hanoverian losses were 400 dead and 1,000 wounded. The battle, however, was of little use. The victors found themselves surrounded by 40,000 Prussians, deserted by the Bavarians, and without food or shelter; so, on June 29th, a capitulation took place, which made the Prussians master of the whole country and the munitions of war it contained. King William respected the brave resistance of the Hanoverian army and allowed the King and the Crown Prince to choose any place of residence which kept them outside Hanover. They went first to Vienna and took up their abode in Hietzing, the Queen remaining in Hessenhausen under Prussian protection. Hanover was incorporated with Prussia, much to its advantage, and the rivalry between the Houses of Guelph and Hohenzollern, which had lasted for many centuries and exercised a great influence over German history, came to an end. The Guelphs reigned in Great Britain, but wholly lost their power in the country of their origin.

Italian Enthusiasm.

There was great joy in Italy at the news of the outbreak of the war between Austria and Prussia. The enthusiasm spread throughout all parts of the nation, and Neapolitans, Tuscans, Piedmontese, Lombards and Romagnols ranged themselves under the Italian tricolour. The troops were numerous if their quality was not high; they formed twenty divisions, each of nearly 12,000 men, so that the total was not less than 240,000. The larger portion was in Lombardy under the command of the King, with La Marmora as chief of the staff; the smaller on the Lower Po, near Bologna and Ferrara, under Cialdini. Besides this, there was a body of volunteers numbering 15,000 under Garibaldi, which was afterwards increased to 35,000. In addition we must reckon about 150,000 troops as a reserve.

Opposed to this ponderous and motley host the Austrians could only muster 82,000 men, of whom 30,000 were needed for the protection of the Quadrilateral, while 13,000 were required to

cover southern Tyrol, and 16,000 were needed for Istria and Fiali. Archduke Albert had to deal with an enemy whose forces were twice or three times as numerous as his own, and the Italians looked forward to a certain victory.

La Marmora's Cautiousness.

La Marmora, however, was disposed to be cautious, and not commit himself to a dangerous adventure. He knew that the Austrians were ready to surrender Venetia if they could only defeat the Prussians, and that, if he could wait, the fruit would fall into his hands, and still more readily if the Austrians could gain some slight advantage. For these reasons he was unwilling to submit to the advice of Prussian strategists, who were naturally anxious to offer it. It was impossible for Moltke to leave Berlin at this important crisis, and so Bernhardi was sent, a man equally renowned as a general and an historian.

Plans for Invading Venetia.

Venetia was bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south to a great extent by the Po, on the west by the Mincio. Behind these two rivers flows the Adige, first to the south, parallel with the Mincio, and then to the east, parallel with the Po. In the north, Venetia was defended by the famous Quadrilateral, formed by four fortresses, Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, Verona and Legnago on the Adige. A doubt arose as to the side from which Venetia should be attacked—from Milan on the west, or from Bologna and Ferrara on the south. The passage over the Mincio was easier than that over the Adige, but the invaders would be immediately stopped by the four formidable fortresses, and if the enemy retired they could fight from river to river. If the attack came from the south, the Austrians would be cut off from Venice and Trieste, from Laibach and Vienna, and be compelled either to shut themselves up in the Quadrilateral, or make a difficult march through Tyrol. Moltke had no hesitation in recommending the southern attack, so as to press the Austrians in the rear, drive them into Tyrol, and give the lead to the Prussians in the neighbourhood of Linz. Simultaneously with this movement, a demonstration might be made on the Mincio. There was also an idea of rousing the discontented Liberals of Hungary against their Austrian oppressors, and of sending Garibaldi to Hungary for this purpose, with 35,000 volunteers, by way of Dalmatia and Trieste. Money would be supplied by Prussia and Italy.

La Marmora did not look forward to Bernhardi's visit with enthusiasm. No doubt at this moment there was great divergence between the designs of Prussia and Italy. The Prussians desired to crush the Austrians, and for this purpose were anxious for a strong attack on the side of Italy, which must seriously injure

Austrian operations on the north. But La Marmora limited his outlook to the possession of Venetia. The Emperor Napoleon also was opposed to violent measures, while the British Government dreaded revolutionary movements in Hungary, which might spread in other directions, and it is supposed that other secret influences were at work in the background. Therefore, when Bernhardi strongly urged an advance from the Po, and the sending of Garidaldi across the Adriatic into Dalmatia, La Marmora set himself obstinately against it and contented himself with operations which had Alessandria as their base and the conquest of the Quadrilateral as their objective. In fact, he did precisely what Austria would wish him to do.

Italy's Declaration of War.

La Marmora now resigned his office as Prime Minister, and his place was taken by Ricasoli, a man of very different stamp, who was quite ready to carry on the war with vigour, desiring the liberation of Italy not only from the Austrians, but from the French. He was prepared to conduct the campaign from the Po to the Danube, and send Garibaldi to rouse Hungary to rebellion, and wrote to La Marmora to that effect. But La Marmora, after reading the letter with disgust, put it into his pocket and said nothing to anyone. He was, indeed, embittered against Prussia. Cialdini was strongly in favour of an advance from the Po, so that the relations of Ricasoli with the two generals were somewhat strained. The King, however, could not effect a settlement between them, and it was decided that Cialdini should cross the Po with eight divisions and La Marmora the Mincio with twelve. On June 20th La Marmora sent a declaration of war to Archduke Albert, and said that operations would begin in three days. To this communication no answer was returned.

La Marmora's Attack on the Quadrilateral.

Archduke Albert was well informed of what was passing in the camp of the enemy, and was aware that the chief attack would be made by the King on the Mincio. He disposed of his 82,000 men in a workmanlike manner, placing his main force so as to be within two days' march of both the Mincio and the Po, and allotting small bodies for the defence of both rivers. La Marmora announced that he intended to spring into the middle of the Quadrilateral, establish himself there, and proceed with the investment of Peschiera or one of the other fortresses. What his later designs were remained a secret in his own bosom.

The struggle took place at Custozza, the battlefield of which we will describe. The Mincio, on leaving the Lake Garda at Peschiera, flows southwards towards Mantua and the Po. At Valeggio, five or six miles from Peschiera, it reaches a hilly country,

marked by conspicuous heights—Monte Vento, Custozza, where Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese in 1848, and Monte della Croce. Eastward from Valeggio on the plain lies Villafranca, where the peace of 1859 was concluded, and northward of this lies Somma Campagna, also on the edge of the plain. This was the country into which La Marmora proposed to make his spring. He had under him 140,000 men, twice the strength of the enemy, in twelve divisions.

Austria Well Informed.

In the early morning of June 23rd, 1866, he crossed the Mincio at four different points, but met very few of the enemy, whom he believed to be behind the Adige. He therefore continued his march through the hilly country towards Verona, as if he were in a time of peace. Archduke Albert was well informed of La Marmora's movements, and knew the latter could receive no assistance from Cialdini for several days. He therefore collected his troops on the right bank of the Adige, with the design of marching westwards towards Somma Campagna, then turning south to march through the hilly country and attack the enemy where he could find them. He began this movement on June 23rd, and continued it on the following day. The Italians marched on towards Verona without the slightest notion that an enemy was on their flank. When La Marmora reached Villafranca, Prince Humbert asked him whether the soldiers might rest or whether they should first reconnoitre to look for the enemy. La Marmora replied that there was not one Austrian on the western side of the Adige, and that they might rest in peace. Hearing a cannonade on their left, the general remarked that it was the beginning of the siege of Peschiera.

La Marmora's Failure.

At that moment an Austrian brigade attacked them, and La Marmora became aware that he had to do with the whole of the Austrian army detailed for the Italian campaign, and that the cannonade he had heard was part of the general attack. He would have been completely defeated had not Pianell, contrary to orders, marched with twelve battalions towards the sound of the guns and saved him from disaster. As it was, the left wing was entirely broken, but the right wing still held out. Their superior numbers gave the Italians great advantage, and, with proper management, they might have resisted the Archduke Albert and forced him to retreat. But at the crisis, when the presence of the commander-in-chief was necessary, La Marmora was not to be found, Pianell, Bixio and the Crown Prince seeking for him everywhere in vain. It appeared that he had imagined that the day was lost and had ordered the retreat, first setting the

example himself. It is said that he had mistaken the dark forms of a number of baggage-wagons for the approach of the enemy in his rear. The generals could do nothing without orders, and the Italians suffered a crushing defeat. The fact was that more than half of their troops were never engaged at all, and the battle took place between 82,000 Austrians and 60,000 of the enemy. The news of the victory was received with enthusiasm in Vienna, and caused corresponding depression in Italy. It was true, however, that the Austrians, having gained a victory, would become more disposed to surrender Venetia than if they had been defeated. It was, indeed, suggested that La Marmora had submitted to the disaster on purpose, in order that the Austrians might retreat from Venetia without loss of honour. This, however, will not bear investigation, and the better judgment is that La Marmora's defeat was due to his own incompetence, whatever may have been the advantage his country eventually derived from it.

Prussia's Swift Advance.

In their struggle with the Austrians possession of Saxony gave the Prussians the advantage of being able to make a concentrated advance of the three armies against the frontier passes and a speedy union of their forces in Bohemia. The operations were carried out with a masterly swiftness, although the Prussians had the disadvantage of attacking with bodies at considerable distances from each other, while the Austrians could choose their positions for defence. Benedek had collected his forces between Theresienstadt, Prague, Josefstadt and Pardubitz, with the idea of making an attack on Prussia, supported by Bavaria and the smaller German States on his flank, but he was prevented from doing this by the energy of the Prussian advance. The Viennese newspapers predicted the speedy reconquest of Saxony, an advance towards Berlin, and the dictation of peace in the Prussian capital; and in many parts of Europe, especially in England, the opinion prevailed that the Prussians could offer no effective resistance to the Austrian troops.

Prussians in Dresden.

It had been arranged that Saxony should be invaded by two corps, the Army of the Elbe and the First Army, one advancing from the north, the other from the east. The Saxon army began its retreat on the evening of June 1st, proceeding towards Bohemia by way of Bodenbach, in order to join the Austrians. The two Prussian armies converging on Dresden entered this capital without opposition on the afternoon of June 18th, and in two days the country was occupied, with the exception of the fortress of Königstein, in which the royal treasure and papers were deposited. Eye-witnesses relate that the Prussian troops were well received

by the population, and that, had it not been for the swords and bayonets of patrols which glittered in the sun along every road, the scene would have been one of perfect peace. The soldiers helped the peasants to carry in the hay harvest, worked in the cottage gardens, and made purchases in the village shops; bare-legged country urchins got rides on the cavalry and artillery horses as they went to be watered, and were invited to peep into the muzzles of rifled guns, and only when some adventurous child ventured to put a handful of cornflowers in the mouth of a cannon was he turned off the battery by the sentry. Passenger traffic on the railways was soon resumed, and telegraphic messages were regularly delivered.

The Prussians Invade Bohemia.

The occupation of Saxony enabled the Prussians to attack the Austrians on a narrow front if they came out of the mountains, and rendered the invasion of Bohemia not only possible, but easy. The Austrians had not been prepared for the celerity of the Prussian movements. Benedek had concentrated his army with a view to strike a deadly blow at the heart of the Prussian kingdom, supported on the flank by the Bavarians and the other troops of the Federation. But his plans had been dislocated. Instead of Austria setting Saxony free by a rapid march and dictating peace in Berlin, the field-marshal saw the Prussian armies march through the passes in the mountains into north-eastern Bohemia. The Austrians were sadly deficient in the spirit and energy of the Prussians, their armies were inefficiently equipped, and their commanders were without any clear plans. At the same time the northern army of the combined Austrians and Saxons was nearly equal in strength to the forces of Prussia, and, when the forces of the Confederation joined them, would be greatly superior. Moreover, Baden, which had at first determined to remain neutral, was forced by public opinion to join the Austrians, finding that if she stood aloof her territory might be treated as a convenient object of compensation, and her adhesion gave the Austrians an additional force of 15,000 men.

Scene of the Conflict.

The fate of Germany was decided in an irregular square of territory enclosed by the Sudetian mountains and the higher waters of the Iser and Elbe. Prince Frederick Charles, on his march to join the Silesian army, passed along the southern foot of the Riesengebirge, one of the four ranges by which Bohemia is enclosed, and soon reached the western bank of the Iser. On the other hand, the Crown Prince, on his way to Bohemia, must pass through the Sudetian mountains and the county of Glatz, and would reach the eastern bank of the upper Elbe, and so form

his junction with Prince Frederick Charles. In order that the two armies might unite, both rivers must be passed, and the passage of both was defended. The harder task fell to the Silesian army, for the Iser was only defended by 60,000 men, the Elbe by 200,000. On June 22nd a telegram was sent to the two commanders ordering them to march into Bohemia and join forces in the neighbourhood of Gitschin, a town at an equal distance from the two rivers. Moltke, at the same time, left the generals free to act according to their own judgment, in case the operations of the enemy were different from what he expected.

Prince Frederick Charles's Successes.

On June 22nd Prince Frederick Charles took up his quarters at Görlitz and marched towards the Austrian frontier by the two roads leading through Zittau and Seidenberg, Bohemia being entered on the following day. At the same time Herwarth von Bittenfeld, in command of the Army of the Elbe, marched on the high road from Schelucheim to Rumburg, and occupied Reichenberg on June 24th. The position of this place enabled Prince Frederick Charles to open communication with the Silesian and Saxon lines of railway, which were of great importance for the commissariat. The first engagement of any importance took place at Podol upon the Iser, here about a hundred yards wide. The battle did not begin till eight in the evening, when darkness was coming on, and it was not finished till midnight, every house in the village being obstinately disputed. At last both the town bridge and the military bridge were captured by the Prussians, and the Austrians drew off sullenly on the road to Münchengrätz. The last dropping shots did not cease till daybreak, when there were no Austrians within three miles of the bridges except the wounded and the prisoners. No artillery was engaged on either side, and the Prussians owed much of their success to their needle-guns. By the retreat of the Austrians to Münchengrätz, communications were opened between the army of Prince Frederick Charles and that of the Elbe, and on the following day the two forces were able to take possession of the whole line of the Iser. Münchengrätz was not gained without a struggle, but Prince Frederick Charles, by a series of tactical movements, and the loss of only a hundred men, gained twelve miles of country, captured 1,000 prisoners, and effected a more complete junction with the army of Bittenfeld, the headquarters of both generals being established in the same town.

Fight at Gitschin.

More serious was the conflict at Gitschin, the place originally designated by Moltke as the meeting-place of the two armies, about twenty miles from Münchengrätz. The Austrians were

strongly posted, their artillery and sharpshooters being carefully placed, but their young soldiers were slowly and steadily driven back by the heavier and more mature troops of the Prussians. At night began an attack on the Austrians and Saxons who occupied the town, a night full of horror and terror. It is said that even the inhabitants took part in this untimely struggle, which was carried on in the dark and narrow streets. When day dawned the Austrians were in retreat, and the blood-stained town, with the streets choked up with corpses, fell into the hands of the Prussians, a dearly-won possession, but of decisive importance for the success of the whole campaign. Another conflict took place on the same evening on the other side of the town, where the Prussians were advancing from the direction of Turnau. In this part of the battle the loss of the Saxons was very heavy, and the Prussians also suffered severely, for they had to carry a strong position held by a superior force. The Prussian headquarters were now established at Gitschin, and in the afternoon of June 30th communications were opened between the army of Prince Frederick Charles and that of the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was advancing by Arnau.

The Crown Prince's Advance.

The Crown Prince's army had crossed the Austrian frontier on the evening of June 26th, his first action taking place at Trautenau on the following day, in which battle the Prussians lost 63 officers and 1,214 men, the Austrians 196 officers and 5,530 men. The Austrians gained the victory, which was, however, of very little use to them, as the balance was redressed by an action at Soor, which allowed the two portions of the Prussian army to unite, while Gablentz, the Austrian general, retreated to Königinhof. This town was captured on June 29th, after a severe contest, each yard of every street and each window of every house being stoutly defended. While this was going on, the left columns of the Crown Prince's army rushed through the passes of the Riesengebirge from Glatz to Nachod, along a narrow road through a difficult defile, the column of march being twenty miles in length. This defile was defended by the Austrians in front of Skalitz, but after an obstinate struggle they were driven back by Steinmetz, who had fought in the War of Liberation, the Crown Prince being also present in person. Another battle took place at Skalitz itself and another at Schweinschädel on the following day, which enabled the Crown Prince to concentrate his army on the left bank of the Elbe, and, on the last day of the month, as we have seen, communications were opened between the two main branches of the Prussian army.

Consternation in Vienna.

Benedek now telegraphed to Vienna that, in consequence of the complete defeat of the first corps and the Saxon corps, he was compelled to withdraw his army to Königgrätz. This dispatch came upon the Viennese public as a thunderbolt from a clear sky. They had, up to that moment, been confident of victory. After Skalitz Benedek announced that Ramming had escaped all dangers and arrived safely and happily at Skalitz. Then came the news of the victory of Gablentz at Trautenau, and then a short telegram from Benedek from Skalitz saying that nothing serious was likely to happen there, and that the artillery had shown itself efficient as usual. The newspapers disseminated this joyful intelligence, and throughout Europe there was a cry of victory all along the line. Suddenly came the alarming revelation of complete defeat and retreat to Königgrätz. The exaltation of seven months only made the depression more severe.

Benedek's Appeal for Peace.

At this period King William arrived at Reichenberg and took command of the army. He left Berlin on June 30th, accompanied by Bismarck, Roon and Moltke. He had heard of the success at Skalitz, but not of the victory at Gitschin. The Prussian armies were now united at Horsitz and Jaromierz, and the King moved his quarters first to Sichrow, and then to Gitschin. Benedek reached Königgrätz on July 1st, and before midday telegraphed to the Emperor, begging him to make peace at all hazards, as the defeat of the army was certain. In answer to this two telegrams were sent, one to the Emperor Napoleon, saying that the Austrians were prepared to surrender Venetia if the neutrality of Italy were guaranteed, the other to Benedek, " Impossible to make peace. I command a retreat in perfect order if such step is unavoidable. Has a battle already taken place ? "

Benedek's Resolve.

Benedek understood from this that the Emperor desired a battle, but allowed retreat in case of necessity. In the course of the night he sent another telegram to the Emperor that he intended to let the army rest for the next day, that he could not stay where he was because there was no water, that he should retreat to Pardubitz on July 3rd, that if he could depend upon the troops he would fight a battle, but that he intended to take the troops back to Olmütz as soon as possible. Finally, he sent another dispatch, in the afternoon of July 2nd, that the army would remain in its position at Königgrätz for the following day, and that he hoped a further retreat would not be necessary. He had, therefore, made up his mind to fight a decisive battle next day. Indeed, it was not until the night of July 2nd that his whole forces were assembled, taking up a position between the town of Königgrätz

and the Bistritz, now swollen with rain and only passable in certain places by bridges. Of the armies opposed to him, that of Prince Frederick Charles had fought five severe combats without a reverse, and had secured a favourable position in which to engage a great battle. The army of the Crown Prince had fought stubborn actions on July 27th, 28th, 29th, had now secured its junction with the other army, and was bringing with it as trophies 15,000 prisoners, 24 captured guns, 6 stand of colours, and 2 standards.

The Battle-field of Königgrätz.

The field of the battle which was to form such an important epoch in European history lay between the Elbe and the Bistritz, which ran parallel to each other at a distance of about five miles. The high road from Gitschin to Königgrätz crossed the Bistritz at Sadowa. Behind Sadowa is a thick wood, the Hohewald, and between it and Nechanitz about half-a-dozen small villages. Afterwards the ground becomes more hilly, and then smooth again, so that close to Königgrätz it is entirely flat. The village of Chlum is about a mile and a half from Sadowa. Another mile and a half from Sadowa, down the Bistritz, is the village of Mokrovous, and a little way above it the church of Dohalitzka and the village of Dohalitz.

The Prussian Advance.

The Prussian troops were in motion long before midnight, and at 1.30 a.m. the staff left Kammeritz. With the dawn of day a drizzling rain came on, which lasted till five in the afternoon, while a keen wind blew sharply on the soldiers, who were short of sleep and food. At 6 a.m. the army had reached the Hill of Dub, on the other side of the Bistritz, but it was not allowed to mount the summit of the slope, which had hitherto concealed it from the Austrians. At 7 Prince Frederick Charles pushed over the hill, with some of his cavalry and horse artillery, and at 7.30 the first shot was fired. The Prussian horse artillery, close to the Bistritz, replied to the Austrian guns, but neither side fired heavily, and for half an hour the cannonade consisted of single shots. At 7.45 the King of Prussia appeared upon the scene, and the battle became more vigorous on both sides.

During the cannonade the Prussian infantry had been moved down to the river, and at about 10 were ordered to attack Sadowa, Dohalitz and Mokrovous. They were obliged to contest every inch of the way, as the Austrians fired upon them as they approached. The fighting continued in and around the villages for nearly an hour and little progress was made. The headquarters were waiting for the approach of the Elbe army under the Crown Prince, much as Wellington was waiting at Waterloo for the arrival of Blücher. No news of his approach had reached them. What

were they to do? Were they to allow their soldiers to be sacrificed in the murderous fire, or should they retreat or call up the reserves? The King decided that the Crown Prince must come, and that they must hold the position until he did, and in the meantime employ their last resources. A heavy burden fell upon Franzesky, who was holding his own against the Austrians, in the wood above Benatek. At length the Prussian infantry captured Sadowa and Dohalitz, and were now engaged in the wood which ran on both sides of the river. The battle became stationary, and remained so for about two hours.

Prussians Prepare for Disaster.

Benedek now heard that the Crown Prince was expected to arrive on his right; he therefore strained every nerve to inflict a sharp blow on Prince Frederick Charles before the reinforcements could come up. At noon the whole battle line of the Prussians was stopped from further advance and obliged to fight hard to retain the position it had won. Indeed, there was a fear lest the battle should be lost, for the Austrian artillery had decimated the Prussians, and the needle-guns had no effect in the wooded ground. Herwarth von Bittenfeld found himself checked on the right, and things were not going much better for the Prussians in the centre. Indeed, they were growing very uneasy, and preparing for a disaster.

The Prussian Guard Retrieve the Day.

The Crown Prince had received the order to march at Königinhof at 2 in the morning, but a large part of his army had to cross the river, and he could not set out before 8. They had a long way to go in drenching rain over marshy ground, but they overcame all difficulties and advanced eagerly to the fray. They saw before them an Austrian battery on a hill, under a group of lime trees and towards that they marched. At last the heights of Chlum, which dominated the whole of the battlefield, became the main point of attack. The Prussian Guard marched to its assault and, when they arrived on the summit, saw between them and the fortress of Königgrätz the whole of the Austrian reserves, to the number of 40,000 men, while between them and the rear of the first army were the Austrians who were fighting near Lipa and in the Sadowa wood. There were only twelve battalions of the Prussian Guard to hold the key of the position against the whole of the enemy's reserve. When Benedek heard that the Prussians had occupied Chlum, he would not believe it, but, on moving up to ascertain its truth, was received by a murderous fire, which killed many of his staff. The position of the Guard was critical, but at last they were relieved by the arrival of 50,000 fresh troops.

EFFECT OF KÖNIGGRÄTZ

At last the long-hoped-for army had come! With loud cheers and beating drums they ran at full speed up the hill. The Sadowa wood was cleared, the Austrian batteries were silenced, the summit of the hill was gained, and they saw the white uniforms running before them. The newly-arrived army took the fugitives in flank and raked them as they fled. The artillery, when it reached the ridge, opened fire on the retreating Austrians, who, however, did not lose heart in their dangerous position and maintained good order. Benedek now saw that the battle was lost, and that nothing remained but to retire to Königgrätz with the fragments of his army. King William rode through the battlefield, saluted everywhere by the cries of his troops. He even rode under the fire of a battery and was forcibly removed by Bismarck.

The Way Open to Vienna.

Moltke told the King that he had won, not only the battle, but the campaign. Benedek sought for safety on both sides of the Elbe, till at last the Austrian cavalry reached Pardubitz and the army was able to cross the river during the night without further loss. The way now lay open to Vienna. Benedek said sorrowfully that he had lost everything except the life which he desired to lose. The loss of the Austrians amounted to 5,600 dead, 7,600 wounded, 9,300 prisoners, 12,800 surrendered, and 6,100 missing; together, with the loss of the Saxons, nearly 43,000 men. The previous contests had cost the Allies 32,000 men, so that, in a week, the north army had been robbed of nearly a quarter of its strength. The whole loss of the Prussians was nearly 10,000.

Effect in Europe.

Europe heard the news of the victory of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, on the following morning with amazement. An army which had not been under fire for fifty years, which its enemies had despised as consisting of parade soldiers, militia troops, and beardless boys, had almost annihilated the most famous army in Europe. Antonelli, in the Vatican, said that the world was falling about his ears. Italy felt the joy of a true-hearted ally, but Napoleon began to consider how he could best look after his own interests.

The excitement in Paris over the Prussian victory can hardly be conceived; a success like that of Königgrätz put Magenta and Solferino into the shade. A great Power had suddenly sprung into existence by the side of France, equal to her if not superior. A strong and united Germany would shatter into nothingness the proud hegemony of France, and the sympathies of Napoleon for Prussia began to cool. On the day on which the defeat of Königgrätz was reported to Paris, Metternich called on the Emperor to say that Austria was ready to renounce Venetia and to ask

for French mediation, saying that he had full power to conclude a negotiation.

Napoleon's Bluff.

The Emperor was embarrassed, compensation for the cession of Silesia was no longer possible, and still less could an armed intervention be carried out. He had recourse to bluff. On July 5th the *Moniteur* declared that Austria had surrendered Venetia to the Emperor of the French, and had asked for his mediation, but that he was taking steps to bring about an armistice both with Prussia and Italy. On the evening before a council had been held at St. Cloud, at which Drouyn de l'Huys, supported by the Empress, had urged the summoning of the Chambers, the demand for the loan of a milliard, and the massing of 100,000 men on the Rhine. This was opposed by Lavalette, who pointed out that it was inconsistent with the policy of a mediator, and that France was not strong enough to begin a simultaneous war with Prussia and Italy, which would certainly be the upshot. A compromise was adopted, as announced in the *Moniteur*, but the result was the isolation of France in Europe, as neither Russia nor Great Britain would support her action. When the news of the French offer reached King William, he was overwhelmed with astonishment, but thought it prudent to accept it, stating the conditions on which such an intervention would be possible.

Italy Claims Direct Cession of Venice.

Feeling in Italy was very different. In every part of the peninsula it seemed an indignity to accept Venetia in this manner from the hand of the Emperor, like a bone thrown to a dog. Ricasoli and the King were both of the same opinion. Venetia must be conquered from the Austrians, and the disgrace of Custozza rubbed out. Eventually a telegram was sent to the Emperor accepting the armistice under three conditions—the cession of Venice directly by Austria to Italy, the surrender of the Italian Tyrol, and the restriction of the negotiations to the question of Venetia alone. The Emperor tried to put pressure on Italy, threatening to send a French fleet to Venice, but Ricasoli, now certain of the help of Prussia, stood firm and sent Cialdini across the Po.

Anxiety in Paris.

In the Tuileries the statement of the Prussian conditions was anxiously awaited. Drouyn de l'Huys was in favour of sending French troops to Venetia, which was now a French province, the Empress wept over the fate of unhappy Austria, and dreaded the formation of a Germany which would be hostile to France. The Emperor was besieged with arguments for war, and Lavalette and Prince Napoleon found it difficult to keep

him back. The Emperor felt himself indeed in an unfortunate position, for his alliance with Prussia had permitted the formation of a united Germany. The Empress declared she was afraid that a German army might appear some day at the gates of Paris, that she might go to bed a Frenchwoman and wake up a Prussian. Prince Reuss came to Paris, but brought no conditions with him. The Emperor did not know what compensation to ask for and ended by asking for none. The policy of Bismarck had conquered. Austria was annihilated, Prussia was master of Germany, and France, oscillating from one side to the other, instead of appearing as a triumphant mediator, had to suffer the humiliation of disappointment and insult.

The Army of the Main.

In the meantime Prussia was gaining victories in other parts of Germany. After the capitulation of the Hanoverians, Falkenstein was able to consolidate the various bodies of troops coming from the commands of Göben, Manteuffel and Beyer into a single force called the Army of the Main, and to attack the troops of the Federation which were still in arms against Prussia. Of these the Seventh Army Corps, as it was called, was composed of Bavarians, 50,000 strong, under the command of Prince Charles, who had served in the Napoleonic wars, and in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign of 1848. The Eighth Army Corps was made up of contingents from Würtemberg, Darmstadt, Baden and Nassau, together with Austrian troops drawn from different garrisons, and was commanded by Prince Alexander of Darmstadt, a fine soldier-like man, brother of the Empress of Russia and father of the Princes of Battenberg. But, for purposes of securing unity, the supreme command was committed to Prince Charles, a unity which was very imperfectly obtained.

Battle of Dermbach.

The Federal army was not in a position to take the field till the beginning of July. The Bavarian army was posted in Northern Franconia, while the corps of Prince Alexander occupied a district called the Wetterau, to the north of Frankfort, while it took possession of Giessen and Wetzlar, which was an *enclave* of Prussia. Falkenstein formed the plan of pushing a wedge between these two armies, which would prevent them from combining in any common action. He therefore attacked the Bavarians, who had advanced from Coburg and Meiningen and were now in the valley of the Fulda. The two armies came into collision on July 4th, in a battle which bears the name of Dermbach in the Wiesenthal, fought the day after Königgrätz. The field was obstinately contested, with great bravery on both sides. Although the Bavarians were superior in number, the result remained un-

certain and the losses on either side were equally heavy. However, it had the result of preventing the union of the Seventh Army Corps with the Eighth, so that Prince Charles marched southwards towards the Franconian Saale, followed by the Prussians, who advanced along the Fulda Valley to Hanau, and the valley of the Main.

Defeat of the Bavarians.

Falkenstein's object had been so far attained that, whereas on July 5th the two corps were only thirty miles distant from each other, two days later the distance had been increased to seventy miles. After a difficult march through the mountainous district of the Rhön, he came up with the Bavarians in the valley of the Saale, and on July 10th fought the battles of Hammelburg and Kissingen. In the first of these the town was bravely defended by the Bavarians, who stood their ground firmly on the bridge which crosses the Saale, notwithstanding the heavy cannonade and the burning houses on each side. The position was at last stormed, as the Bavarians could not stand the vigour of the assault and the good firing of the needle-guns. The Bavarians drew off to the south-east and the Prussians gained the passage of the Saale.

Capture of Kissingen.

Kissingen is a fashionable watering-place, and the guests who thronged it to get rid of their gout were much surprised on finding themselves in the middle of a battle. They were not allowed to leave the town, for fear of giving information to the enemy. The Prussians made their appearance in the early morning of July 10th, and crossed the Saale without serious loss. They then pushed forward into the heart of the town, but met with a stout resistance. The Kurgarten, the centre of the social life of the place, was only conquered after a fourth assault, and it was not till 3 in the afternoon that the town was in the possession of the Prussians. Even then the Bavarians continued the contest on the hills, and the fight lasted till evening.

Occupation of Frankfort.

Falkenstein now turned his attention to the Eighth Army Corps, which was entrenched in various positions on the River Fulda. When the news of the Austrian defeat at Königgrätz reached Prince Alexander, he thought that his first duty was to defend Frankfort, so he sent a division of Austrians and Hanoverians under Neipperg to Aschaffenburg to defend the old Imperial city. However, on July 13th, Göben won a victory at Laufach, Aschaffenburg was captured on July 14th, and Frankfort was occupied two days later, Prince Alexander evacuating the town and retiring with his whole army to the Odenwald. Thus, in fourteen days, Falkenstein had defeated two armies, each as strong as his own,

and was able to report to the King that all lands north of the Main were in the possession of the Prussians.

Terror in Vienna.

We must now return to the operations of the main army. After the victory of Königgrätz, it rested for a few days and then advanced to Pardubitz, pursuing the Austrians in their retreat to Olmütz. In the meantime Prague, the capital of Bohemia, had been occupied without a battle, on July 8th. At the news of these events terror reigned in Vienna, and a movement was made to summon the whole nation to arms. On July 13th the Archduke Albert took command of all the forces of the Empire. He brought a portion of the army of the south to the capital and united it with the remains of the army of the north. At this time the Crown Prince was holding Benedek fast in Olmütz, and Prince Frederick Charles was advancing towards Vienna by the shortest road. The Emperor asked for an armistice, but this was declined, because he insisted that the Federal States should be included in it, and that no obstacle should be placed to the operations of the Austrian army of the south.

Prussians Capture the Railway.

Communications between Olmütz and Vienna still remained open, and therefore Archduke Albert issued orders to Benedek to send his six army corps by train to Vienna. But before half of them were dispatched the railway was broken up, and Benedek was obliged to retire to Pressburg in Hungary, which he only reached by fighting with considerable loss. An eye-witness gives an interesting account of the incident. He says that when he came in sight of the railway at Göding, he saw two trains, one close behind the other, with engines puffing and snorting violently, as if drawing a heavy load, steaming slowly in the direction of Lundenburg, which is about an hour and a half distant from Vienna. These trains were conveying Austrian troops to the capital. The Prussians immediately determined to break up the line. The men found pickaxes and spades in the neighbouring cottages, and some set to work on foot, whilst others held the horses. The rails were wrenched up out of their places, and thrown on one side, and, in a few minutes, the line was useless for traffic. Scarcely had they finished the work before another train came up, but when the engine-driver saw the Prussian cavalry, he reversed his engine and steamed slowly back in the direction from which he had come.

In Sight of Vienna.

On July 18th, 1866, King William took up his quarters in the little Moravian town of Nikolsburg, and slept in the very room which Napoleon had occupied before the Battle of Austerlitz. At this time the advance guard of the Prussian army were

in sight of the Imperial city of Vienna, conspicuous by the tower of St. Stephen's and that of the Palace of Schönbrunn, while before them lay the Marchfeld, with the villages of Aspern, Esslingen and Wagram, the scenes of Napoleon's defeat and his ultimate victory. They were situated in the middle of rich corn-fields bright with poppies, which from a distance looked like pieces of dazzling mosaic let into a golden pavement, fringed by the silver band of the Danube, studded with emerald islets, while, in the distance, the dark blue lines of the Carpathian Mountains bounded the view towards Hungary. No Prussian army, not even that of the Great Frederick, had ever gazed upon this view before. Floridsdorf and Pressburg were the only strong places which the Austrians now had in their possession on the north bank of the Danube.

A Dramatic Armistice.

A last struggle took place on July 22nd, 1866, at Neudorf and Blumenau, and Pressburg, which was the key of the passage between Austria and Hungary, was on the point of being captured, when, a few minutes after midday on July 23rd, an Austrian messenger advanced from Blumenau to the Prussian lines with a flag of truce. He reported to a Prussian officer, who came out to meet him, that an armistice had been agreed upon to date from midday and that the hour was already spent. The signal to cease firing passed along the Prussian ranks, and a sudden stillness, a hum of conversation from the astonished soldiers, took the place of the roar of artillery and the patter of small arms.

Bismarck Dictates Terms of Peace.

The negotiations between the Emperor of the French, on the one side, and Prussia and Austria on the other, had at length produced their effect, and Napoleon had sent Benedetti, his ambassador at Berlin, to the King's headquarters at Nikolsburg to propose terms of peace. Bismarck saw, with statesmanlike insight, that the golden moment had come in which a treaty could be made, and that the opportunity ought not to be lost. The Austrians, besides, were anxious for a cessation of the war. On July 24th the Emperor Alexander of Russia sent a message proposing a European congress; the attitude of Napoleon was uncertain. Bismarck therefore wrote a letter to King William proposing terms. The points he laid down were, the exclusion of Austria from the Bund, the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse and Nassau, together with the independence of Saxony, but under such terms that in any future war she could not take part against Prussia. He also mentioned, as a reason for concluding peace, the outbreak of cholera in the army, and the dangers of a campaign in the unhealthy month of August.

PEACE SIGNED

The King agreed with his Minister, and after some discussion, in which the indemnity to Prussia was eventually fixed at 20,000,000 thalers, proclamations of peace were signed on July 26th. At the last moment Benedetti informed Bismarck that France expected some compensation for the aggrandisement of Prussia and her own share in the peace, and Bismarck replied that he was quite ready to enter into negotiations on the subject.

Bismarck's Plain Message to Russia.

Austria submitted to peace because she could expect no assistance from France. The interference of Russia was caused by jealousy of the aggrandisement of Prussia, which would make her more independent than was in accordance with Russian interests, a view on which Gortshakov, the Tsar's Chancellor, laid great stress. There was a danger that the meeting of the congress would strengthen the claims of France for compensation, and would be an occasion for establishing an alliance between Russia and France, which would be inimical to Prussia. Bismarck therefore declined the offer of a congress, and said that his country would not allow the terms of peace between two German Powers to be settled by any foreign interference. Indeed, if anything of the kind were attempted, it would be resisted by the whole strength of the German nationality, together with that of other peoples who threatened insurrection in Poland and Hungary. This firm language produced a salutary effect both in Paris and St. Petersburg. But, to smooth matters, Manteuffel was sent to the Russian Court, it being known that he was well regarded in the city on the Neva. He was instructed to explain the policy of Bismarck and to offer assistance in the case of complications in the East. By these means Alexander became reconciled to the new state of things, and the friendship between Russia and Prussia, which had existed for so many years, and had stood so many trials, remained undisturbed.

Peace of Prague.

On July 28th an armistice was concluded at Würzburg between Manteuffel and Prince Charles, which formed a basis of peace between Prussia and the South German States. The war on the Main came to an end, and armistices were concluded with Baden, Bavaria and Würtemberg, which were eventually formed into preliminaries of peace, the Eighth Army Corps being gradually disbanded. Finally, the Peace of Prague was signed on August 23rd, 1866, which comprised the conditions of which we have already given an account.

On August 22nd Baden, Bavaria and Würtemberg made a treaty with Prussia, at Berlin, in which the preliminaries of Nikolsburg were recognised, with the foundation of a North German

League, and the admission of the increase of Prussian territory. The Zollverein was to continue, with power to determine it by six months' notice on either side, and the tolls on the Rhine and the Main were abolished. Towards the expenses of the war Würtemberg contributed 8,000,000, Baden 6,000,000, and Bavaria 30,000,000 gulden, while Bavaria had to make a small sacrifice of territory. A secret article contained an agreement for an offensive and defensive alliance in case of a foreign war. The settlements with Hesse-Darmstadt and Saxony were more difficult, because both countries had been deserted by their sovereigns, and were occupied by the Prussians. At last the Grand Duke of Hesse submitted on September 3rd, and King John of Saxony, a great scholar and almost a saint, agreed to surrender some of his royal authority on October 21st. Beust, who had supported his anti-Prussian sympathies, was removed and was immediately made Chancellor of Austria in the place of Mensdorff. A Prussian garrison was admitted into Dresden and even into Königstein. The King agreed to pay an indemnity of 10,000,000 thalers, to enter the North German Confederation, and to accept the Prussian acquisition of his army. This example served to overcome the obstinacy of the Regent Caroline of the elder line of Reuss, and to induce Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Meiningen to abdicate in favour of his son George.

Bavarian-Prussian Alliance.

It was found impossible to establish a South German League, with an independent international existence, but the young King of Bavaria, Ludwig II.—a monarch whose surpassing beauty and brilliant genius sank eventually under the cloud of mental derangement—summoned a friend of Prussia, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, to his counsels, instead of von der Pfordten, the friend of Austria, and while preserving his full sovereignty and the independence of his country, made an alliance with Prussia and allowed his army to become part of the Prussian army in the case of war.

War in Venetia.

The war in Venetia continued until the Peace of Prague was signed. The Austrians fought for the possession of a country which did not belong to them, and the Italians had to conquer a country which was their own. In the middle of July Cialdini with his army occupied Padua and Vicenza, and the Austrians retired to the Isonzo and Cialdini reached Mestre. Indeed, Victor Emmanuel was no longer satisfied with Venetia, and, with the help of Garibaldi, attempted the conquest of the Italian Tyrol, whose inhabitants were clamouring for union with the country of their race and language. Garibaldi was not very successful

in the mountain districts west of Lake Garda, and his young raw levies, badly clothed and fed, fell easy victims to the Tyrolese sharpshooters. Medici had more success in the battle of Levico on July 22nd, fought a month before the conclusion of the Peace of Prague, which brought him within striking distance of Trent. If he could have continued the struggle he would have joined Garibaldi's volunteers in the Giudicaria, conquered the valley of the Adige, and severed the connection between Vienna and the Quadrilateral.

Battle of Lissa.

At length the Austrians won at sea the victory which eluded them on land. In the battle of Lissa, fought on July 21st, 1866, between Persano and Tegethoff, the Austrian fleet emulated the triumph of Custozza and allowed of a peace to be concluded, not without honour. The Italians fought with bravery and self-devotion, but when the *Re d'Italia* had been rammed by the *Erzherzog Max*, and the *Palestro* had been blown into the air with all its armament, Persano was forced to retire to the harbour of Ancona. The war began and ended with an Italian defeat, but the fruits of victory remained in their possession.

Italy Free.

An armistice was signed on July 25th. With some difficulty Victor Emmanuel was induced to surrender the districts he had occupied in the Trentino, and a peace was signed at Vienna on October 3rd, in which the Kingdom of Italy was recognised by Austria. The union of Venetia to Italy, submitted to the popular vote, was carried with absolute unanimity, and Victor Emmanuel made a solemn entry into the City of the Lagoons amid thunderous applause, the people showing an enthusiasm at which even the Austrians were surprised.

Before the end of the year the French garrison departed from Rome, where they had been established for seventeen years, their place being taken by mercenaries; and when Victor Emmanuel opened the Italian Parliament on December 18th, he could have declared that the soil of Italy was entirely free from the presence of the foreigner. Rome, however, still remained unassimilated. The more moderate of the Italian statesmen would have been willing to keep Florence as the capital and to come to some arrangement with the Pope, but the national party, headed by Garibaldi, clamoured for Rome.

Garibaldi's Defeat.

In the autumn of 1867, Garibaldi made an attempt to realise his wishes by a raid on the Papal States, but, opposed by the Papal troops, under the German general Kanzler, and by a French auxiliary corps, under de Failly, he was defeated at Mentana, on November 3rd, 1867, and, after a short imprisonment, was

allowed to return to Caprera, not struck in the foot, as at Aspromonte, but deeply wounded in his heart. Failly telegraphed gaily to Paris that the chassepot had worked wonders. The result of it all was that a French garrison was placed in Civita Vecchia, and Rome did not become Italian until after the defeat of the French in the war of 1870.

CHAPTER V

GLADSTONE AND HIS FIRST MINISTRY

A LARGE part of the history of modern Europe has been occupied by efforts to get rid of the artificial conditions imposed by the Treaty of Vienna. The basis of the treaty was the principle of Legitimacy, coupled with the desire to punish the friends of Napoleon, to reward his enemies, and generally to reverse his policy. The insistence upon this principle was due mainly to the genius of Talleyrand, who perceived that it was the only way in which France, governed by Bourbons, could resume her leading position in the family of nations. But the principle was outworn. Whatever it had done for the consolidation of Europe in the past, it promised nothing for the future, and its place was taken by the principle of Nationality.

A Specious Treaty.

We have, in preceding chapters, traced some of the steps by which the first of these principles was gradually succeeded by the second. The independence of Greece, though not consummated until 1859, and the separation of the Roumanians and the Servians from the Turkish Empire, were followed in 1830 by the fall of the Monarchy of July in France, which was founded on the principle of Legitimacy. This was succeeded by the revolutionary movement in Poland and Italy, which culminated in the cataclysm of 1848, and by the establishment of the second French Empire, which placed Bonapartism on the throne. Then came events of still greater significance, the defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz, and the formation of the North German Federation under the leadership of Prussia, the annexation of Venice to the Italian Kingdom, and the completion of this edifice by the occupation of Rome; the fall of the second Napoleonic Empire at Sedan, and the creation of a new German Empire at Versailles, Protestant and progressive, founded on the dual basis of militarism and culture, destroying the old Austrian Empire, whose treachery to Napoleon had been her ruin, and establishing in her place the despised and downtrodden country of Hardenberg and Fichte, of Luise and Gneisenau.

The Struggles for Nationality.

In 1860 the central figure on the stage of European politics was undoubtedly the ruler of France. The Crimean War had

strengthened his dynasty at home and had secured his position abroad. Cavour had come into conflict with him, but had been beaten in the struggle. Bismarck, who eventually overthrew him, had not yet consolidated his strength for the purpose. When the Sovereigns of the three northern Powers met at Warsaw at the end of 1860, with the view of combining against France, Russia refused to join the conspiracy, and Napoleon remained master of the situation. The French Empire was at its zenith. Thiers, afterwards a hostile critic, said that the best compensation for a Frenchman's being nothing in his own country was the sight of that country filling its right place in the world.

Gladstone and Nationality.

Never was there a more strenuous upholder of the principle of Nationality and of peoples "rightly struggling to be free" than William Ewart Gladstone, who for so long moulded the destinies of the British Empire. He had, of course, the strongest sympathy with the creation of a new Italy. In 1853 he dined with Cavour at the Italian Foreign Office, and the Italian Minister spoke of him as one of the sincerest and most important friends that Italy had, and it was mainly through his influence that Great Britain took a firm line in obtaining the annexation of Sicily and Naples to the Kingdom of Italy. With his full approval, Russell wrote in October, 1860, that Great Britain could not condemn these Southern peoples for throwing off the yoke of a government which they detested, and which was little better than an anarchy; nor could it blame the King of Sardinia for assisting them. A few days after the writing of this dispatch, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi rode into the liberated city of Naples side by side, and on February 18th, 1861, the first parliament of united Italy assembled at Turin.

Gladstone's Treaty with France.

Gladstone became, for the third time, Chancellor of the Exchequer on June 20th, 1859, and one of his first acts was to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. It was really the idea of Cobden, supported in the Cabinet by Gladstone and Russell, most of the other members being indifferent or hostile. At this period there was great indignation in Great Britain about the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France. There was good reason why Savoy should not continue to belong to Italy, but no special reason why it should be annexed to France—some portion of it certainly should have gone to Switzerland—whereas the annexation of Nice was regarded as completely unjustifiable. Gladstone tells us that a French panic prevailed, as strong as any of the other panics which have done so much discredit to the United Kingdom. For this panic the treaty of commerce

with France was the only sedative. It was, in fact, a counter-irritant, and roused the sense of commercial interest to correct the war poison. The choice lay between the Cobden treaty and not the certainty, but the high probability, of a war with France. The treaty was signed on January 23rd, 1860, before the meeting of Parliament, and was announced in the Queen's Speech. One of its principal effects was largely to increase the consumption of claret in Great Britain.

A Great Budget.

Out of the commercial treaty grew the great budget of 1860, the end of a series of treaties which produced the liberation of commerce. With the French treaty the movement in favour of Free Trade reached its zenith. It was an important financial epoch; more money than ever was required; more than ever economy was unpopular and difficult. The Estimates now stood at £70,000,000, which seven years before had been £52,000,000. Gladstone made his position more difficult by renouncing £1,000,000 of income by the French treaty, £1,000,000 more by the abolition of a number of minor duties, and a third £1,000,000 by the abolition of the tax on the manufacture of paper. He was able to meet this expenditure by £2,000,000 of large annuities which had fallen to the Exchequer, and by an increase of the income tax.

The Lords and the Paper Tax.

When the time for introducing the budget came, Gladstone was ill in bed, and the debate had to be adjourned for a week. He then spoke for three hours and fifty minutes without suffering, aided, as he tells us, by a great supply of eggs and milk. The speech was one of the most extraordinary triumphs ever witnessed in the House of Commons. The budget was eventually passed, but the Lords refused to repeal the duty on paper. They held that, although the Upper House had no right to increase taxation, they might constitutionally protect existing taxes from being repealed. Unfortunately Palmerston was against the repeal of the tax, and even wrote to the Queen that if the Lords threw this Bill out he should not be sorry. He was obliged to condemn the action of the Peers in the House of Commons, but spoke in a half-hearted manner, and the brunt of the attack lay upon Gladstone, who was believed by his friends to be nearly killing himself by his exertions. It was, until the momentous crisis of 1910, the sole occasion on which the Peers had ventured to tamper with finance.

A New Reform Bill.

Concurrently with the budget, to Gladstone's great disgust, Russell had introduced a Reform Bill, as he always regarded Parliamentary Reform as a panacea for all political ills. It proposed to lower the county franchise to £10, the borough franchise

to £6, and make a relative reduction of seats. It also gave members to unrepresented Universities by providing that, in constituencies which had returned three members, electors should only be allowed to vote for two. Russell and the Radicals were heartily in favour of reform, but Palmerston and other members of the Cabinet were lukewarm. Disraeli described the measure as one of a medieval character, without the inspiration of the Feudal System or the genius of the Middle Ages. Attempts were made to talk out the Bill by long speeches, and at last the chances of its passing were so hopeless that it had to be withdrawn.

Gladstone and the Prince Consort.

We have before mentioned the affair of the *Trent*, and the death of the Prince Consort. With regard to the first, Gladstone was strongly in favour of the milder course eventually adopted, although he made what he afterwards confessed to be the serious mistake of saying at Newcastle that the South had constituted themselves into a nation. Prince Albert's death was little short of a calamity to Gladstone, because it removed from the counsels of the Queen a strong sympathiser, who would have made his actions and ideas intelligible to the Sovereign and prevented the friction which sometimes broke out in after years. At the same time the character of the Prince Consort was one which did not specially attract him. Gladstone did not care for the German race as much as he did for the Italian, and he disliked the influence of German education, especially from the religious point of view. The Prince Consort was a firm enemy of Roman Catholicism and all its works, and his opinions were not likely to be appreciated by Gladstone, who also found him cold and ungenial in intellect. This, however, did not prevent his deep feeling for the Queen in her sorrow, and his stay at Balmoral in her early widowhood strengthened the ties between them.

Gladstone and Italy.

The meeting of the Italian Parliament, to which we have already referred, renewed Gladstone's enthusiasm for the country for which he had done so much. He wrote, at the end of 1862: "My confidence in the Italian Parliament and people increases from day to day. Their self-command, moderation, patience, firmness and forethought, reaching far into the future, are beyond praise." But he strongly disapproved of the French occupation of Rome. His support of Italy largely evoked the enthusiasm for the cause which characterised all Liberal Britons until their attention was diverted to the American Civil War. It is curious that the generation whose first impressions were formed by the struggle of Italy for liberation from Austria regarded self-government as the paramount principle of liberty, whereas those whose sympathies

were first stirred by the efforts of the North to preserve the Union laid more stress on the necessity of a strong central government. The two eternal principles of *imperium* and *libertas* were thus again beheld in conflict.

Garibaldi in England.

The strength of British sympathy with Italy was most clearly shown by the warmth of the welcome given to Garibaldi on his visit to England in 1864. His progress through London, as he passed from Vauxhall Station to Stafford House, lasted for five hours. Those who came into closer contact with him were charmed by the simple nobility of his demeanour, by his manners and his actions, by the union of the most fiery valour with the most profound and tender humanity, by the blending of absolute simplicity with complete self-possession in the presence of the rulers of the earth. One of the most striking incidents of his stay was his visit to Eton College. Three of the masters went over to Cliefden on a Sunday to pay him a visit and to invite him to the school. When he came next morning he was received by the provost and the headmaster, who turned out in their black silk gowns, greatly disgusted at having to meet a revolutionary leader. The carriage drove into the school-yard, which was thronged with boys in the highest excitement, and the hero stood up in his grey cloak and said with a radiant smile: "I love you all; I love you all dearly."

Bismarck's Position in Europe.

When Cavour retired from the scene in 1861, Bismarck took his place as the most prominent figure in Europe. Cavour had foreseen to some extent what the character of his career would be. In 1859, when Prussia objected to the Italian invasion of the Marches, Cavour said: "I am sorry that the Radical of Berlin judges so severely the conduct of the King of Italy and his Government. I console myself by thinking that on this occasion I am setting an example which probably, in no long time, Prussia will be very glad to imitate."

Great Britain and Denmark.

The action of Bismarck against the Danes made it necessary for Great Britain to make up her mind whether she should take part in the contest. The Prime Minister, Palmerston, and the Foreign Secretary, Russell, were eager for war, even though it would have to be fought single-handed, but the Queen was strongly against them, and so were the majority of the Cabinet. Gladstone was opposed to war, especially as the Emperor Napoleon refused to take part in it, but he was indignant at the conduct of Prussia in rejecting the legal rights of the House of Augustenburg. However, the danger was averted, and public opinion was with difficulty appeased. But the action of the Cabinet,

deemed vacillating and pusillanimous at the time, has since been vindicated.

The *Alabama*.

The American War affected Great Britain in two ways. The supply of cotton to the manufacturing districts was cut off, in consequence of which great distress was caused in Lancashire by what was known as the Cotton Famine. The operatives displayed fine self-control under their sufferings, and large subscriptions were raised for their support. But ere the war was over the worst pressure had passed. The second trouble was caused by the steamship *Alabama*, which was allowed to leave the Mersey on June 29th, 1862. It was protested that she was proceeding on a trial trip, but it was an open secret that she was intended to act as privateer, to assist the South against the North. The American Ambassador had made a strong remonstrance when the event came to his knowledge, and, at the last moment, orders were sent to Liverpool to stop the ship. She was able, however, to go to the island of Terceira, where she took aboard her captain and stores. During her career she captured nearly seventy Northern vessels. She used to hoist the British flag, and thus decoy the victims within her reach, and then display the Confederate colours and capture her prize. She generally burnt the ship she had captured, and attracted fresh booty by the flames. She was at last engaged and burnt by the *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg on July 10th, 1864. The Americans were deeply hurt at the negligence shown in not stopping the vessel, and when the war was over a feeling of bitterness was left which nearly led to a rupture which was healed with difficulty.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

On March 10th, 1863, the Prince of Wales was married to Princess Alexandra of Denmark, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, amid signs of universal rejoicing. Banquets were held in every important town in the kingdom, and in the evening London and other great cities were illuminated, the display in Edinburgh —largely helped by its natural configuration—being of remarkable splendour. Never was a marriage crowned with such happiness and success. The affection between the pair deepened throughout their married life, which endured for more than forty-seven years.

Gladstone "Unmuzzled."

On the dissolution of Parliament on July 6th, 1865, Gladstone was defeated by a large majority at the University of Oxford, but immediately stood for South Lancashire, his native county, and was returned third on the poll, defeating one of the Conservative candidates. He was now, as he said himself, "unmuzzled," and was free to fight the battle of a democratic policy. One of the most remarkable candidatures in this election was that of

John Stuart Mill, who was returned for Westminster. He was, in the intellectual world, one of the most influential men in England, through his works on Logic and Political Economy, and the respect with which his opinion on all important questions of the day was received by his countrymen. He was not a popular speaker, but nevertheless secured a majority of some hundreds over his Conservative opponent. He owed his success mainly to the courage and straightforwardness with which he dealt with questions at public meetings, even when his answers might seem to be opposed to his interests.

Death of Palmerston.

But a great change was at hand, for, ere Parliament met, Lord Palmerston was dead. The collapse of his strength came very suddenly. On his eightieth birthday—he was born on October 20th, 1784—he had started at half-past eight from Broadlands, taking his horses with him by train to Fareham, where he was met by engineer officers, and rode along the Portsdown and Hilsea line of forts, getting off his horse and inspecting some of them, crossing over to Anglesey forts and Gosport, and not reaching home till six in the evening. In June of the same year he had gone to Harrow, his old school, to attend the speeches and lay the foundation-stone of the Vaughan Library, trotting down the twelve miles within the hour on a rainy day. But in 1865 a marked change was obvious. He found difficulty in performing his duties in the House, and a balustrade on one of the staircases is shown as having been placed there to assist his movements. He died on October 18th, 1865, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on October 27th.

Palmerston's Position in Politics.

No one since the Duke of Wellington had filled so conspicuous a place in the public eye, or had enjoyed so large an amount of popularity. He was, indeed, a very great Foreign Minister, and it is probable that the verdict of history will be more favourable to him than was the judgment of his contemporaries. He kept steadily before his eyes the honour and greatness of his country, and was generally favourable to the progress of Liberalism in Europe, in which respect he found himself frequently in conflict with the Prince Consort and the Queen. Like Canning, who was regarded as a god by the Liberals of Europe, he was not a Liberal in domestic policy. His oratory was of a curious character; his speeches, as they were listened to, seemed halting and rough, but when read in the newspapers they appeared admirable. He was a man of the world, and took, in the main, a gay and joyous view of life. When Secretary of War under Wellington, the Iron Duke once made an appointment with him for six in the morning.

Palmerston answered that he should be delighted to come, but could not the Duke make it five?

Succession of Lord John Russell.

Palmerston's successor in the premiership was Lord Russell, although other names, such as Clarendon, Granville, and even Gladstone, had been mentioned. Lord Clarendon was made Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Among the new men admitted to office were two who left first-rate reputations, W. E. Forster, who framed the great Education Act of 1870, and Goschen, afterwards a famous Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Tory Government. It was felt, however, that the existing arrangements were only temporary, and it was not difficult to predict that the Conservatives would be in office before the end of the following year, and that then, before two more years had elapsed, Gladstone would be Prime Minister.

The Jamaica Rebellion.

Public feeling in the United Kingdom at this time was much disturbed by a rebellion which had broken out in Jamaica, the rising seeming to have been suppressed with unnecessary cruelty. The British officers quartered in the island appeared to consider that any measure was justifiable in the circumstances. One, writing to his superior officers, says: "I started with thirty men from Dunkinfield and visited several estates and villages, but did not see a single rebel. On returning in the evening, seventy-six prisoners had been sent in by the marines. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark." He then goes on to describe how he flogged some and hanged others, and continues: "We were come so suddenly upon these two villages that the rebels had no time to retire with their plunder; nearly three hundred rushed down into a gully, but I could not get a single shot, the bushes being so thick."

The most profound sensation, however, was caused by the case of George William Gordon. He was a coloured member of the House of Assembly, and was suspected of having caused the rebellion. He surrendered himself at Kingston, was put on board a vessel there and taken to Morant Bay, a district where martial law had been proclaimed, was tried by a drum-head court-martial and immediately hanged.

The Colonial Office was at once bombarded with memorials, asking that the conduct of Colonel Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, might be inquired into. He was suspended from his functions in the meanwhile, and a Committee of Inquiry was sent out to Jamaica. They reported that 590 persons had been put to death, that over 600, including many women, had been flogged, some in

circumstances of revolting cruelty, some of the scourges having been made of pianoforte wire. The Commission concluded that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent, that the floggings were reckless, and in some cases probably barbarous, and that the burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel. Opinion at home was divided into two parties, one glorifying Colonel Eyre, the other condemning him—Carlyle being the principal literary representative of the former, John Stuart Mill of the latter. The final report of the Commissioners, issued in April, 1866, gave credit to Eyre for the way he had put down the rebellion in its first inception, but decided that martial law had been kept in force too long, and that the execution of Gordon was unjustifiable. Eyre's career was cut short, but the Government eventually paid the expenses of the prosecution which had been brought against him.

Gladstone Leads the Commons.

The new Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, on February 6th, 1866. The Royal Speech contained a reference to an approaching Reform Bill. As has been already said, Mr. Gladstone was leader of the House of Commons, and the Liberals numbered 361 members, against 294 Conservatives. The Reform Bill promised in the Queen's Speech was introduced by Gladstone on March 12th. His speech was eloquent, but the House of Commons remained impassive; it was evident that the proposed measure was only a compromise. The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7, and to allow a savings bank franchise and a lodger's franchise.

The "Cave of Adullam."

But the House did not want Reform. Conservatives were opposed to it, and Liberals were averse to another general election. It was unfortunate that a scheme, heralded by a proclamation of the grievances of unenfranchised millions, should end in the enfranchisement of only a few hundreds here and there. Robert Lowe was the hero of the opposition to the Bill. Although he had everything against him as an orator, his speeches produced a profound effect from their intellectual power and biting sarcasm. Bright, somewhat indifferent at first, warmed as he went on. He likened the operations of the band of Liberal malcontents to the action of David in the Cave of Adullam, when he summoned to his aid every one who was in distress, and every one who was discontented, and became a captain over them. The Liberal dissentients were immediately christened the Adullamites, and the word "cave" was added permanently to the Parliamentary vocabulary.

"Black Friday."

Gladstone, during the debate, made the memorable speech in which he said: "Time is on our side. The great social forces are against you, they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we carry, though perhaps at this moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet soon again will float in the eye of heaven." The second reading was carried by a majority of only five, and strife was resumed in Committee. Lord Dunkellin, a Liberal, moved that the £7 franchise should be on a rating instead of a rental basis, which would make the qualification for the franchise a little higher than the Government proposed, and the amendment was carried by 315 votes to 304. The Ministry thereupon resigned. It was a dismal time; Friday, May 11th, was the famous "Black Friday," which produced such a financial crisis in England as to make it necessary to suspend the Bank Charter; the cattle plague was raging, and the war between Prussia and Austria was on the point of breaking out.

Reform Demonstration.

Lord Russell was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Derby. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Lord Stanley was Foreign Secretary; Lord Cranborne, formerly Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards Lord Salisbury, became Secretary for India; Lord Carnarvon had charge of the Colonies; General Peel of the War Office; and Stafford Northcote became President of the Board of Trade. The Home Office, which turned out difficult and laborious, fell to the lot of Mr. Walpole. On July 9th, 1866, Lord Derby announced that he had formed a Ministry, but no one imagined it would last long. He promised a safe and moderate measure of Reform, but there arose an agitation in the country for Parliamentary Reform which took every one by surprise. Reform Leagues and Reform Unions started up in all directions. Public meetings to advance this object were held every day, the most important being that held in Hyde Park on July 25th. This meeting was forbidden by the Government, and orders were given that the park gates should be shut at five o'clock. The processions, however, were not countermanded, and thousands of people were collected outside the park. The persons responsible for the meeting having made a protest against the prohibition retired to Trafalgar Square, where appropriate speeches were made. But a large and motley crowd remained at the park. It being accidentally discovered that the railings were not very firm, a simultaneous pressure was made, the railings fell down, the crowd rushed into the park and spent half the night destroying the flower beds. Yet no great damage was either intended or done, and police and soldiers were

cheered when they tried to clear the park. At the same time there is no doubt that this demonstration, which was not important in itself and had its humorous side, eventually caused Reform.

Tory Reform Measures

The Tory Ministry brought forward their new Reform Bill at the beginning of March, 1867, but Peel, Carnarvon and Cranborne left the Ministry rather than be responsible for it. Its provisions were submitted in the form of resolutions which were afterwards embodied in a Bill. It was proposed that all who paid rates, or twenty shillings in direct taxes, should have the franchise, and that this privilege should be extended to certain classes qualified by education, or by the possession of a certain amount of property in the funds or savings' banks, while householders who paid rates received a second vote. All seats were taken from the smaller boroughs and from those recently reported against for bribery, and given to more populous places, fourteen to boroughs, fifteen to counties, and one to the University of London. There were also elaborate and cumbrous arrangements with regard to residence, rating and dual voting.

The "Ten Minutes Bill."

The story of the composition of this extraordinary measure was revealed in Parliament by Sir John Pakington. Two Reform Bills had been submitted to the Cabinet, one of a more generous, the other of a less liberal character. Which should be submitted to the House of Commons depended upon the temper of the assembly. At the Cabinet which met on February 23rd it was arranged that the more liberal measure should be introduced on Monday, February 25th. But at the Cabinet summoned for two o'clock on that day it appeared that the introduction of this Bill meant the disruption of the Government, and that it was necessary to bring forward the measure of more limited character. Lord Derby had to address a meeting of the Conservative Party at half-past two, and Disraeli to introduce his Reform Bill in the House of Commons at half-past four. Only ten minutes were left for discussion, and it was impossible to frame a measure in that time. So recourse was had to the alternative Bill, and it was introduced as the measure on which the Cabinet was agreed. Pakington admitted that the Government had made a mistake, but who could be expected to act wisely with only ten minutes for deliberation? So the measure came to be known as the "Ten Minutes Bill."

The reception given to the "Ten Minutes Bill" was entirely discouraging. Disraeli saw that there was no chance of passing it, but clung to the fundamental conviction that a Reform Bill must be passed by the Tories. Therefore, on February 26th,

he announced that the "Ten Minutes Bill" would be withdrawn and that another and more comprehensive measure would be introduced on March 18th. The new measure proposed that in boroughs all ratepayers, or payers of twenty shillings in direct taxation, all possessors of property in the funds or savings' banks, and persons of specified intellectual qualifications should have the franchise. It contained certain checks also to prevent it from becoming too democratic. English people do not like complicated schemes, and it was obvious that this elaborately constructed scheme would not command the confidence of the strong common sense of the nation. Bright described the Bill as a plan for offering something with one hand and withdrawing it with the other. Eventually the measure was converted into a Bill that was much more democratic than anything which had been advocated by Bright.

Tory Household Suffrage Scheme.

This measure established household suffrage in the towns. All the checks and balances which it originally contained were eliminated one by one. The dual vote, the voting paper, the fancy franchises all disappeared, and a lodger franchise was introduced. Disraeli met the amendments first by declining to receive them, and then accepting them. The last trench in which the Government fought was the compound householders; householders whose rates were paid in the lump by the landlord and not by themselves in person were not to have the vote. Probably many of those who discussed at length the question of the compound householder's vote had no idea who he was. Paying and receiving rates in this way was so convenient that it was found that in some boroughs two-thirds of the householders under £10 belonged to this class.

The "Tea Room Party."

Gladstone did not desire that votes should be given to persons below a certain level in the social scale, and proposed at a meeting of the Liberal Party that the lowest-rented tenements should be relieved from rates altogether, and that only those who paid rates should have votes. The Radicals were not satisfied with this, and at a meeting held in the Tea Room of the House of Commons decided that they could not support it, so that in the Liberal Party a "cave" was formed, called the "Tea Room Party," and Gladstone's scheme was defeated. An effort was made to get rid of the compulsory system altogether, and, to the surprise of everyone, the Government yielded. The name of every occupier was placed in the rate-book, and every occupier was given the vote. In other words, household suffrage, pure and simple, was established in the boroughs. The "Tea Room

Party" had gained a complete victory; they had prevailed over Gladstone and had conquered Disraeli.

Tories' Radical Reform Act.

The Bill had now become a reality; it was built upon a sound principle, but probably went further in the direction of democracy than Bright had ever desired to go. Mill now proposed that votes should be given to women as well as men. He was defeated by 196 votes to 73, but was satisfied at having brought the question of the enfranchisement of women prominently into the political arena. The Bill also contained a provision for the representation of minorities, by arranging that when a constituency returned three members, electors could not vote for more than two. It gave the franchise to lodgers paying not less than £10 a year rent and resident for one year, to possessors of property of the clear annual value of £10, and to occupiers paying £12 a year. It awarded a third member to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds, and a member to the University of London. It was also settled that Parliament should not be dissolved on the death of a Sovereign, and that members of a Government should not vacate their seats on the acceptance of another office. It put off the reform of Scottish and Irish representation for another year, though when the time for dealing with this branch arrived little alteration was made. The Reform Bill eventually became law on August 15th, 1867. Thus a Tory Government had passed a Radical measure of reform. Lord Cranborne called it a "leap in the dark," an expression generally attributed to Lord Derby. Lowe warned those who had consented to it that "the working men, the majority, the people who live in the small houses, all are enfranchised; we must now at least educate our new masters."

Fenian Outrages.

Shortly after the close of the session which passed the Reform Act, a prison van containing two political prisoners was stopped and thrown open in broad daylight in the streets of Manchester and the prisoners were released. The two prisoners belonged to the society of Fenians. The Fenian movement was first heard of in February, 1861, when the House of Commons met on a Saturday to discuss a proposal of the Government of the day to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland and give the Lord Lieutenant almost unlimited power to arrest and imprison suspected persons. The Bill passed through all its stages on the same day; the House of Lords finished its discussion at an early hour in the evening, adjourned till eleven at night to receive the royal assent from Osborne, and the Bill became law at 12.40 on Sunday morning.

Fenianism was to some degree connected with the Civil War in America, because the conflict had created a class of Irish-

American soldiers who looked to new methods of freeing their country. Phœnix Clubs had come into existence among the peasants of Ireland after the suppression of the movement of 1848, and out of them rose the Fenians, the name borne by the ancient militia of Ireland. Ossian speaks of the tales of the bare-armed Fenians; very legendary and very stimulating they probably were. The Fenian organisation was perfected during the American Civil War at a convention held in the United States. Its members were bound to give absolute obedience to a single head. Mr. Justin McCarthy, who has ample right to speak with authority, tells us that the Fenian movement was got up, organised and manned by persons who, however mistaken and misguided, were high-minded, unselfish and devoted to their cause. They hoped that Great Britain and America might come to war in consequence of the ill-feeling about the *Alabama* claims, that the Americans might invade Canada, and that a Fenian rising in Ireland might secure Irish independence. The Fenian leaders actually issued an address, announcing that officers were going to Ireland to raise an army for this last-named purpose, and, indeed, James Stephens, the Head Centre of Fenianism in America, reached the Irish shores. He was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin early in November, 1865, but he contrived to escape and returned to New York.

Fenians in Canada.

The Irish Fenians were divided into two parties, one in favour of an invasion of Canada, the other of a rebellion in Ireland. A body of Fenians did invade Canada at the end of May, 1866, but were met bravely by the Canadians, and the Americans suppressed the movement with unexpected energy and determination. As numbers of Fenians came from America to Ireland, an attempted rising was made in March, 1867, which was immediately put down, being stopped, it is said, by a phenomenal fall of snow. Of the prisoners then taken, one, Colonel Burke, was sentenced to death in May, but reprieved.

The Clerkenwell Explosion.

What has been said will show that the state of affairs demanded strong action on the part of the Government, and that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was fully justified. But the Fenian troubles continued. Three of the men who had attacked the police van at Manchester were hanged in that city on November 23rd, 1867, and on December 13th an attempt was made to blow up the House of Detention at Clerkenwell, in London, with the intention of releasing two Fenians imprisoned within its walls. About sixty yards of the prison wall were blown in, and several houses in the neighbourhood were destroyed. Six persons were killed on the spot, six more died of their wounds, and about a hundred and twenty

persons were injured. The prisoners, too, would probably have been killed had not the Governor, apprised of the plot, locked his charges up in their cells. It is alleged that the perpetrators of this crime were not Fenians, but conspirators must be held responsible for the deeds of those who, while not perhaps belonging to the central organisation, hang upon its skirts and do untold mischief.

Gladstone and Fenianism

There can be no doubt but that the Fenian conspiracy exercised a profound effect on the mind of Mr. Gladstone, and made him realise that the time had come for dealing seriously with the true causes of Irish discontent. He said twelve years afterwards that it had an important bearing upon Irish policy, that when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, when the tranquillity of Manchester was disturbed, when London was shocked and horrified by an inhuman outrage, when there was such a widespread sense of insecurity that inhabitants of many towns in England and Scotland were sworn in as special constables, that when all these things occurred men began to pay more serious attention to the urgency and magnitude of Irish grievances.

Canadian Confederation.

On February 19th, 1867, Lord Carnarvon, as Secretary for the Colonies, moved the second reading of the Bill for the Confederation of the North American provinces of the British Empire. It was a measure to give practical expression to the principles which Lord Durham had laid down in his famous report issued more than a quarter of a century previously. By this Act the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, together with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were federated together as the Dominion of Canada, with a central Parliament and State Legislature for each province. There were to be two Houses in the central Parliament, the Senate consisting of seventy members, nominated for life by the Governor-General, and a House of Commons elected according to population, at the rate of one member for each 17,000, the duration of the Parliament not to be more than five years. The executive was vested in the Crown, represented by the Governor-General. The central government should administer the Crown affairs of the Dominion, while each province passed its local laws. The electoral systems of the various provinces were very different; in some the vote being open, in others by ballot. The first Federation consisted of four provinces only, but provision was made for others to come in. Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia and Vancouver in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, and the Dominion now includes the whole of British North America, excepting Newfoundland.

In February, 1868, in consequence of ill-health, Lord Derby resigned the premiership. The Queen sent for Disraeli and asked him to form a Government. The Cabinet remained nearly unchanged, Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Ward Hunt Chancellor of the Exchequer, Walpole retiring. The chief measures of the session were the abolition of public executions, the transference of the trial of election petitions from a tribunal of the House of Commons to a tribunal of judges, the abolition of the power of the Peers to vote by proxy, and the purchase of telegraphs by the Post Office.

The Abyssinian War.

More important than these, however, was the Abyssinian War. Some British subjects, men and women, were held in captivity by Theodore, King of Abyssinia, and it was felt that a strong effort should be made to release them. Theodore was a man of tumultuous passions, capable of strong loves and violent hatreds. For very inadequate reasons he felt that he had been slighted by Great Britain, and, seizing certain British subjects, imprisoned them in his capital, Magdala. Hormuzd Rassam, vice-consul at Aden, was sent to demand their release, with a message from Queen Victoria, accompanied by Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc. After a time, mainly owing to misunderstandings, Theodore threw these emissaries into prison also. At last, Lord Stanley, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, sent him an ultimatum, demanding the release of the prisoners within three months, with war as the alternative. This letter probably never reached the King at all. However, an expedition was formed under the command of Sir Robert Napier, which left Bombay at the end of the year.

Capture of Magdala.

It is impossible to read the history of the campaign without feelings of pity. The King oscillated from the height of hope to the depths of despair. The Abyssinians were, of course, no match for the invaders, but the King made an elaborate road, and dragged along it a piece of ordnance which was to annihilate his enemies, but it burst at the first discharge. In an engagement 500 Abyssinians were killed and thrice as many wounded. At last Theodore liberated the prisoners, who found themselves safe under the British flag. Moreover, on Easter Sunday, the great festival of the faith which both British and Abyssinians hold, he sent into the British camp a present of beeves and sheep, intended as an offering of peace. It was, however, deemed necessary for British prestige to capture the fortress. This was done without much difficulty on April 13th, and when the gate was forced the dead body of the King was found within it, shot by his own hand. Magdala was dismantled and destroyed for fear lest it should fall

into the hands of the Mohammedans, and the troops immediately returned. It was some compensation that Theodore's son, Alamayou, a child of seven years, was taken care of by Queen Victoria. He was educated first in India and then in England, but died before he reached maturity.

Disestablishment Irish Decided Upon

We now approach the period in which Gladstone began his great efforts for the pacification of Ireland. He had long been convinced that Ireland was the weak spot in the British Empire, a source from which danger had arisen and might at any moment return in more dangerous form. This is not the place to recount the wrongs which Ireland had suffered at the hands of England. It had always been treated as a conquered country, to be kept in subjection by the overwhelming supremacy of Great Britain. The emancipation of the Catholics, and the admission to Parliament and to full political privileges of those who professed the national religion, had done something to ameliorate the bitterness of the national sentiment; but it still suffered from the pressure of an alien Church, endowed by revenues contributed by its own people, from the possession of the land by an absentee aristocracy, which spent in personal enjoyment elsewhere the exorbitant rents derived from the exertions of a laborious peasantry, from an administration directed from a British stronghold on principles foreign to Irish feeling, by men who did not understand the conditions of the country, and took no pains to understand them. These grievances Gladstone determined to remove, first that of the Church, then that of the land, and lastly that of Dublin Castle.

It is probable that when he formed the design of bringing the disestablishment of the Church into the domain of practical politics, he had in his mind the possibility of granting Home Rule as the only valid remedy for Irish discontent, and to apply to this open sore the magic power of self-government. The Irish had been driven by ill-treatment to emigration on an enormous scale; indeed, it was a common opinion in England that the more Irish that emigrated the better, and that it would be a happy thing if Ireland could be entirely deserted by its own people, and their places taken by British emigrants. But those who held such opinions forgot that there was growing up, in every country to which the Irish went beyond the seas, an Irish party hostile to Great Britain. This was notably true of the United States, but it was also the case in Australia and Canada.

Now, whatever convictions a statesman may form in his own mind as to the desirability of reform in any direction, he cannot hope to give effect to them except with the support of public

opinion, and this opinion, to be valid, cannot be artificially created but must grow up in great measure of itself. A wise statesman will always take care to have this force on his side. It was idle to remedy the grievances of Ireland, unless Englishmen and Scotsmen felt they had a real existence. This explains why Gladstone came to the conclusion that the Fenian outbreak, the Manchester rescue, the Clerkenwell explosion gave an opportunity for the introduction of the beneficent legislation he had long pondered in his mind.

Debate on the Disestablishment Question.

On March 16th, 1868, Mr. John Francis Maguire, an Irish Member of Parliament, trusted by British and Irish alike, brought forward in the House of Commons some resolutions on the condition of Ireland. In the course of his speech he laid great stress upon the mischief produced in Ireland by the existence of an alien Church. The debate lasted a considerable time, and on the first night Gladstone expressed the opinion that the Irish Church must cease to exist as a State institution. In consequence of this avowal Maguire withdrew his resolutions. He knew that the Protestant garrison in Ireland was doomed, and that the fall of the Irish State Church was merely a question of time.

A few days later Gladstone gave notice of three resolutions on the subject. The first declared that the Established Church of Ireland must cease to exist as an establishment, respect being had to personal interests and to individual rights of property; the second declared that it was inexpedient to create new personal interests by any public patronage; and the third prayed the Sovereign to place at the disposal of Parliament the interests of the Crown in the temporalities of the Irish Church. Gladstone proposed his resolutions on March 30th, 1868. Lord Stanley met them by declaring that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or dismemberment of the Irish Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament. The amendment only pleaded for delay; it did not ask that the Irish Church should not perish, but only that its end should come to-morrow instead of to-day.

Lowe on the Irish Church.

Robert Lowe attacked the Irish Church with remarkable bitterness. He compared it to an exotic brought from a far country, tended with infinite pains and useless trouble, and kept alive with great difficulty and expense in an ungenial climate and an ungrateful soil. He said: "The curse of barrenness is upon it. It has no leaves, puts forth no blossoms and yields no fruit. Cut it down. Why cumbereth it the ground?" In the division there were 270 votes for the amendment and 331 against it, so that the Irish Church was condemned by a majority of 61.

Such was the fate of the amendment, but Gladstone's resolutions had still to be voted upon, and the first resolution was carried by a majority of 65, the numbers for and against it being 330 and 265. Disraeli determined to dissolve Parliament. This took place at the end of July, and the new elections were held in November. It was probably the most important election since the days of the Reform Bill. Gladstone was defeated in South Lancashire, but found a seat at Greenwich; Lord Hartington was defeated in North Lancashire, and was out of Parliament for a short time; John Stuart Mill was not re-elected for Westminster; and Lowe was chosen as the first Member for the University of London. The polls, however, gave the Liberals a majority of 112. Disraeli thought it useless to meet the new Parliament as Prime Minister, and resigned office. Gladstone's opportunity had come, and on the afternoon of December 1st he received at Hawarden an intimation from Windsor that placed him in power. Evelyn Ashley has described the homely incident when the message arrived.

Defeat of the Tory Government.

"I was standing by him, holding his coat on my arm, while he in his shirt-sleeves was wielding an axe to cut down a tree, when up came a telegraph messenger. He opened the telegram and read it, then handed it to me, speaking only two words: 'Very significant,' and at once resumed his work. The message merely stated that General Grey would arrive that evening from Windsor. This, of course, implied that a mandate was coming from the Queen, charging Mr. Gladstone with the formation of his first Government. After a few minutes the blows ceased and Mr. Gladstone, resting upon the handle of his axe, looked up, and with deep earnestness in his voice and great intensity in his face, exclaimed, 'My mission is to pacify Ireland.' He then resumed his task and never spoke another word till the tree was down."

How Gladstone was Summoned to Windsor.

"Mr. Disraeli," said the Royal missive, "has tendered his resignation to the Queen. The result of the appeal to the country is too evident to require its being pressed by a vote in Parliament, and the Queen entirely agrees with Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues that the most dignified course for them to pursue, as also the best for the public interests, is immediate resignation. Under these circumstances, the Queen must ask Mr. Gladstone, as the acknowledged head of the Liberal Party, to undertake the formation of a new Administration. With one or two exceptions, which she has requested General Grey, the bearer of this letter, to explain, the Queen would impose no restrictions on Mr. Gladstone with regard to the arrangements of the various offices in the manner which he believes to be best for the public service, and she trusts

that he will find no difficulty in filling them up, or at least the greater part of them, so that the Council may be held before the 13th. Mr. Gladstone will understand why the Queen would wish to be free from making any arrangements for the next few days after the 13th.* The Queen echoes what she said two and a half years ago to Lord Derby, that she will not have any time for seeing Mr. Gladstone, who may wish to have an opportunity of consulting some of his friends before he sees her, but that, as soon as he shall have done so, and expresses a desire to see the Queen, she will receive him."

December's Fatefulness for Gladstone.

On December 29th Gladstone entered in his diary: "This birthday opens my sixtieth year. I descend the path of life; it would be true to say I ascend a steep path with a burden ever gathering weight. The Almighty seems to sustain and spare me for some purpose of His own, deeply unworthy as I know myself to be. Glory be to His name." And in the last hours of the year he wrote further: "This month of December has been notable in my life as follows—Dec., 1809, born; 1827, left Eton; 1831, Classics at Oxford; 1832, elected to Parliament; 1838, work on *Church and State* published; 1852, Chancellor of the Exchequer; 1868, First Lord. Rather a frivolous enumeration, yet it would not be so if the love of symmetry were carried with a well-proportioned earnestness and firmness into the higher parts of life. I feel like a man with a burden under which he must fall and be crushed if he look to the right or the left, and fail from any cause to concentrate mind and muscle upon his progress step by step. This absorption, this excess, this constant jar is the fate of political life with its insatiable demands, which do not leave the smallest spark of moral energy unexhausted and available for the surgeons. Swimming for his life, a man does not see much of the country through which the river winds, and I probably know little of these years through which I busily work and live."

* December 14th was the anniversary of the death of the Prince Consort.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE: DECAY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE close of the war of 1866 left the Emperor Napoleon in a worse condition than that which he had before occupied; but the disaster which eventually overwhelmed him was brought about largely by his policy in Mexico. Benito Juarez, President of that country, in 1860 expelled Pacheco, the Spanish envoy, and a few months later suspended the interest on the foreign debt for two years. The Governments principally concerned remonstrated without effect, and in October a Convention, signed in London between Great Britain, France and Spain, decided on a joint expedition, but disclaimed any intention of territorial aggrandisement, or of interfering with the inherent right of the Mexican people to choose their own form of government, their sole object being to obtain material guarantees for the redress of wrongs which had been done to their subjects, and for which remedies had been asked in vain. Great Britain was sincere in this declaration, but France and Spain both wished to substitute a monarchy for a republic, while the Emperor Napoleon desired to establish Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne, and Queen Isabella pressed the claims of the Montpensiers, the duchess being her sister. In November Prim was appointed to the command of the Spanish contingent of the allied forces, and was ordered to adhere strictly to the principles of the Convention. Napoleon's views became known to the Spanish Government at the beginning of 1862, but Prim warned the Emperor that if he proclaimed Maximilian Emperor of Mexico his power could only last so long as he was supported by French troops. But trouble was soon a-brewing. One of the first acts of Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln as President of the United States, was to assure Napoleon that America would not allow a foreign and monarchical government to be established on her soil. The triumphant close of the war brought even stronger counsels. The Monroe Doctrine, which proclaimed the principle of "America for the Americans," was enforced. On December 12th, 1865, both Houses of Congress passed a resolution that an attempt to destroy an American republic and to build upon its ruins a

Europe and Mexico.

monarchy, supported by European bayonets, was opposed to the declared policy of the United States, repulsive in the highest degree to the American people, and an attack upon the political system of the United States.

Mexico's First President.

Mexico, otherwise called New Spain, originally a vice-royalty of the Spanish monarchy, revolted against the Mother Country in 1820, and obtained her independence in 1821. After forty years of civil war, she eventually fell into the hands of Benito Pablo Juarez, a lawyer and statesman, who was elected president by the free choice of the Mexican people. Born of poor parents in the year 1809, he suffered in his youth from the tyranny of the Spaniards, who treated the aboriginal inhabitants, to whom he belonged, with contempt and insult. His early manhood was spent in the struggle for freedom, and in the attempt to wrest the territory of his country from the dead hand of the Church. Elected president in 1858, under the new Constitution of 1857, he defeated the champions of the Clerical party in 1860, and entered the city of Mexico in triumph on January 12th, 1861.

Treaty of La Soledad.

We have said that the new Government of Mexico repudiated its debt, but there was some reason for this. The debt had been contracted by the Clerical party to assist them against their national adversaries, and it was so heavy that nearly one-half the revenues of the country went to England and one-fifth to France and Spain, leaving the Republic almost without resources to defray its expenses. In these circumstances suspension of payment was inevitable, and it was met by the Convention of London and the military intervention of the three Powers to which we have already referred. Spain signed, on February 19th, 1862, an arrangement with General Doblado, called the Treaty of La Soledad, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Republic, and Great Britain had no difficulty in adhering to an understanding which was in accord with the Convention of London.

But the French representatives hesitated to concur, because they knew that the policy of France was different from that of the two other allies. By the Second Article of the provisional treaty, the foreign allied troops were allowed to occupy the towns on the edge of the plateau on which Puebla and Mexico were situated, Cordova, Orizaba and La Tehuacan, but by the Third Article they were compelled to retire to Vera Cruz in case preliminaries should not be ratified. On the strength of the Second Article, Saligny, the representative of France, signed the treaty with the intention of breaking the First and the Third Articles.

NAPOLEON AND MAXIMILIAN

French Action in Mexico.

On March 3rd, General Lorencez landed at Vera Cruz with reinforcements from France, accompanied by General Almonte, a Mexican refugee, who openly proclaimed his intention of upsetting Juarez and establishing Maximilian on the throne. On April 3rd the Mexican Government demanded the expulsion of Almonte from their territory, and, when the plenipotentiaries met at Orizaba on April 9th, Prim exposed the nature of the disgraceful intrigue in which France was engaged. In consequence of this, the representatives of Spain and Great Britain declared the Convention of London and the Treaty of Soledad to be violated and determined to depart. The French, who, according to the treaty, ought to have retired to Vera Cruz, marched forward and attacked Puebla. Reinforcements having arrived from France under General Forey, Puebla was taken, on May 17th, 1863, after two months' siege, and the city of Mexico was occupied at the beginning of June. On July 8th an Assembly of Notables met under the presidency of Almonte, who determined to consolidate Mexico as an hereditary empire and to invite Archduke Maximilian of Austria to assume the crown. Maximilian, who received the deputation sent for the purpose at Miramar, stipulated for two conditions—the protection of the maritime Powers and the consent of the Mexican people. Both were impossible, because Great Britain, Spain and the United States were opposed to any such arrangement, and because the whole of the Mexican people, except the Clericals, were in favour of Juarez. Maximilian persisted in his refusal for several months, but in the spring of 1864 he accepted, with his wife, an invitation to the Tuileries, and there, on March 12th, a treaty was signed which made him Emperor of Mexico.

Maximilian Proceeds to Mexico.

After some difficulties between the Emperor and his brother with regard to the Austrian succession had been settled, it was arranged at Miramar that the Emperor Napoleon should supply a French garrison of 58,000 men, which should, year by year, be gradually diminished. These troops were to be paid for by Mexico at the rate of £40 a year per man. This was a heavy burden for the new government, especially as the funds arising from the confiscation of church lands could not be used for the payment, because it would offend the Clerical party, who were the Emperor's only supporters.

The Emperor Maximilian left Miramar on April 14th, 1864, on the frigate *Novara*, and reached Civita Vecchia four days later. He and the Empress had an interview with the Pope, with the object of establishing a *concordat* between State and Church in his new country. He landed at San Juan d'Ulloa on May 28th.

Nothing could be done with regard to the Church question till the arrival of the Nuncio Meglia at the end of the year. Meglia brought with him a letter written by the Pope's hand, which showed that all hope of an arrangement was impossible. Any step taken by the Emperor himself to shake off the burden of the dead hand was met by energetic expostulation from the Nuncio, who threatened a breach with Rome, so that the Emperor had no money to pay his way with. A loan was contracted in France in April, 1865, under the most onerous conditions, which raised the public debt of Mexico to over £30,000,000. The French army, now commanded by Bazaine, barely sufficed to protect Vera Cruz, Cordova, Orizaba, Puebla and Mexico, and keep the roads which connected them clear of the Liberal guerillas.

Napoleon Abandons Maximilian.

Maximilian found himself an emperor without an empire, a monarch without authority, in continual strife with the Pope on one side and the French on the other. Bazaine, too, became insufferable, but without his assistance the Empire would fall to pieces, and the time was at hand when the imperious march of events would bring this assistance to an end. The result of the American Civil War was as great a surprise to Napoleon as was the victory of the Prussians at Königgrätz in the following year. The victorious North, as we have seen, insisted on the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. The demand, urgent in 1865, became more urgent at the beginning of 1866. At that time Schofield, sent from Washington to Paris, told the Emperor that a year was the utmost limit the United States could allow for the presence of foreign troops on American soil.

Napoleon was forced to give way. In his Speech from the Throne on January 22nd, 1866, he said: "The government founded in Mexico on the will of the people gains strength; the opposition, now without a head, is conquered and dispersed. The national troops have shown themselves brave, and the country has found guarantees for order, which increase its security. Commerce with France has risen from 21,000,000 to 76,000,000 francs. Last year I expressed the hope that our expedition was approaching its termination, and I am now coming to an understanding with the Emperor Maximilian as to the time for the recall of our troops, so that it may be carried out without danger to French interests which we have defended in those distant regions."

This speech was really a tissue of falsehoods. The Republican troops were neither defeated nor dispersed; on the contrary, they were pressing forward, and the national army could hardly

be said to exist; and for "order" and "security" we ought to read "civil war" and "anarchy." The negotiations with Maximilian were not yet begun, for Baron Saillard, who was to conduct them, had only left France six days before the speech. It was true that the French troops were preparing to depart, but untrue that the interests of France were in a secure position. Baron Saillard took with him two letters from Drouyn de l'Huys, in which the French Minister, Daru, was ordered to treat with Maximilian and Bazaine for the immediate withdrawal of the French garrison. They stated, on the one hand, that the French army would depart in the autumn, and, on the other, that it would be better for Maximilian that his throne should not be supported by foreign bayonets. This meant that after a year and a half's reign, an enterprise undertaken by Maximilian only under strong pressure from France, two alternatives were left him, either of retiring to Europe with the French, or of certain destruction if he remained in the country. Napoleon's conduct was mean, but imminence of war with the United States, if he acted otherwise, left him really without a choice. On April 5th the Ministers announced that the French troops would leave Mexico in three detachments, and that the last of them would return in the spring of 1867.

The Empress Charlotte and Napoleon.

In July the Empress Charlotte undertook a journey to Europe in the hope of saving the situation. She found Napoleon at St. Cloud, having just returned from Vichy, and, with the most moving eloquence, depicted the terrible position of her husband. When these entreaties failed, she gave him two letters written with his own hand in 1864, in which he (the Emperor) assured the Archduke that he would never desert him until his work was accomplished.

He looked hastily through the letters and said: "I have done what I could for your husband; I can go no further."

The Empress was in despair, and, as she took leave, cried: "I suffer what I deserve. The grandchild of Louis Philippe of Orléans should never have trusted her fortunes to a Bonaparte."

Bazaine's Treachery.

Added to other misfortunes was the treachery of Bazaine. His wife was a Mexican, and her family were infected with the ambition that they might be masters of the country, and Bazaine sought for himself the position of Emperor. Hence his policy was to weaken the authority of Maximilian and to increase the power of the dissidents, with whom he was in secret communication, and for this purpose he prolonged the occupation in order that he might have more time for the prosecution of his designs. It was

known that the occupation would come gradually to an end, and as each strong place was evacuated by the French it was occupied by the dissidents. Treachery took even a more solid form. Supplies paid for by the sacrifices of Maximilian's supporters were sold by Bazaine to the highest bidder, and the money went into his pockets.

Maximilian Hesitates.

History does not record a more heart-breaking or a more contemptible tragedy. But Maximilian's cup of agony was not yet full. On October 18th, 1866, he received the news that his gifted, beautiful, beloved wife had lost her reason. It is said that the insanity was first caused by a glass of orange water which she had drunk during her stormy interview with Napoleon, and which was made from oranges brought from Mexico by one of her suite, and believed to have been poisoned.

As soon as he heard the news, Maximilian determined to leave Mexico, and retired to Chapultepec, and then to Orizaba, which he reached on October 27th. Pale and wasted with fever, he drove in a carriage drawn by six mules. When he reached the town he was received by the French with salvoes of artillery and the ringing of bells, but his Austrian suite could only reply to the Gallic transports with Hungarian curses. The Indians flocked round with joy, his officers besought him on their knees to remain in Mexico, but he declared that it was impossible. The Clerical party, dismayed at his resolution, strained every nerve to keep him. They sent Father Fischer, a wily ecclesiastic, to promise him money and support from the revenues of the Church, engagements which they were powerless to fulfil; but Lacuza, his Minister, struck a more promising note when he told him that a Hapsburg should not desert his post in the hour of danger, and that he must meet bravely the attacks of open as well as secret enemies, prepared to conquer or fall.

Maximilian's Decision.

On November 25th Maximilian held a council, in which ten members out of twenty-three decided against his departure, and he determined to remain. He returned to his capital in January, 1867, resolved to carry on the war with the help of the Mexicans who were true to him, and, for this purpose, he recalled Marquez and Miramon from exile. He depended mainly upon the Imperial Hussars, a regiment of pure Hungarians, commanded and paid by the devoted Khevenhüller, on the infantry of Hammerstein and on the Mexican chasseurs of Moso. He found that the stores collected in Mexico had been destroyed by Bazaine's orders, and that the marshal had persuaded the municipality to repurchase at an exorbitant price the palace which Maximilian had presented to

him. Bazaine left the city on February 12th, 1867, starting out in the early morning as if ashamed of being seen, having carefully destroyed, before his departure, arms, horses, harness and cannon, knowing that the crown he had been commanded to defend had no money to supply the loss.

Maximilian at Queretaro.

Next morning the troops of Khevenhüller and Hammerstein were summoned to the palace. The Emperor appeared along with his physician Basch, Father Fischer and others, and told his faithful officers that he had determined to return to Queretaro, but that they must remain behind. They were in despair, knowing that his Mexican guards could not defend him against the insurgents and that he was in the hands of traitors. But he declared that it was his unalterable wish, and rode away to his doom. Maximilian left his true-hearted Austrians in the capital, in order to live for the future as a Mexican among Mexicans. He found at Queretaro a population of 40,000 souls, who received him with joy and an affection strengthened by a three months' siege, and he commanded there an army of 95,000 men. But in the capital he found himself betrayed. Ministers behaved exactly as if there were no Emperor at all, did nothing that they had promised, supplied him with no money, and disregarded his commands to send him Khevenhüller and Hammerstein.

Betrayal of the Emperor.

On March 14th, when he had successfully repelled the attack of General Escobedo, he sent Marquez and Bidaum, whom he believed devoted to his cause, with orders to depose the Ministry, to obtain money, and in any case to return to Queretaro with reinforcements. The two generals arrived at Mexico on the evening of March 25th, accompanied by 800 cavalry. Four days later Khevenhüller and Hammerstein received marching orders, and on March 30th they set out, apparently to join the Emperor at Queretaro with 4,000 troops and 12 guns. But they marched not north-west to Queretaro, but south-west to Puebla, which was being besieged by Porfirio Diaz. When they had proceeded for four days with incredible slowness they heard that Puebla had fallen. This was owing to the treachery of Marquez, who disregarded all representations of the German officers. They were obliged to return to Mexico, which was soon afterwards blockaded, so that no further expedition was possible.

Maximilian defended himself stoutly in Queretaro. After fighting bravely on March 24th, April 1st and 27th, May 1st and 3rd, he determined to make a final effort on the night of May 14th. But shortly after midnight the enemy, led by the traitor Lopez, broke into the monastery of La Cruz, where the Emperor was

residing with his staff, and took them all prisoners, unarmed as they were.

Execution of Maximilian.

Juarez did not himself desire the death of Maximilian. The besiegers received orders to allow him to pass unscathed should he wish to do so. But he was brought before a court-martial and tried, together with Generals Meija and Miramon, who were regarded by the Mexicans as traitors. If they were condemned to death, and they deserved no other punishment, how could Maximilian be allowed to escape, under whose command they had fought? Maximilian refused all offers of escape, unless the two generals could go with him. When he heard of his condemnation, he said to Juarez that he hoped his blood would be the last shed for the peace of Mexico. In the early morning of June 19th, 1867, the three were led together to the place of execution, where the sentence was read out to them.

Maximilian said: "I die for the independence and freedom of Mexico; may my blood strengthen them both!"

Miramon said: "Long live the Empress! Hurrah for Mexico!"

Meija kissed his crucifix.

The officers gave the signal, the volleys were fired, and the victims fell. The colonel who commanded the firing party said to Herr Basch: "His was a mighty soul!"

His Remains Brought to Europe.

On the evening of June 19th, as soon as he heard of the execution, Baron Lago, the Minister of Austria, telegraphed to Juarez asking to be allowed to convey the body of Maximilian to Europe. The Austrian corvette *Elizabeth* had been waiting on the coast to receive the Emperor at any moment. The cabin reserved for his return to his country was now turned into a chamber of death. Juarez barbarously refused to surrender the corpse, which he regarded as a spoil of victory. The captain of an American ship of war was asked to press the request. He did so, pointing out that the ashes of the victim could be of no possible service to Mexico, and adding: "All expenses will be paid." This was refused and a similar request of a more official character met with the same result. The faithful Basch, who had been careful to embalm the body, and was keeping it at Queretaro, asked, on his own account, that the remains might be removed, but received an answer that the Citizen President had decided for grave reasons not to accede to the request. At last Tegethoff was dispatched, fresh from the laurels of Lissa, and was allowed to come to Mexico. He said that he represented the family of the Archduke. Juarez demanded an official request from Austria, or a written demand from the family of the Archduke. Beust bowed before necessity

and the body of the murdered hero was brought back to Europe on the *Novara*, the ship which had conveyed him, in his youth, on his voyage round the world and had brought him as an Emperor to those ill-fated shores. On January 18th, 1868, the Royal vault of the Capuchins received the mortal remains of the most unfortunate member of the unfortunate House of Hapsburg. In the meantime, the beautiful and gifted Empress Charlotte was wandering, a hopeless lunatic, about the gardens of Laeken, near Brussels. Napoleon and Bazaine were, as yet, unscathed, but a more terrible calamity awaited them than that which had befallen the Emperor whom they had destroyed.

The Exhibition of 1867.

The year 1867 was the year of the Paris Exhibition, the most brilliant of those international festivals which have now become too common to excite much attention, but were then untarnished by familiarity. It witnessed also the culmination of the splendour of the Imperial Court. Paris was visited by the monarchs and statesmen of Europe. The Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville vied with each other in dazzling hospitality. But the brief period of brilliance lay between 1866 and 1870, between Sadowa and Sedan, between the humiliation and the destruction of the Imperial edifice; under the triumphal song of exaltation sounded the burden of sadness. The tolling of a funeral bell, which accompanied the merry carillons of success, was heard by the acutest ears of European statesmen, and even in the intoxication of pleasure the Emperor and Empress could not have been deaf to its warnings.

Rise of the Third Party.

These feelings naturally made the Emperor more anxious to consolidate the fabric he had created, in order to leave it, with some hope of continuance, to his heirs. The most obvious way of doing this was to change it from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy, and this feeling was exhibited in the rise of the Third Party, which came into existence in the early months of 1866. The Third Party did not desire parliamentary government comparable to that of Great Britain, but what it called a development of political freedom, a Ministry responsible to the Legislative Assembly, which should give that body a voice in the general policy of the country and a certain power of control. This change would naturally be accompanied by the liberty of the Press, and the concession of the right to hold public meetings. It was a move in the ceaseless struggle between *imperium* and *libertas*, authority and freedom, the two *foci* on which government is based, the conciliation of which constitutes the duty and the difficulty of every statesman.

The leader of the Third Party was Émile Ollivier, a young, vigorous and attractive personality, who, living to a green old

age, gave to the world a record of the events in which he played so prominent a part. His chief opponent was Rouher, who had been a faithful supporter of the Second Empire since its foundation in 1857. Rouher began the campaign with vigour. In July, 1866, he obtained the passing of a decree of the Senate which gave to that body the sole right of discussing constitutional changes, removed their discussion from the Lower House, and punished by a severe fine any treatment of this question in the Press. Petitions to the Senate for any change in the Constitution could only be brought before it for consideration if primarily authorised by the public officers. By this measure Rouher hoped to establish a bulwark to defend the Constitution of 1852.

Napoleon's Concessions.

But the catastrophe of Königgrätz and Queretaro had produced a powerful effect on the mind of the Emperor, an effect which was deepened by the evidences of unrest and discontent in the nation at large. Therefore, on January 19th, 1867, he promulgated a decree restoring the right of interpellation to the Deputies, and enacting that a Minister might be specially deputed by the Emperor to represent him in the discussions of either House. Notice was also given of an intention to introduce the freedom of the Press and the right of public meeting, both in a modified form.

Ollivier and Rouher.

During the first six months of 1867 it was uncertain how far these measures portended the transference of power from Rouher to Ollivier. An interpellation, to be valid, required the signatures of five Ministers, and the approval of four committees, which gave the majority in the Chamber power to prevent a demand which might be disagreeable to the Government. Besides, the presence of Ministers in the Chamber did not indicate that they were responsible to Parliament, as it was expressly declared that they were responsible to the Emperor alone. Rouher still remained supreme. He established a kind of club in the Rue de l'Arcade, composed of thoroughgoing Bonapartists, who were opposed to all Liberal reform, and he publicly announced in the Chamber that the Liberal concessions of January 19th were made at his instigation. At his instigation, too, on March 12th, the Senate demanded and obtained the right of examining all laws, not to determine whether they were constitutional, but to help in their formation, and this power was certain to be used in a reactionary sense. Walewski, the friend and protector of Ollivier, resigned the presidency of the Legislative Assembly, and when the Bills passed in January were adjourned indefinitely, and Ollivier made a violent attack on Rouher, whom he called the

Vice-Emperor, Napoleon sent Rouher the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to console him for the attack to which he had been subjected.

The Luxemburg Question.

Matters were, however, complicated by the rise of the Luxemburg Question—that is, the nature and amount of the compensation which France was to receive for the aggrandisement of Germany. The "Arcadians," as the ultra-Bonapartists were called, would not have recoiled from war to obtain their ends; but the Emperor was prudent and determined to confine himself to diplomatic means. In the negotiations with Bismarck before the war of 1866 Napoleon had always emphasised the necessity of some compensation for France. Bismarck had not definitely opposed these views. He had, indeed, done something to stimulate them, but had carefully refrained from committing himself, from promising anything, or even from saying that he would agree to such a demand. He, however, privately declared that no cession of German territory could be thought of for a moment, and that Great Britain would oppose any aggrandisement of France in Belgium; but that if there could be found on the confines of France a small territory resembling Savoy, Germany would not object to its annexation as an accomplished fact. This could only refer to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

The Position of Luxemburg.

The history of this little country had been remarkable and anomalous. The treaty of April 19th, 1839, had left it independent, under the sceptre, indeed, of the King of Holland, but with separate institutions—a Sovereign State under a Prince who resided at The Hague, but, at the same time, belonging to the German Federation and a member of the Zollverein. Moreover, in 1815, it had been declared a federal fortress, and was garrisoned by Prussian troops. But by the war of 1866 the old Confederation had been destroyed, and it would be possible to form a new one, of which the Duchy of Luxemburg should form no part. It seemed, therefore, to be able to command its own destinies, excepting as concerned the Sovereign of the Low Countries, the King, or Grand Duke as he was called. The country caused no little worry to the House of Orange-Nassau, to which it was a source of embarrassment rather than profit, being politically and naturally separated from the country of the Netherlands. On the other hand, France was close by, ready to receive it gladly. It was a small country of 200,000 inhabitants. Its main importance lay in the fortress-capital, which was more formidable in appearance than in fact. If it became French by an act of cession, supported by a plebiscite, who could find fault?

Conference Concerning Luxemburg.

An opportunity for opening the question was afforded when Holland asked France whether she would give assistance, in case she (Holland) were attacked by Prussia. The French Government said that, though they did not apprehend any danger, the presence of a Prussian garrison in Luxemburg was undesirable. The dissolution of the German Confederation had restored Luxemburg to Holland and had made Luxemburg an independent State. It would, therefore, be wise of the King of Holland to cede Luxemburg to France; Germany would not object to such a step, which would gratify the feelings both of the Dutch and of the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy. Eventually, in January, 1867, the Dutch, convinced that Luxemburg actually belonged to them, offered to cede their province to France in return for a payment in money, if the Prussians would agree to withdraw their garrison. The people of Luxemburg agreed to this arrangement, and the King of Prussia had also given his approbation, when, in March, 1867, public opinion in Germany suddenly took alarm, and Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador in Paris, demanded from Moustier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a pledge to discontinue the negotiations. But this did not lead to war, as was expected. The question was referred to a conference of the Powers in London, the result of which was that France renounced her scheme for the possession of the Grand Duchy, and Prussia evacuated the fortress, which was declared neutral and was dismantled.

Royal Visitors to Paris.

One of the results, indeed, one of the objects, of the Exhibition in Paris was to attract a crowd of distinguished visitors to that city, especially princes and kings. They all came, first the King and Queen of the Belgians, then the Queen of Portugal, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Prince of Wales, and the son of the Tycoon of Japan. But the most distinguished and the most longed-for of all were the Emperor Alexander of Russia and King William of Prussia. If their friendship were secured, the Empire might feel safe. The Tsar arrived on June 1st. Great pains were taken for his safety, which were not entirely successful. His cortège avoided the dangerous streets, and he was lodged in the Élysée. But he did not escape some insults from friends of Poland. King William left Berlin on June 4th. As he entered Paris he saw the Heights of Montmartre, which he had occupied with an invading army in 1814. He was met at the station by the nephew of the man he had helped to depose, the sovereign whom three years later he himself was to depose. He was lodged in the Pavillon Marsan, and was better received by the populace than Alexander,

although he was really more dangerous. He was attended by Bismarck, who drove in the carriage behind him.

The Tsar's Narrow Escape.

On June 6th a great review was held for the two Sovereigns. As they returned in the afternoon King William sat with the Emperor, and the Tsar with the Empress. The crowd was so thick that they could only proceed at a foot's pace. Suddenly a shot was fired at the Emperor's carriage. An equerry drove his horse in the way, and the ball wounded its nostrils, the blood spurting out over a Grand Duke.

"Sire," said Napoleon, "we have been under fire together; we are now brothers in arms."

The Tsar, who was destined to be killed some years later by the explosion of a bomb, replied, "Our days are in the hands of Providence."

The assassin was a young Pole named Berezowski, who desired to avenge the wrongs of his country.

In the brilliant company Austria was alone wanting, wrecked by domestic misfortunes. One Archduke was mad; Maximilian was a prisoner, awaiting his doom; Archduchess Mathilde set fire to herself while dressing for dinner, and was burned to death. The Austrian Embassy was closed.

Bismarck's Brilliancy.

Bismarck was the hero of the day. His sallies were in everybody's mouth. Certainly, French society was never more brilliant than in June, 1867. Yet Offenbach was there with his mocking laugh, and was more applauded than anyone; the *Grand Duchess of Gerolstein* was the play of the summer. All good things come to an end, however, and Alexander left on June 11th and King William on June 14th. The latter sent a warm message of thanks on his return to Babelsberg.

Napoleon in Austria.

As Austria could not come to the Emperor, the Emperor determined to go to Austria. Beust was anxious for the meeting, saying that an alliance between France and Austria was a first political necessity. The visit took place at Salzburg on August 18th, the birthday of Francis Joseph, and lasted five days. It led to no definite results, and was rather a visit of condolence for the past than a union of hope for the future. On his return the Emperor passed by Lille, which he had visited just after his marriage with his lovely bride. He was tempted to compare the present with the past, and admitted black clouds hung on his horizon. When Francis Joseph paid a return visit to Paris in October, he visited the tombs of his ancestors at Nancy, and expressed a hope that France and Austria might advance hand in hand on the path of progress and civilisation. But nothing

tangible came of these words. At last the pageants were over, and the puppets were put back into their box. A feeling of disquietude and discontent followed the orgies of splendour. Imperial France knew no more happy days.

Convention between Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel.

By the Convention signed between Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel on September 15th, 1864, it had been agreed that Italy should not attack the existing territory of the Pope, or permit any attack upon it, that the French troops should evacuate Rome within a maximum delay of two years, and that Victor Emmanuel should establish his capital in some other place than the Eternal City, probably Florence. The Convention was distasteful to Catholics throughout the world. To the Pope it was a thunderbolt. Beust disbelieved in its reality, and French Catholics received it with disgust. The Convention was approved of by the Italian Government and Parliament, but many Italians hoped and believed that Florence was only a step towards Rome. In 1865 signs appeared that the Convention would be carried out. Victor Emmanuel established himself in the Palazzo Pitti, and the Italian Parliament held its sittings in the large hall of the Palazzo Vecchio.

The Legion of Antibes.

Napoleon withdrew a regiment from Rome, and the Pope began to resign himself to his fate. On January 1st, 1866, he said to Montebello, commandant of the Roman garrison: "This is the last time you will receive my New Year's blessing; after your departure, perhaps the enemies of the Church will come to Rome. I pray for you, for France, for the Imperial family." Napoleon endeavoured to find a substitute for his garrison by constituting the Legion of Antibes, a body of French Catholic soldiers, recruited under the Papal flag for a service of five years. In August, 1866, this Legion numbered 1,000 men, and was placed under the command of Colonel d'Arz. It entered Rome on September 22nd.

The French Leave Rome.

After the acquisition of Venice the Italians became more anxious for the occupation of Rome, and in November Fleury was sent to Florence to counsel moderation and to inform the King that if, after the departure of the French garrison, the Pope were compelled to leave Rome, he would be brought back by French bayonets; and that, for this purpose, 20,000 French soldiers would always be posted between Marseilles and Toulon, ready to sail for Civita Vecchia at any moment. But, before the end of the year, the Convention was carried out. On December 11th, 1866, the French tricolour disappeared from the Castle of St. Angelo and, two days later, Montebello landed in

France. After seventeen years the French occupation was at an end.

Garibaldi Chosen Leader.

At first sight the Papal Government appeared stronger than ever. The carnival and the Holy Week were unusually brilliant; never had the influx of visitors been more numerous. In June the centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter was celebrated with great pomp, and the Pope issued invitations for an Œcumenical Council. Italian patriots sought for a leader to help them to realise their hopes, and they found one in Garibaldi, whom they believed to be invincible. In February, 1867, he left Caprera and went to Venice, where he preached a campaign against Rome. He was placed at the head of the national movement and addressed a remonstrance to the courts of Europe against the continuance of the temporal government of the Pope. At Genoa he prepared an expedition which was to land on the shores of the Papal territory, and on June 20th 200 Garibaldians assembled at Terni and made a raid into the territory of Viterbo. Garibaldi himself entered Orvieto on August 13th. Ratazzi, a man of vacillating character, was now Prime Minister of Italy, in place of the strong-minded Ricasoli. He did his best to minimise the danger, and placed his hopes on the promise which Garibaldi had given to attend a congress at Geneva, which would remove him from Italy at least for a time.

The "Congress of Peace."

This congress, which bore the name of "a Congress of Peace," met at Geneva on September 8th, and Garibaldi arrived there with great éclat. He made a speech from the balcony of his hotel in which he extolled the freedom of Switzerland, the heroism of William Tell, the passionate democracy of Rousseau, and the brotherhood of man, and expressed the necessity of destroying all thrones and, above all, the pestilential institutions of the Papacy—a strange allocution for "a Congress of Peace." At the first sitting he made a speech in which he uttered the opinion that all wars were impious except those directed against kings, and he renewed the cry which had been first heard at Catania in 1862—"Rome or death!" In three days the Genevese were tired of his presence, and on September 11th he made a hurried departure. He did not, as was desired, retire to Caprera, but went to Italy and invaded the Papal territory. As he was preparing to cross the frontier, he was arrested, on September 24th, at Osinalunga and imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Alessandria. It was a second Aspromonte, and Ratazzi was proud of it.

Rome remained comparatively tranquil. The Papal army now

of Sunday Mass, and were joined there by the French brigade, which had left Rome a little later. They saw in front of them the large villages of Mentana and Monte Rotondo, both occupied by Garibaldi. His army was depressed by the fact that there had been no rising in Rome, and by the news of the arrival of the French. It is said that he was on the point of marching to Tivoli, with the view of retiring to the Abruzzi, when he heard of the approach of the enemy and immediately made his dispositions for defence.

Defeat of Garibaldi.

Garibaldi had no artillery excepting what he had captured at Monte Rotondo, and only a few cavalry, but he still commanded 9,000 troops, a number superior to that of the enemy. He was protected by the old castles of Monte Rotondo and Mentana. A fierce fusillade began and the Papal Zouaves fell back, but Charette, with an energy worthy of his name, cried, "Forward with the bayonet! If you do not follow me I will go alone!" On the side of the road were a vineyard and a farm, called the Vigna Santucci, occupied by Garibaldians. After a severe struggle it was captured at 2 p.m., and the French were less than a mile from Mentana. They came into action armed with chassepot rifles, but the Garibaldians fought bravely, and when night fell Mentana was not taken. However, when they were about to renew the attack at daybreak the white flag was hoisted on the walls of Mentana, and Monte Rotondo was evacuated. The Garibaldian army had ceased to exist, 1,000 had been killed or wounded, many prisoners were taken, and those who escaped were disarmed at the frontier on November 6th. The Allies returned to Rome in triumph. Garibaldi was captured at Figline. Failly shocked public opinion and sentiment by saying in his dispatch, "The chassepots have done wonders." Napoleon had now completely broken with the Italian patriots. On November 4th Rouher declared in the Chamber that Italy should never take Rome, and that France would never permit such a violence to her honour and to Catholicism.

Appearance of Gambetta.

The expedition to Rome had the effect of reconstituting the Republican party in France. Mentana had produced a breach between Italy and France, and set the revolutionaries against the supporters of authority. On November 20th, just after the expedition had started, a fresh attempt at combined action was inaugurated at a Radical demonstration in Paris. A new opposition, more audacious and more enterprising than any which had previously existed, came into being. Among its orators was Léon Gambetta, a young lawyer from Cahors, whose eloquence

was the admiration of the Quartier Latin. Newspapers of a more violent tone made their appearance, such as the *Rive Gauche*, the *Courier Français*, and the *Candide*, edited by Blanqui and his disciples. A Labour Party also came into being with strong Socialist tendencies. The Workmen's International Association had been founded in London in 1864, and in September, 1867, the second International Congress at Lausanne sent a delegation to the Peace Congress at Geneva, to which we have already referred, Socialist workmen thus uniting themselves with Genevese Republicans against the Empire. On November 4th the International took part in a demonstration against the expedition to Rome, and on December 30th the members of the Paris branch were prosecuted for interfering in political matters.

Napoleon's Fears of Prussia.

At the beginning of the year 1868 the Emperor felt himself in a dangerous position, and Prussia was to him more and more a cause of anxiety. The French military attaché at Berlin reported to his Government that any accident might bring on war. Mentana had put an end to any hope of an alliance with Italy. It was imperative to reorganise the army, but this could not be done without the consent of the Chambers, which would refuse it unless concessions were made to the desire for more Liberalised government, which would mean the emancipation of the Press and an alteration of the law of public meeting. The whole year was occupied in the discussion of these measures, the general result of which was to weaken the authority of the Empire and hasten its fall.

French System of Conscription.

At this time the French army was recruited by conscription. The routine was as follows: It was first determined how many new soldiers were required for the service of the year, and all young men who had reached the age of twenty-one were summoned to the capital of the Department and drew lots. Those who drew the lowest numbers were taken one after the other until the number required was complete. The number asked under the Restoration had been at first 40,000, and then 60,000; under Louis Philippe it was raised to 80,000, and under the Empire to 100,000, but in the Crimean and Italian wars it was increased to 140,000. The length of service was seven years, and those who had drawn good numbers, as they were called—that is, numbers higher than were needed for the service, did not serve at all. By this system the population was divided into two classes, one of artisans and labourers altogether free from military service, the other living in garrisons and always subject to be called to arms, the difference between them depending solely on

the hazard of a lottery. Those who could afford it could purchase exemption, which, at first customary, became legalised in 1855. It is difficult to imagine a worse system. No wonder the word "conscription" grew hateful, and it is used at the present day to discredit universal military service, which, whether good or bad, is certainly not conscription.

The Prussian System.

In Prussia the system was entirely different. In that country the whole male population was compelled to serve, but only for two or three years, and thus the separation of the population into two classes did not arise. This system was ridiculed in France, because it was not understood. It was regarded as impossible that an army of semi-citizens, without the splendour and éclat of the French service, could acquit themselves bravely in the field of battle. The existence of a highly-trained scientific General Staff was not known, and the care with which the *cadres* of the regiment were maintained in a high state of efficiency was also ignored. The Battle of Königgrätz was a revelation; as a consequence of it, the Prussian system became the admiration of Europe, and in September, 1866, Napoleon and Randon undertook the reform of the French army.

Trochu's Criticism of the French Army.

Napoleon was in favour of compulsory military service, but the marshal did not go beyond a modification of existing conditions. A new spirit, however, was infused into these discussions by the appointment of Niel to succeed Randon as Minister of War, and this was emphasised by an expression in the speech of the Emperor on opening the Chambers on February 14th, 1867: "The influence of a nation depends upon the number of men whom she can place under arms," an opinion which came as a shock to those who were dreaming of universal peace and the federation of the world. These words gave rise to heated debates and a rain of pamphlets, the most remarkable of which was that of Trochu, *L'Armée Française en* 1867. He criticised severely the existing conditions, but had little to propose in their place except a yearly contingent of 100,000 recruits and nine years of service—five in the active army and four in the reserve.

French Army Reform.

The Government plan appeared in March, 1867. The recruits of the year were to be divided into two classes; the first was to serve five years in the active army and four in the reserve, and the second four years in the reserve only. In the active army some citizens were exonerated from service altogether; in the reserve, substitution was allowed. A *Garde mobile* was to be formed, consisting of two parts—one, of those who had been exonerated or had found a substitute; the other, of those who had served four

years in the reserve. The *Garde mobile* was subject to military exercise, but could not be called to active service except by an Act of the Legislature. The period of active service was reduced to five years. To this project the Chambers made three objections: they wished to preserve the right of fixing the annual contingent, desired the preservation of the "good numbers" and the privilege of entire exemption, and proposed to give the *Garde mobile* a civil rather than a military character. These discussions continued during the whole of 1867, and the law was voted on January 14th, 1868. The result of the debates was that little serious change was made, saving the creation of the *Garde mobile*, an imitation of the Prussian *Landwehr*, and it was doubtful how far that would be carried out.

The "Amendment of the Forty-two."

The Bills relating to the freedom of the Press and the right of public meetings were before the Chambers at the same time as the Army Bill, and were considered as the first steps towards the foundation of a Liberal Empire. The Liberalising of the Empire suffered much from the premature death of Morny, the son of Queen Hortense and Flahault, in March, 1865. He had been the author of the decree of November 24th, 1860, which founded this policy. In the debates on the Address in March, 1866, an amendment was proposed, signed by forty-two Deputies, begging the Emperor to give effect to the decree of 1860. This is known in French history as the "Amendment of the Forty-two." It is uncertain whether the Emperor agreed with them or not, but on January 19th, 1867, a letter from him to the Ministers was published announcing certain reforms in the direction of liberty. These were to substitute the right of interpellation for the right of address, to allow Ministers to attend the debates in the Chambers, to reform the law of the Press and the law of public meeting.

Reforms of Press and Public Meeting Laws.

It is reported that on the day after their publication Prince Napoleon said, "If the Emperor wishes to be consistent, he will take Émile Ollivier into his counsels." In fact, Rouher, the actual Minister, had opposed the Amendment of the Forty-two, and Ollivier, who had been offered the portfolio of Public Instruction, had refused to serve under him. Granier de Cassagnac pronounced strongly for the principle of personal government, declaring it to be the true Liberalism. He supported the Constitution of 1852, to be used, however, with moderation, saying it had protected France for sixteen years and would continue to protect her. Eventually, Rouher, in the desire to maintain his position, came round to the Bill, and it was finally carried on

March 9th, Berryer alone voting against it. It made it possible to found a newspaper by a simple declaration, instead of obtaining the consent of the Government; and it abolished governmental interference by means of warning, suspension and suppression. Newspapers were placed under the jurisdiction of the law courts, but the necessity of a stamp and a deposit by way of security was still insisted upon. The law of public meeting authorised the holding of such meetings, subject to the signature of the necessary declaration by five competent persons, and provided that a meeting should take place in a closed building under the supervision of a commissary of police, who could dissolve it if he pleased.

Decline of the Empire.

The Empire was evidently on its decline. What were the evidences of its decay and the causes which led to it? Like the *ancien régime*, it owed its destruction in part to the spread of ideas which were inimical to the principle of authority. Religion was attacked, and the power of the Government undermined. Moreover, the new Press law led to the multiplication of Radical newspapers. In addition to the *Siècle* and the *Temps*, which were old asserters of the Liberal cause, there were issued the *Tribune* of Eugène Pelletan, the *Revue Politique* of Challemel Lacour, and the *Revue* of Delescluze, who was a zealous Republican. On May 30th, 1868, appeared the *Lanterne* of Henri Rochefort, which rapidly attained a dominant position. It attacked the dynasty with the most bitter sarcasm. The first number said: "I am thoroughly Bonapartist, but I must be allowed to choose my hero in the dynasty. As Bonapartist, I prefer Napoleon II. It is my right: he represents for me the ideal of the sovereign. No one can deny that he occupied the throne, because his successor is Napoleon III. What a reign, my friends, what a reign! No taxes! No war! No Civil List! Oh, yes, Napoleon II., I love and admire you without reserve." The Tuileries was in consternation, Rochefort was punished and exiled, but nothing would stop the dissemination of the scarlet pamphlet. At the same time, under the law of public meeting, the gatherings of Socialist workmen became more frequent, social and economic questions were freely discussed, and before long the debates took the form of attacks on the Government.

Growing Unrest.

Towards the end of the year 1868 the horizon darkened. A book entitled *Paris in December, 1851*, by a young publicist, Eugène Ténot, told in merciless terms the history of the *coup d'état*. Demonstrations were made in favour of an obscure Republican named Baudin, who had fallen at a barricade in 1851,

and a subscription was opened for a monument. The Republican newspapers that supported the movement were prosecuted, and were defended by Gambetta, who attacked the *coup d'état* in violent language, calling for a great national expiation. Democratic principles began to spread throughout the *bourgeoisie*, the middle class which had hitherto supported the Empire. When the Chambers were opened on January 18th, 1869, the Emperor denounced from the throne the revolutionary spirits whose aim was to disturb public tranquillity. During this session the Opposition gained a victory in the vindication of the liberties of Paris. It was settled that the budget of the city was to be voted by the Municipal Council, under the sanction of the legislative body, and was no longer wholly dependent on the will of the Government.

The "Cent Seize."

The result of the elections held in May, 1869, furnished further proof of the spread of Republicanism and of opposition to the Empire. At their close the Government secured 4,438,000 votes, the Opposition 3,385,000. In Paris the Opposition had a large majority—231,000 against 74,000. Out of ninety candidates of the Opposition, about forty were irreconcilable to the Empire. The Emperor was determined to proceed in the path of Liberalising the institutions of his Government, doubtless satisfied that it was the best means of securing the throne to his son. In 1866 the Liberal movement had been supported by 42 Deputies; in 1869 personal government became unpopular. An interpellation put forward by the Left Centre, the old Third Party, received a number of adhesions, at first 70, then 100, then 116, and the new party entered into French history as that of the *Cent Seize* (the Hundred and Sixteen). Their principles soon secured the public sanction of the Emperor, and on July 12th, when the business of parliament began, Rouher read a message from the throne consenting to their programme. Their main object was to establish Parliamentary Government. The office of Secretary of State was abolished and the new Prime Minister was to be a member of the Chambers and to speak in their name. In these circumstances Rouher tendered his resignation, and his long reign was at an end.

Legislative Reforms.

Unfortunately, having taken the great step, the Emperor proceeded with hesitation. Indeed, he was at this time very ill, and in August his life was despaired of. He seemed to be afraid of the consequences of his action. In the place of Rouher, who became President of the Council, he made Forcade de la Roquette, the great supporter of official candidatures, Minister of the

Interior, and shrank from giving office to men who, in the opinion of the country, were the most prominent advocates of the new regime. In September the draft of the decree giving effect to the reforms indicated in the message of July 12th was accepted by the Senate. The Legislative Assembly became a parliament on the British model; it chose its own president and secretaries, and had the right of initiation, of discussing and voting the budget, of discussing amendments of it in detail, instead of voting large portions of it in the mass. The Senate was transformed into a deliberative assembly with public sittings; it could discuss laws brought up from the Lower House and discuss them in detail, while the Ministers were responsible and could be impeached. There was, however, a party in favour of personal government, supported by the Empress, and called the Arcadians or the Mamelukes, and Rouher still had access to the Emperor's private ear.

The Dawn of 1870.

The Chambers opened on November 29th, and the Emperor in his speech said that the new state of things should be founded on order and liberty, avoiding reaction on the one hand, and revolution on the other. He would be responsible for order, but it was the duty of the Chambers to assist him in preserving liberty. On December 27th the Emperor wrote a letter to Émile Ollivier, asking him to nominate the persons who might form with him a homogeneous Cabinet faithfully representing the opinion of the majority of the legislative body, and bent on carrying out the new Constitution both in letter and in spirit. The formation of the new Ministry was very difficult, but on January 2nd, 1870, the names were published in the *Moniteur*. Daru became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Buffet of Finance; Lebœuf, who had succeeded Niel, remained Minister of War. These changes had roused more curiosity than interest in the country. The Ministers were known to be honest men, enlightened and incorrupt, faithful servants of their sovereign and country. The new order of government was looked upon with hope rather than with suspicion, and was generally popular. The year 1870, which was to prove the last of the Empire and the most tragical in the history of France, opened under the most favourable auspices for peace and liberty.

Socialistic Triumph.

Nevertheless, the Ministry had from the first great difficulties both in Parliament and the country. Ollivier was supported by the official Ministerialists, who gave him a large majority, but the extreme Independents were hostile and ready to take advantage of any mistake he might commit. The forty Republican

Deputies had no real power, but represented the inhabitants of the great towns, the working classes, and the educated middle class. Gambetta, their most prominent member, declared for a proposal which included universal suffrage, the entire freedom of the Press, absolute right of meeting and combination, the separation of Church and State, and the suppression of a standing army. There were also Socialists belonging to the International, preaching Republicanism and Revolution to the workmen of the great cities, organising trade unions, and supporting strikes. In November Rochefort was elected for Belleville by 17,900 votes, in place of Gambetta, who had chosen to sit for Marseilles, and this was regarded as a triumph for the Socialists and the party of Revolution.

Victor Noir Killed by Prince Pierre Napoleon.

An event now occurred of a dramatic character, which hastened the fall of the Empire. Prince Pierre Bonaparte, third son of Lucien, a man of fifty-three years of age, was living in a small house in the Rue d'Auteuil. He was a thoroughly bad lot, an unreclaimed and uncivilised Corsican, who got into mischief wherever he fixed his abode. He was the *enfant terrible* of the Bonaparte family and a constant source of anxiety to the Emperor. A quarrel arose between him and some newspapers which had abused the Bonaparte family, and Paschal Grammont, the editor of the *Marseillaise*, sent him a challenge, which was conveyed, among others, by a young man of twenty-one, called Victor Noir. The envoy did not behave with discretion, a shot was fired by the Prince, and Victor Noir was killed. On June 11th the *Marseillaise* came out bordered in black, with the heading, "Assassination of Victor Noir by Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte." On the following day the victim's funeral was attended by 100,000 persons, and disorders occurred which it was the duty of the Liberal Government to put down. A more ungrateful task could not have fallen to the lot of Ollivier, and this untoward episode cast a shade on the new policy of Parliamentary Government, and deepened the clouds gradually closing round the head of the State.

Ollivier's Task.

Ollivier soon found that the task he had to perform was not the conversion of the Empire into a Constitutional Monarchy, but the preservation of the Emperor. In dealing with Republicans and Socialists, he was obliged to have recourse to the detested methods of absolutism. He arrested Rochefort for taking part in the funeral of Victor Noir, and also arrested the editor of the *Marseillaise*, and kept the leaders of the International under police supervision. Pierre Bonaparte was acquitted of murder by the

High Court of Tours, but this did not allay the public ferment nor tend to reassure the Tuileries.

A Favourable Plebiscite.

It was a fundamental part of the Constitution that no change could be effected in it without the ratification of a plebiscite, and on April 23rd the nation was summoned to vote on the question whether it approved of the Liberal reforms effected in the Constitution since 1860, and whether it ratified the vote of the Senate of April 20th, 1870. The Emperor announced that his object was to avert the peril of revolution, to establish order and liberty on a firm basis, and to assure the transmission of the crown to his son. The voting took place on May 8th, and showed 7,358,786 "Ayes" and 1,571,939 "Noes," there being 1,894,181 abstentions.

This result seemed to have given strength to the Empire, and Napoleon, in acknowledging the vote, called upon his subjects to contemplate the future with confidence. Changes were made in the Ministry, the Duc de Gramont taking the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Plichon that of Public Works.

In June, 1870, France appeared to be both powerful and prosperous, and on the last day of the month Ollivier was able to assure Jules Favre that on whichever side he looked there was an absence of troublesome questions, and that at no moment had the maintenance of peace in Europe been better assured. These momentous words were spoken sixty-four days before the fall of the Empire at Sedan.

CHAPTER VII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Possible Alliances for France.

To provide against the eventuality of a war with Prussia, it was necessary, first, that France should have a strong army, and, secondly, that she should have allies. But what allies were possible? Russia was estranged in consequence of her Polish policy; Great Britain was indifferent and unwilling to be mixed up in foreign complications. Only two alliances could be contemplated—with Austria and Italy. But between Austria and France there were serious causes of disagreement—the Battle of Solferino, the hesitating conduct of Napoleon in the war of 1866, and the betrayal of Maximilian. On the other side there were the interview of Salzburg and the visit to Paris.

Position of Austria.

At this time Beust was Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, a man of moderate talents but great ambitions. He was jealous of Bismarck, who, he thought, prevented him from being the dominant figure in Europe, and desired to avenge the misfortunes of 1866, which he could not hope to accomplish without the aid of France. Gramont, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, was strongly in favour of an alliance with Austria. He detested Bismarck and the Prussians; as an aristocrat of ancient Europe, his sympathies naturally turned to the successor of the Holy Roman Empire. At the same time there were many grave reasons to deter Austria from entering upon a war. The consequences of defeat would be disastrous, involving dismemberment of the Empire. Besides, desire to avenge Sadowa was not felt among the motley nations of which Austria was composed with the intensity that it evoked at Vienna. Hungary, nearly as important a member of the Empire as Austria itself, was strongly opposed to war, and there was danger lest an alliance with France might give rise to a counter-alliance between Berlin and St. Petersburg.

There was, of course, a prospect of making a triple instead of a dual alliance by including Italy in the arrangement; but Austria would have to grasp the hand of her former enemy, and Italy condone Mentana and forget her suspicions of Napoleon and her recent relations with Bismarck. Above all, there was the question

of Rome, which Victor Emmanuel desired to possess and which Napoleon would not surrender.

Negotiations with Austria and Italy.

Still, in this world of change sentiments do alter and, in the hope that bygones might be bygones, negotiations were begun. Originating in 1868, these altered feelings became more palpable in 1869. Negotiations were conducted with the greatest secrecy between a small number of men—Beust, Metternich and Vitzthum on the side of Austria, Vimircati representing Italy, and Rouher France; Gramont was not in the secret till he became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Little, however, was accomplished, and by September, 1869, all that had been determined was that France and Austria should not make a new alliance without the knowledge of the other. Austria was always afraid lest France might, by a sudden impulse, turn towards Prussia. The overmastering desire of Italy was to acquire Rome; she insisted, therefore, that the French occupation should cease, that the Convention of September 15th should be again enforced, and that Italy should be left to work out her own destinies. Napoleon, however, refused to desert the Papacy during the lifetime of Pius IX. When the war broke out nothing definite had been arranged, but unhappily the Emperor believed that he had letters from Francis Joseph and Victor Emmanuel which could at any moment form the basis of a definite treaty.

Prussia's Position.

At this time Prussia was not anxious for war, but wished to devote herself to the task of consolidating the German Confederation. There was, however, a certain amount of popular irritation against the French, and an increasing eagerness to recover Alsace as an ancient province of which Germany had been robbed. The decision between peace and war was in the hands of the King. He professed an ardent friendship for the Emperor and Empress of the French, and treated Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, with great kindness; but it was known that he had never forgotten the events of his youth, the War of Liberation, and the triumphal entry into Paris. Among those who surrounded him, Prince Frederick Charles was one of the advocates of war; but the Queen and, above all, the Crown Prince Frederick were ardent supporters of peace. There was an outward appearance of repose, and Bismarck, Moltke and Roon had all retired to their estates.

Bismarck and Beust.

But there is no doubt that Bismarck always regarded war with France as an inevitable consequence of the war with Austria, and that he was occupied in preparing for that contingency. His first object was to secure Russia, and there was little likelihood that any efforts of Napoleon would be able to weaken the ties

which united the uncle and the nephew; Fleury was sent to St. Petersburg in vain. In December, 1869, Alexander sent to King William the Crown of St. George, and the Emperor received in return the Order of Merit. The one thing which would have attracted Russia—namely, the removal of the barriers imposed by the Treaty of 1856 and the opening of the Black Sea to ships of war—it was impossible for Napoleon to propose. With regard to Prussia the main object of her diplomacy was to keep Russia neutral. If Beust were irreconcilable, it was all the more necessary to secure the friendship of the Imperial family. During the autumn of 1869 the Crown Prince spent two days with the Court of Vienna, on his way to Servia, and an Archduke, the brother of the Emperor, paid a return visit to Berlin. The tone of Bismarck and Beust towards each other became more conciliatory. On the other hand, great exertions were made to stir up dissensions between Italy and France. Bismarck was an accomplice in the campaign of Mentana, and other steps were taken in the same direction; but the presence of the French garrison at Rome was sufficient to prevent France and Italy from ever being friends. Great Britain was undoubtedly well disposed towards the new German Confederation.

Prussia and the Southern States.

There was greater difficulty in dealing with the States of Southern Germany than with foreign Powers. It is true that Hesse-Darmstadt accepted the situation because it was too weak to resist, and that Baden, closely connected with the House of Hohenzollern, eagerly sought the protection of Prussia, but Bavaria and Würtemberg did their best to preserve their independence. There was much to alienate Bavaria from Prussia. She had hitherto depended upon the protection of Austria, although she was not too small to acquire some degree of independence; besides, her national temperament, her mode of life, her religion, all separated her from the rigid formalism of the northern kingdom. Würtemberg was proud of her independence. Her inhabitants, belonging to the homogeneous race of the Swabians, clung with passionate devotion to their Sovereign, their hills, their paternal yet democratic government. Resistance, stimulated in the Bavarians by religion, was in her inspired by the love of liberty.

Strengthening the Army.

From 1868 to 1870 Bismarck combated these antagonisms with consummate adroitness. In Bavaria he had the King on his side and a large portion of the Press, which he had also used at Stuttgart; but he knew that, after all, he must rely mainly on force, and he spent his energies on perfecting the army. In this task he had the invaluable assistance of men whose qualities

fitted them in a special manner for the work—the King and Moltke. The King was devoted to the army and knew no greater happiness than when engaged in its service. He was able to say, at the age of seventy-one, that he had inspected eighty-seven battalions in twenty-two days. The care of the army was his duty and his religion.

Moltke's Military Genius.

Moltke remains the best example of pure scientific intellect applied to the conduct of military affairs. It was said of him at Berlin that he could be silent in seven languages, that on the eve of Sedan, when reports were brought showing that his instructions had been carried out and that the circle of shell and fire had closed round the devoted French, his only remark was "*Es stimmt*" ("Correct!"). He was a born student, forgetting nothing and every day learning something new. Since the war of 1866 he had concentrated his intellect on the invasion of France. Assisted by a General Staff which became the model for all similar institutions in the rest of Europe, he had drawn the most perfect maps, formed the most elaborate calculations, and made all arrangements with the most mathematical accuracy, leaving nothing to chance. His maxim was "Discover the principal army of the enemy, and attack it when you find it." He knew that a single mistake at the beginning of a campaign remained a weakness throughout. He held that, though something could be done by dash, much more was achieved by accurate preparations and prevision. He was well aware that the virtues of a soldier are often his greatest weaknesses. Energy, chivalry, high spirit, self-sacrifice, all that captivates the imagination and arouses sympathy with the military life, cannot hold their own, either against the deep devotion of a nation fighting for its existence, or against an elaborate machine constructed and working on scientific principles.

Armies representing these antagonistic forces were now to meet in the shock of war. The Prussian host, formed by years of thought and hard work and matured by the experience of two campaigns, was to be pitted against levies inspired by high traditions, in which the new was still in conflict with the old; the result was not doubtful, and the calamity which ensued was to change the face of Europe.

Daru for Peace.

Daru, who had charge of foreign affairs in the Ministry of January 2nd, was resolute for peace. We find his true policy sketched in his private papers; it was incumbent, he held, to maintain the *status quo*, to let sleeping dogs lie, to preserve a good understanding with Great Britain—but, if she took the side of

Prussia, to find a compensation in Russia—to avoid raising any Eastern question, to reassure the Italians as to the occupation of Rome, to let the Spaniards settle their own affairs—but with a leaning towards the Prince of Asturias—to keep an attitude of reserve against Bismarck.

Bismarck for War.

It is said that the Prussian Prime Minister did not appreciate Daru's caution, that a possible quarrel with France was too valuable an asset to surrender. It is true that the expenses of the Prussian army constituted a very heavy burden on the Prussian people, but the system of national military service was so essential that when Lord Clarendon attempted to bring about a European disarmament, Loftus, the British Ambassador at Berlin, could not secure the attention of the King to his proposals. In those days it was not understood that national armies are supposed to be the best guarantee for international peace.

Very important was the visit of Archduke Albert of Austria to Paris. He discussed with the Emperor the chances of war, the possibility of an Austrian alliance, and even the plan of a campaign. In April Daru, disheartened perhaps at the small likelihood of his peaceful policy being successful, resigned his portfolio; and in May, Gramont, a fatal choice, was, as we have seen, appointed as his successor.

The Emperor's Council.

On May 18th the Emperor summoned a council to the Tuileries, consisting of Lebœuf, Frossard, Lebrun, and Jarras with his maps. Napoleon related what had passed between the Archduke Albert and himself. In the case of war with Prussia, one French army was to hold the Prussians back upon the Saône, another was to march through Germany and join the Austrians in Bavaria, an Italian army was to reach Bavaria through Tyrol, and a French fleet was to appear in the North Sea. Würtemberg, Baden, Hanover and Denmark were to join the plot; and Prussia, surrounded by a wall of enemies, would be obliged to submit. Deep silence followed this revelation. Then came the announcement that Austria would require six weeks' notice before beginning the campaign. Could France keep Prussia back for six weeks? The maps which Jarras had brought with him proved incontestably that she could not, and the meeting dispersed in melancholy mood.

The Emperor, however, persisted. Lebrun was sent to the Archduke to complete arrangements and, if possible, induce him to surrender the delay of six weeks which seemed fatal to the French cause. This Archduke Albert refused to do, and Lebrun

began to doubt whether Austria did not desire delay in order to withhold her alliance until after a French victory. Lebrun held a conversation with Francis Joseph at Laxenburg which was even less satisfactory. He had reached Vienna on June 6th and returned to Paris on June 22nd; his report to the Emperor is dated June 30th, but deeds move more quickly than words. War was declared between France and Prussia on July 19th, and on September 2nd the Empire fell.

Cause of the Franco-Prussian War.

We must now relate the cause of the catastrophe. In September, 1868, the Spaniards rebelled against Queen Isabella, who, obliged to leave the country, was hospitably received in France. This revolution was brought about by three parties—the Unionists, who represented the Liberal middle class; the Progressists, who were in favour of Reform; and the Democrats, who supported the idea of a federal Republic. Serrano was leader of the Unionists, Prim of the Progressists, the Republicans had few supporters. In the case of a monarchy being decided upon, who was to be sovereign? Prince Leopold, son of Prince Antony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and brother of Prince Charles, who had been made King of Roumania, was mentioned as a candidate, but a scion of the Royal House of Prussia would certainly be distasteful to the French. Other candidates were Amadeo of Italy, Archduke Charles of Austria, Prince Alfred of Great Britain. The Unionists worked for the Duc de Montpensier, who had married Queen Isabella's sister; the Progressists, for Ferdinand of Coburg, who had married Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal. Salazar, a Deputy, issued a paper advocating Leopold of Hohenzollern, a Catholic by religion, thirty-five years of age, an officer in the Prussian army, and very distantly related to the Prussian Royal family. He was connected in various ways with the Royal family of Portugal and the Bonapartes. Another possibility was to recall the son of Isabella, the Prince of Asturias, but this Prussia declared impracticable.

Search for a King.

It was difficult to discover what were the views of Bismarck, but it was supposed that King William would not give his consent to the adoption of Prince Leopold. After much discussion the Unionists decided in favour of a monarchical constitution, and until a king was found Serrano was made Regent and Prim Prime Minister. The search after a sovereign continued. Ferdinand of Portugal definitely refused; so did the Duc de Genoa. Salazar was sent to sound the Hohenzollerns, but neither Prince Antony nor Prince Leopold seemed inclined to accept the onerous task.

GRAMONT'S IMPERIOUS DEMAND

Leopold of Hohenzollern Declines the Spanish Crown.

At the beginning of 1870 the crown of Charles V. still went begging, but the wishes of Spain seemed to incline towards Leopold of Hohenzollern, and Salazar was indefatigable in his advocacy. He went to Berlin and found the King doubtful, Bismarck favourable. On March 15th, 1870, a council was held at Berlin, at which were present the King, the Crown Prince, Princes Antony and Leopold, together with Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, Schleinitz, Thile and Delbrück. The Prussians pleaded for the acceptance, but Leopold first hesitated and then refused. Prince Antony, who was anxious for the aggrandisement of his family, suggested his younger son Fritz, who refused the offer unless positively commanded by King William to accept it. His father was ambitious for the glory of his house; but, in order that Fritz might be a serious candidate, it was necessary that Leopold should abandon all idea of the enterprise. The affair ended by the positive refusal of Leopold and Fritz, and everyone believed that the danger was at an end.

Final Decision of Leopold.

No sooner was the negotiation closed than the Catholic Hohenzollerns began to repent of what they had done. The military sense of King William was annoyed at this vacillation; but Bismarck, who was at Vienna in bad health, still ardently wished for the German candidature. He advised Prim to say nothing at Berlin, but address himself directly to Sigmaringen, where Prince Antony resided. Salazar arrived there on June 19th, just a month before the actual declaration of war. Leopold gave his consent, and on the following day King William was asked to agree also. He viewed the matter with some indifference, and seemed inclined to leave it entirely to the decision of Leopold. Until now the negotiations had been secret, and Prim intended that they should remain so for the present. But in southern nations secrecy in matters of this kind is difficult, and at the beginning of July reports as to what had happened began to be current in Madrid, and the French Ambassador demanded an explanation, which Prim was unable to give.

Gramont's Imperious Demand.

The news of the fatal resolution of the Hohenzollern candidature reached the French Foreign Office on July 3rd. It was the first serious business with which Gramont had to deal. He adopted the worst possible course, and sent an imperious message to Berlin. There was no one to receive it—the King was at Ems; the Chancellor, Bismarck, at Varzin; Benedetti at Wildbad. The dispatch was opened by the French Secretary, who sought an interview with the Prussian Secretary, Thile, who alleged entire ignorance of the business. It was the season when

all diplomats were taking their annual rest, and when the repose of the world is such as to suggest that, if statesmen were always on their holidays, no serious quarrels between nations would ever take place. But on July 5th the newspapers gave the news to the world, and the Chanceries of Europe were in a blaze. Gramont did not hesitate to declare that Prussian approval of the candidature would mean war.

War at Hand.

July 6th was a date of destiny for France. There was an interpellation in the Chamber and a council at St. Cloud. Gramont was impetuous, Ollivier moderate, and the Emperor seriously unwell. He was surrounded by the military party, who urged him to war, the Empress surpassing Gramont in vehemence. But was France ripe for war? Lebœuf promised an army of 300,000 men, of whom 250,000 men would be ready in four days, and the rest ten days later. It appeared that she could count on the sympathy of Italy, the neutrality of Southern Germany, and the moral support of Austria, but nothing definite had been arranged. A reply had to be drawn up to the interpellation in the Chamber. Unfortunately it took a form which was not conciliatory, and when it became public the telegraph flashed the news all over Europe that war was at hand.

The French Ambassador's Mission.

During the night of July 7th Benedetti was ordered to proceed from Wildbad to Ems, where he arrived late in the evening of July 8th. At Coblenz he received a public dispatch and a private letter from Gramont. The dispatch merely ordered him to advise the King to ask Prince Leopold to withdraw his acceptance; the private letter said that he was to demand from the King not merely a disapproval of the Hohenzollern candidature, but an order to Prince Leopold to withdraw the acceptance which he had given without his permission. He went on to say that unless the King gave a satisfactory answer the mobilisation of the French troops would begin immediately, that no evasive answer would be tolerated, and that unless the King disavowed the acceptance of Prince Leopold war would be declared.

Benedetti and King William.

Benedetti had an interview with the King on the afternoon of July 9th. King William distinguished between his position as head of the Hohenzollern family and his position as Sovereign of Prussia. In his former capacity he could not interfere with the action of Prince Antony or Prince Leopold; as representing Prussia, his country had no more to do with the matter than any other Power in Europe. He had asked the intentions of his kinsmen, but as yet had received no reply. When the answer came he would communicate with Benedetti.

FRENCH IMPATIENCE.

During this time Gramont was in a fever of anxiety at Paris, and the account of the interview which he received by telegraph on the morning of July 10th excited rather than reassured him. He would not be satisfied with a refusal from Sigmaringen; he must have it from the King himself. He was possessed by a fatal desire to humiliate Prussia. July 10th passed quietly at Ems, but in violent unrest on the Quai d'Orsay. Gramont wrote in the evening to Benedetti: "We cannot delay any longer; we cannot allow Prussia to make her preparations. We are waiting for your answer to mobilise 300,000 men. If the King will not advise Prince Leopold to refuse, war will immediately follow, and in a few days we shall be on the Rhine." At 1 a.m. he telegraphed, "We must have an answer to-morrow; the day after to-morrow will be too late."

Gramont's Desire to Humiliate Prussia.

On the morning of Monday, July 11th, a council was held at St. Cloud to discuss the military preparations. The legislative body had not met since Saturday, and the populace thronged the approaches to the Palais Bourbon, eager for news. Gramont was obliged to tell the Chambers when they met that he had nothing definite to communicate. On the same day Benedetti had an interview of an hour's duration with the King at Ems. William held to the statement that he could not withdraw from a consent already given, and that the decision must depend upon Prince Leopold and his father, from whom he had not heard. He advised patience on the part of the French if they desired to avoid war.

King William's Plea for Patience.

At the same time the situation at Sigmaringen became increasingly difficult. It was obvious that a Hohenzollern candidature would precipitate a European war. Prussia was herself afraid and subjected to pressure from the Courts of Europe to withdraw the proposal. Prince Antony, who owed the election of his son Charles to the throne of Roumania to the good offices of Francis Joseph, began to fear that Francis Joseph might destroy what he had created, and that, in attempting to gain the crown for his family, he might lose both; and the Emperor William sent a private intimation to Sigmaringen that he would be glad of a withdrawal.

A Difficult Situation.

But public opinion in France became more and more impatient, and Gramont allowed himself to be carried away by it. He telegraphed to Benedetti at 1 p.m. on July 11th that he must press the King more closely, that France could not admit the distinction between head of the House of Hohenzollern and chief of the Prussian Monarchy, that the King must forbid Prince

Gramont's Persistence.

Leopold to persevere in his candidature, and that on the next day the failure to answer would be regarded as a refusal.

"Guarantees for the Future."

There was no need for these vehement messages. On the morning of July 12th Prince Antony telegraphed to Prim that he withdrew his son's acceptance. A duplicate of this telegram was sent to Paris and came to the knowledge of Ollivier at noon, and he communicated it immediately to the Chambers. Unfortunately the war party in France was not satisfied. Prussia had not been humiliated; the pacific message had passed between Sigmaringen and Madrid, and the King had taken no part in it. The fatal expression, "Guarantees for the future," made its appearance, and a telegram was sent to Benedetti at 7 p.m. on July 12th, ordering him to see the King immediately to ask him to declare that he associated himself with the action of Prince Antony, and that he would never give his consent to a similar candidature. The circumstances which produced this telegram have been related and analysed by Ollivier. We must conclude that in taking this step the Emperor was as much to blame as the Foreign Minister, that he did not sufficiently insist on his authority, and that he allowed steps to be taken by his subordinates which he would not have initiated himself.

Benedetti was shocked at Gramont's telegram. He saw that to ask for future guarantees would mean war, and at the same time he felt it his duty to do as he had been told. At German baths it is the custom to go to the spring at 6 o'clock in the morning to drink the waters and listen to the band. Benedetti went there as usual, hoping to see some member of the King's suite. He did meet one, and was telling him that he must see the Sovereign when King William himself appeared. He went up to the ambassador, who informed him of the decision of Prince Antony, but that the determination of Sigmaringen could have no value unless it were approved of by the King, and that it was essential that France should have a guarantee that the candidature would not be renewed.

King William's Annoyance.

The King, surprised and annoyed at these words, said that he was completely ignorant of the action of Prince Antony, and that it was impossible to give the guarantees asked for. Benedetti continued to press for the answer he wished for, and the King, much amazed, said, "You ask for a new and unexpected concession which I cannot consent to," and dismissed his interlocutor brusquely, but without discourtesy. The message which the King declared he had not received from Sigmaringen arrived in the middle of the day, and Prince Radziwill, a Royal aide-de-

camp, was dispatched at once to Benedetti's hotel to inform him that Prince Leopold had declined the throne of Spain and that the King considered the incident completely closed.

The King Refuses to See Benedetti.

Benedetti was disappointed at not having a personal interview with the King. The reason was that the King had become aware of the form of renunciation which Gramont had suggested, and determined not to see Benedetti. The ambassador, ignorant of this, asked Radziwill to remind the King of his promise to see him again and his desire to obtain guarantees for the future. At half-past four Radziwill returned and replied that the King approved of the refusal as he had before approved of the acceptance, but could give no guarantees for the future. Benedetti persisted in demanding an audience, but at half-past five came the answer that the King had said everything he had to say and had nothing more to add.

Bismarck Precipitates War.

Bismarck now suddenly took a step which brought about the war he had so earnestly desired. He kept in the background at Varzin, not returning to Berlin until the chance of rupture seemed more promising. He was piqued when King William began to treat directly with Benedetti, and on July 12th, when everything appeared to be settled, announced his intention of returning to Varzin; but the violent language of the French Press and the Chambers induced him to stay in the capital. He next did what in private affairs would be thought to be infamous: he stirred up enmity between two antagonists who were on the point of coming to terms. He refused to admit that the quarrel was at an end, and by a master-stroke rendered peace impossible.

Bismarck, Moltke and Roon Plan for War.

A telegram from the King giving his account of the interview with Benedetti on the morning of July 13th reached Bismarck on the evening of the same day, just as he was going to dinner with Moltke and Roon. All three were disgusted to find that there was still a chance of peace. The last sentence of the dispatch allowed Bismarck to decide whether he would communicate what had occurred to the ambassadors and the newspapers. This gave him an opportunity of modifying the dispatch in the interest of war. He asked Moltke how long it would take him to complete his preparations in case war should break out. The Chief of the Staff replied that the sooner it was begun the better. Bismarck thereupon set to work, as he said, adding nothing, omitting nothing, but making certain suppressions. These suppressions represented the negotiations as broken off, instead of being still in suspense. Moltke and Roon approved highly of the emendations. Bismarck explained that it was essential that Prussia

should be attacked by France, and that, if this altered dispatch were communicated to all the embassies and became known in Paris, it would act like a red cloth upon the Gallic bull.

Public Passion in Paris and Berlin.

That evening Bismarck's dispatch was distributed gratuitously in the streets of Berlin, as a supplement to the *North German Gazette*, and passions rose to fever heat. In Prussia it was believed that the French Ambassador had insulted the King; in Paris that the King had insulted the ambassador. Crowds assembled in both capitals in the middle of the night, the one shouting "To Paris!" the other "To Berlin!"

Lord Granville as Mediator.

At this very moment peace might yet have been preserved. France had committed two great blunders, one the declaration of July 6th, the other the demand for guarantees. But a sentiment in favour of peace was in being in the French Cabinet. Lord Granville, on behalf of Great Britain, was acting the part of mediator. In the afternoon of July 14th a council was held at the Tuileries. One of the Ministers begged the Emperor not to ruin his country and throne by war. He said that the Emperor and the King were not on equal terms; the King might lose many battles, but to the Emperor a single defeat would mean revolution.

Lebœuf's Eagerness for War.

Lebœuf declared, as before, that his army was absolutely ready, that it had an advantage of a fortnight over that of Prussia, and that if war were not made now the opportunity might not occur again. Indeed, he clamoured for immediate mobilisation, threatening his resignation if it were not granted, and losing his temper with those who argued against him. At 4, before the council had broken up, he drove to the Rue St. Dominique, and gave the necessary orders to mobilise. The council continued to sit at the Tuileries, the members arguing and disputing like the Committee of Public Safety at the time of the Terror. A proposition for a congress was welcomed eagerly by the Emperor, who sent a message to restrain Lebœuf's zeal an hour after he had left the palace. Ollivier drew up a declaration in favour of peace, which was to be read in the Chamber on the following day.

The Empress Intervenes.

The Cabinet returned in the evening to St. Cloud, downcast and dispirited, not even daring to hope for the holding of a congress. There the Empress was found, incensed at the conduct of Prussia and furious for war. Gramont, on entering his office in the Quai d'Orsay, received a sheaf of dispatches which reported in various tones Bismarck's paragraph in the *North German Gazette*. He complained to Ollivier that he could no longer tolerate the bitter insults of Prussia. Lebœuf clamoured for a fresh council which should repeat the order for mobilisation. It was held at

St. Cloud at 10 in the evening, but some of the more pacific of the Ministers were not present. However, when the majority appeared to be in favour of peace, the Empress intervened. She said that peace was incompatible with the honour of France, and was supported strongly by Lebœuf. But it was eventually decided that the order for mobilisation should be held back. The field of debate was now transferred to the Chamber, and there, after prolonged discussion, war was decided upon. Gramont said afterwards in his own defence, "I decided upon war with an absolute confidence in victory. I believed in the greatness of my country, its greatness, its strength, its warlike virtues, as I believe in my holy religion." These brave words expressed the feelings of many others.

War Inevitable.

On the same day, July 15th, King William travelled from Coblenz to Berlin, and was received everywhere with addresses expressing devotion to the throne. At the station of Brandenburg he was met by the Crown Prince, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck and Thile. An informal council was held in the waiting-room, and when it was over the Crown Prince said to those who were standing near, "Mobilisation is ordered." Some final attempts at conciliation, notably on the part of the Southern States, came to nothing. France and Prussia were straining for war, and nothing could stop them, and on July 19th, the day of the meeting of the Reichstag, the declaration of war by France was received at Berlin.

The Rival Armies Compared.

Nothing could be more different than the condition of the two armies which were about to contend for the mastery of Europe, and nothing could be more divergent than the popular opinion about the strength and character of the two forces and the facts as they actually were. The French army had long been looked up to as a pattern for all European armies, its organisation being carefully studied in other countries. The idea prevailed that the French had a genius for warfare, which was the backbone of their strength, whereas Prussia was held up to ridicule for its supposed pedantry in military affairs. No one in France, or out of it, had the smallest notion that this magnificent fabric was rotten at the core and would crumble into pieces before its better-organised and sounder antagonist.

In 1870 the principle of liability to military service was acknowledged by French law just as fully as in Germany; but in France, as we have seen, the rule of conscription prevailed—that is, the summoning of only a certain portion of the nation to arms, instead of universal military service, which is a very different matter. In France, among other exceptions, anyone was allowed

to provide a substitute who could pay for it, whereas in Germany the duty of personal service was imposed on every one. The result was that the French army, being recruited from the lower and more ignorant classes of society, lacked the elements of intelligence and culture which entered so largely into the German. Moreover, conscription settled from the date of his earliest manhood whether a man was to be a soldier or not, and once a soldier he was always a soldier. Pains were taken to keep the soldiers from contact with the citizens, to isolate them in barracks and camps, to avoid billeting them upon the inhabitants, so that the army gradually became a military caste. The German army, on the other hand, remained in contact with the classes from which it was recruited. Indeed, the world has learnt since the Franco-Prussian War that a national army was not only a training-ground for culture, efficiency, and every kind of civic virtue, but was often the most secure ground for international peace.

The Garde mobile.

France had learnt much from her war of 1850 and the brief Austro-Prussian campaign of 1866. She had discovered, to her dismay and undoing, that although, in 1850, her army was said, on paper, to consist of 400,000 men, and that although the war in Italy had not employed more than 130,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, she could not march an army to the Rhine to defend Austria if Prussia mobilised her army and threatened France. The war of 1866 showed that an army of 600,000 men would be totally inadequate to meet the Prussian and North German armies, including the *Landwehr*. We have already given an account of the changes effected in the French army in consequence of these experiences. The *Garde mobile* or National Guard, a substitute for a citizen army, consisted, as we have said, of all persons who for one reason or another had not been enrolled in the active army or the reserves, or had paid for substitutes. They were liable to service for five years, with fifteen days' annual training in time of peace. This was supposed to produce a force of 425,000 men. Their duty was to act as auxiliaries to the active army, especially in garrisoning fortresses, for the defence of coasts and frontiers, or the maintenance of internal order. This new force was at first popular with the nation, but, as the necessity for sacrifices became apparent, the enthusiasm cooled and the *mobiles* were of little use in the war and generally a butt for ridicule.

Prussian Organisation.

On the other hand, the military organisation of Prussia, which dates from 1861, had been proved to be sound in the war against Denmark in 1864 and in that against Austria in 1866. After the latter war it had been extended to the North German States and

gradually introduced into the South German States as well. Its main principle was to secure that in time of peace those who were liable to active service should also be fit for it, so that when they met the enemy they should be perfectly trained and instructed. For this purpose a period of twelve years' service was imposed upon the whole nation, consisting of three years in the standing army, four years in the Reserve, and five years in the *Landwehr*, there being in the four years of the Reserve two terms of training of eight weeks each, and in the five years of the *Landwehr* two periods of from eight to fourteen days each.

Prussia's Mobilisation Scheme.

The contrast between the two armies was still more apparent in their mobilisation. In Germany the plan which had been formed to provide a maximum force under arms at any time, originally excellent, had been improved by constant study and elaboration, even up to the last moment. It was based upon minute decentralisation, each unit of the German military system being organised by itself, but yet with due subordination to the whole. If a new branch or section of a railway were opened for traffic, the entire service of time-tables was altered, if need be, to furnish fresh facilities for transport. The greatest diligence was shown in obtaining information about foreign countries. The German staff maps of France, especially of the country east of Paris, laid down roads which in July, 1870, were not indicated on any map issued by the French War Office. In 1870 the army of the North German States, with a peace establishment of 12,000 officers, 285,000 men, and 73,000 horses, was augmented, in the short space of from eight to ten days, to a war establishment of 22,000 officers, 932,000 men, and 192,000 horses, equipped with everything which an army requires in the field. This gigantic task could never have been performed unless every constituent part had done its share of the work with the greatest diligence and rapidity, each wheel working with its fellows with punctuality and precision; nor could this have been effected without decentralisation of the military administration, division and partition of labour, and constant provision in peace for the exigencies of war.

When King William of Prussia arrived at Berlin in the evening of July 15th, 1870, he at once sanctioned Moltke's orders, which were immediately transmitted to the officers commanding the several army corps. By regular and prearranged stages, each corps was gradually but swiftly developed into its full proportions, and was ready to start for the frontiers as a finished product. The men were supplied with arms, clothing, and equipments from the local

depots, and horses were called up by requisition or bought, and transport was obtained. All the needs of a complete army corps were easily met, because they had been ascertained and provided for beforehand. The whole of the operations were carried out in the short space of eighteen days. More than 300,000 combatants, with everything they required, were conveyed to their appointed places on the day specified, in accordance with a scheme calculated and drawn out two years before.

French Disorganisation.

The mobilisation of the French army was a complete contrast to that of the Prussian. The territorial organisation which prevailed in Germany did not exist in France. A peasant in Provence might be called upon to join a regiment quartered in Brittany, or a workman employed in Bordeaux be called up to the Pas de Calais, and, when they arrived, they might discover that their regiment had marched to Alsace or Lorraine. During the first fortnight after the declaration of war, thousands of reserve men were travelling to and fro over France in search of their comrades.

When Lebœuf's assertion that the army was ready was becoming one of the principal reasons for declaring war, the marshal was asked what he meant, and replied: "I mean that the army is perfectly equipped in every respect, that it will not require the provision of a single gaiter button for a year to come." "*Elle est archiprêtre.*" This statement was afterwards found to be absolutely false. At the beginning of the war France possessed only one completely formed *corps d'armée*, the Army of the Rhine, at Metz, and a second stationed at the camp of Châlons commanded by Frossard. All the other corps had to be provided out of garrison troops, and the entire staff to be made up in haste. The armament of Strasburg was not begun till August 4th, and on July 20th there was not sufficient food in the fortresses of Metz and Thionville, and a million rations had to be sent from Paris, while on July 25th there was neither biscuit nor salt meat in the fortresses of Mézières and Sedan.

Germans Knew France Better than the French.

All the regiments were far short of their military strength, and there was a great deficiency of ready money, Failly at Bitsch not having the wherewithal to pay his troops. While the German soldiers were adequately supplied with maps of France brought well up to date, the French had only maps of Germany, intended for service in that country, but none of their own land. Owing to careful previous preparation, the German officers had a far more intimate knowledge of the country through which they passed than the French inhabitants themselves. On July 21st General Michel sent the following telegram to Paris: "Have arrived at

Belfort, cannot find my brigade; cannot find the general of division. What shall I do?"

Let us now consider the position of the two armies at the end of July. The main army of the French, 200,000 strong, was placed in and near Metz, and was called the Army of the Rhine, although it had little connection with that river. On July 28th this force was joined by the Emperor, the Prince Imperial and Lebœuf. To the east was the Southern Army under MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, about 100,000 strong. To this army were attached the African troops and the Zouaves, who, though wearing an African dress, were mainly of Parisian origin. This army lay in the direction of Alsace, and its advance guard, under Douay, was on the Rhine. In the camp of Châlons was a third army, consisting mainly of reservists and *mobiles*, very imperfectly drilled. Besides these armies, a fleet was sailing from Cherbourg through the Channel with the object of cruising in the North Sea and the Baltic. The Germans were also divided into three great sections. The first, 61,000 strong, under Steinmetz, formed the right wing; the second, under Prince Frederick Charles, 206,000 strong, together with the third, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, with 180,000 men, formed the left wing. A central army was under the King himself, with Moltke as Chief of the Staff. It has been calculated that the whole German forces amounted to 984,500 men, and those of the French to 798,000, but the numbers actually brought into the field were considerably smaller. Ollivier, writing in December, 1910, estimated the number of men actually ready for action at 426,723, and attributed the failure of the campaign, not to the false calculations of supplies, but to the inherent faults of mobilisation.

Position of the Contending Armies.

The Emperor left St. Cloud to join the army in the morning of July 28th, accompanied by the Prince Imperial. Dr. Evans, the American dentist, who was with him at the time, says that he was silent and out of spirits, seeming to anticipate disaster. As he picked up various well-loved trinkets to place them in his travelling-bag, his eyes were full of tears. On the other hand, the Empress was radiant with joy and hope, and did her best to rouse her husband. She brought into the room the latest copy of *The Times* and read extracts from it. She was passionate for the war. "It is my war," she proudly claimed, but she had little cause to be proud of it in the sequel.

Pride of the Empress.

The Emperor entered Metz on the same day at six in the evening. He lodged at the prefecture, but the headquarters were at the Hôtel de l'Europe. A council was held immediately, but

it merely took the form of a conversation. The Emperor, on retiring, was beset with demands from all sides for men, horses, and military stores. Thirty anonymous letters denounced the incapacity of the generals and demanded their dismissal. The reservists came in very slowly and were found to be dangerously incompetent, many of them even not knowing how to use the chassepot. It was found that the numbers were far below the estimates. Everything was in confusion, no order was kept, and strangers, tourists, soldiers' wives, newspaper reporters, wandered about freely in the passages of the hotel. It is said that the hotel at Metz was full of German spies.

The Baptism of Fire."

The first action of the campaign was an attack on Saarbrück, a small town on the River Saar, which divided it into two parts, the railway station and the suburb of Saint Jean being on the right bank. The operation was important, provided it included the seizure of the station and the destruction of the telegraph. This, however, was not done. The battle began at nine in the morning of August 2nd. Attacked by a largely superior force the Prussians retired by the bridge across the stream. Here the movement stopped. The Prussian loss in killed and wounded was eighty-three men, but the French had succeeded in occupying a portion of Prussian territory. The French papers boasted: "Saarbrück has once more become a French city; the splendid coal district on the Saar is French property. Saarbrück is the first stage; we shall soon reach the last, Berlin." The Emperor wrote to the Empress that the Prince Imperial had received his "baptism of fire," and that the first shots from the mitrailleuses had produced a wonderful effect. The French made no further advance, but fortified their position on the left bank of the Saar, the Emperor returning to Metz.

A Nation in Arms.

King William left Berlin on July 31st. He was full of anxiety, but his counsellors were confident. Roon said that Germany had never seen a finer army; Bismarck thought the Emperor must clearly repent of his conduct; Charles of Roumania wrote that in two months Napoleon would be conquered and his power destroyed; Moltke was in raptures at the successful carrying out of his plans. Steinmetz, on the right, opposed the 27,000 of Ladmirault with double strength. Prince Frederick Charles, in the centre, had 194,000 men to resist the armies of Bazaine, Frossard, Failly and Bourbaki, whose commands, even if the reserves of Canrobert be added, would not exceed 140,000 men. On the left, the Crown Prince could meet MacMahon's 44,000 men with a force of 130,000. Besides these, reinforcements were pouring

in from every quarter of Germany. The French had to fight a nation in arms.

German Plans.

The Third Army, that of the Crown Prince, would open the campaign. It was posted between Landau, Germersheim and Speyer, and, with the exception of the Würtemberg and Baden troops, was on the left bank of the Rhine. It was to pass the Lauter, spread over Lower Alsace, beat MacMahon, and cut him off from the rest of the Army of the Rhine. The other armies would approach the Saône, enter Lorraine, and attack the main forces of the enemy. The King entered Mainz, the new headquarters, at 7 a.m. on August 2nd, and heard there of the engagement of Saarbrück, which Moltke considered as of no importance.

Battle of Weissenberg.

It was settled that the Crown Prince should answer this attack by crossing the Lauter on August 3rd. The first great battle of the war was to be fought at a place well known in the wars of the Spanish Succession, called Weissenberg by the Germans and Wissenbourg by the French. It was now a decayed town situated on the Lauter, which ran through it. It had three gates, called by the names of Landau, Bitsch and Hagenau. On both sides of it extended the once famous lines of Weissenberg, celebrated in the campaigns of Marlborough. The Bâle express passes through them on its way from Strassburg at the present day. The town lies close to the frontiers of Alsace and Bavaria, and the inhabitants of mixed races are very friendly with each other. The surrounding hills are outliers of the Vosges. Against this town 70,000 Prussian troops were marching on August 3rd.

Douay's Surprise.

Douay was in a position of false security, looking for an enemy which he could not find, when, at 8.30 on the morning of August 4th, he was surprised by some German bombs being fired into the centre of the town. What was he to do? He had 5,800 infantry, 900 cavalry, 18 guns, and Ducrot was nine miles off, separated by a mountain pass. But he did not believe in a serious attack and prepared to defend himself. The struggle took place in three centres—the banks of the Lauter, the town itself, and the Gaisberg. The Turcos defended the river bravely against the Bavarians, but, from the summit of the Gaisberg, Douay saw the serried masses of the Prussians approaching irresistibly. The Gaisberg itself was shelled and in danger of being surrounded. Douay gave the order to retreat, but at that moment was mortally wounded and carried to a farm, where he died. The town was then stormed and taken after a gallant resistance, the brunt of which fell upon the Turcos. An attack was then made upon the Gaisberg, which dominated the surrounding country and was

crowned by a strong castle, and eventually the French lines were broken, and the heights stormed. The French sullenly retired from their camp, and the remaining companies which were occupying the castle were compelled to surrender at 2 p.m., having lost seventy-four men killed and wounded. Seven hundred men were taken prisoners.

A Complete Disaster.

MacMahon was at Strassburg when he heard of the attack on Weissenberg. He immediately left by train, but, finding that method of progress difficult, mounted his horse and joined Ducrot, who, being on the other side of a mountain pass, knew little of what had happened. The two generals climbed to the Col du Pigeonnier, from which the whole extent of the catastrophe was manifest. The disaster was complete and irremediable. It was obvious the Germans were intending a general attack, and it became the duty of the marshal to resist it. The Sauer, rising in the Lower Vosges, after passing Lembach, flows from south to north, to Wörth, and then reaches the Rhine.

Battle of Froesch-weiler.

Here MacMahon chose a strong position, where the chain of steep hills, partly wooded, completely dominates the ground on the left bank of the Sauer, a chain with steep banks offering a serious obstacle to the advance of the enemy. He strengthened his position by rifle-pits, trenches, abattis, fieldworks, batteries, and wire fences. He took up his position on the morning of August 6th, having no information of the line on which the enemy was to approach. He placed Ducrot on the left wing with the first division, Raoult with the third division in the centre, holding the village of Wörth, at the passage over the Sauer, strongly occupied. The fourth division, under De l'Artigue, was on the right, holding the lower wood, with part of his troops thrown-back at right angles —a formation known in military language as *en potence*—opposite to the village of Morsbrunn. He had, at first, intended to fight a purely defensive battle, and had ordered the bridges over the Sauer at Gorsdorff, Wörth and Gunstett, to be destroyed, but he changed his mind and left them standing. MacMahon fixed his headquarters at Froeschweiler, after which the French named the battle. He commanded 35,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 130 guns.

It is curious that neither commander had made up his mind to fight a decisive battle on this day. MacMahon was beset by advisers who urged him to retreat to the Vosges instead of contending against forces double his own in number, and he would have done so if he had not expected the arrival of Failly. The Crown Prince had made up his mind to fight on August 7th, and gave

pressing orders that the battle should be stopped. However, fate prevailed, and the battle was fought and won.

Capture of Wörth.

The Crown Prince occupied the heights on the left bank of the Sauer from Wörth to Gunstett, having 90,000 men opposed to 40,000. Soon after 8 a.m. he began an attack on Wörth; by 11 the Prussian artillery had proved itself superior, and orders were given to storm the village. In the meantime the French attack on Gunstett was repulsed, and Wörth was carried soon after noon despite an obstinate resistance. Both of the vigorous attempts of the French to recover it were unsuccessful. At 1.30 the Crown Prince gave orders to continue the fighting, contrary to his original intention.

Flight of the French.

Then came the most obstinate part of the struggle, the taking of Froeschweiler, the heights to the east of this being strongly occupied and partly fortified. The third French division fought splendidly, their commander, Raoult, being killed. It was not until after the fourth attack that the Prussians gained possession of the ground. The French, led by MacMahon, made a desperate attempt to retake Elsasshausen, but the Prussians succeeded in holding it. It was now possible to make a concentric attack on Froeschweiler, and the village was stormed at 3.30, and 1,000 prisoners were taken. After the loss of Froeschweiler further resistance became impossible. The French army broke up and fled in two directions, some to Reichshofen and some to Jägersthal. The Prussians bivouacked on the field of battle, the cavalry being pushed forward to Reichshofen. The troops which fled to Hagenau, and were forwarded by rail to Strassburg, produced there the utmost consternation.

France Open to the Germans.

On August 7th the bulk of the army rallied at Saverne, and when the roll was called it was found that 20,000 men had disappeared, being either killed, wounded or missing. Froeschweiler proved the grave of the army of the Second Empire, brave but undisciplined, presumptuous and brilliant, despising study, but passionate lovers of danger. After the victories of Africa, Sebastopol and Lombardy, they imagined that fortune could never be unfaithful to them. MacMahon's army had done everything which courage could do, but could not defend its country. Alsace had been invaded, the enemy had reached the crest of the Vosges, and on the following day they could cross them and overrun the plains of France.

August 6th, 1870, was marked, not only by the destruction of the Army of Alsace, but by the defeat of the Army of Lorraine. After the Battle of Saarbrück on August 2nd nothing was done.

The two next days were spent in vain imaginings about the movements of the enemy. The news of the defeat of Weissenberg arrived on the evening of August 4th. It showed the rapidity of the Prussian movements. The Crown Prince had crossed the Lauter, when would Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles cross the Saar? Both generals were on the road, and expected to reach the French frontier about August 6th. Frossard was certain to be attacked first. After the battle of August 2nd he had occupied, with a portion of his forces, the heights evacuated by the Prussians on that day, the Exercier Platz, the Nussberg, the Galgenberg, the Winterberg. Knowing that he was in an exposed position, he suggested to the Emperor that he should retire to the plateau, which extends from Forbach to Saargemünd, occupying Forbach, and Napoleon gave his consent, the movement to be carried out on the following day, August 6th. But as the day proceeded he became aware of the approach of the enemy, and, fearing to be surrounded, began the operation at once. He was not, however, completely established at Forbach till long after nightfall.

Frossard's Preparations.

The country which formed the battlefield was well known to Frossard, as he had completely examined it in 1867. It was composed of a number of wooded hills which surrounded the village of Spicheren. The railway from Saarbrück to Metz ran along a ravine, which reached first Stieringen and then Forbach. Frossard was in command of three divisions. The first he placed in the valley near Stieringen, protecting the high road, the railway and the town of Forbach, where heavy stores had been collected. The second, at Spicheren, guarded the country up to the Saar and beyond; the third was held in reserve. The headquarters had been established at Forbach.

Advance of the Prussians.

On the morning of August 6th the Prussian scouts began to make their appearance. They occupied the suburb of St. Jean, on the other side of the river, and then the Exercier Platz, and the Galgenberg, which had been evacuated by the French. From their view of the Valley of Forbach and the heights of Spicheren, it appeared as if the French were contemplating a retreat. Kameke obtained leave from Zastrow to cross the river, and to follow the French closely, in accordance with the Prussian traditional practice of pushing forward. He crossed the stream at 11 by bridges which had not been destroyed, and after a short hesitation determined to attack the enemy.

The battle began by an artillery duel, which was soon followed by the advance of the Prussian columns. A severe struggle raged

in the woods around Stieringen. Le François, a distinguished German general, was killed. The Germans were not very successful; they had attempted too much, and, if they were broken, had the Saar at their backs. It is a maxim of war never to fight with a river in your rear. A Napoleon or a Marlborough would have seized the opportunity to inflict a crushing defeat, but Frossard was neither. Bazaine, whose name became afterwards so notorious, was equally incompetent, and failed to send the reinforcements which Frossard so earnestly requested. But the assistance, which the French were vainly expecting from Metz, came to the Prussians from Saarbrück. Goeben, Zastrow and Alvensleben arrived one after the other, about 3 in the afternoon, ready to take their proper places without delay or confusion. The Prussians continued the battle with forces constantly renewed, and were eventually able to occupy the woods of Stieringen.

French Retreat.

About 5 the French gained a slight advantage, but, as the sun sank, the German generals were filled with hope and Frossard with despair. The three fatal bridges which had not been destroyed poured ever fresh masses against the doomed French. At last the final blow was given by the arrival of the 3rd German division, which had marched to the sound of the cannon. They were stubbornly resisted by a small body of French under Dulac, but at half-past seven Frossard was obliged to inform Bazaine of his intention to retreat. When the roll was called next morning the French had lost 2,000 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners, but had saved their standards and guns. Throughout the night the steady tramp of retreating hosts was heard in the woods, and another province of France lay at the feet of the enemy.

Differences Between French Generals.

What were the faults and what the mischances that led Frossard to his fate? At midday Metmas had been sent by Bazaine in the direction of Forbach, but the order gave no indication that a battle was in progress, or that Frossard needed help. At 3 Metmas was within five or six miles of the battlefield, but stopped where he was and did nothing. An order from Bazaine at 4 gave no explanation, but a dispatch sent by Frossard with an earnest demand for assistance unfortunately went astray, and Metmas remained quietly in his place. At 7.30 he received an appeal from Frossard urging him to move, but did not reach Forbach till 9.30, when it was too late.

Castigny behaved better. He did march to the sound of the guns, but, having reached what he considered a fine position, halted, and waited on events. The cannonade having ceased, he retired to Puttelange, but no sooner had he got there than

the firing began again with a terrible din. It was then 5, but he began to march. Two hours later he met some fugitives from the battlefield, who told him that all was lost, so that he retired.

Bazaine's Incompetence.

Montauban heard the cannon, but paused for orders from Bazaine. At 3 he received orders to assist Frossard, but he hastened slowly, and it was not until nightfall that he was within two miles of Forbach, and announced to Frossard that he was at his disposal. Then it was too late, for the battle was over.

On August 7th the confused mass of fugitives came together at Puttelange in a terrible state of disorder and despair. Frossard's troops had lost everything; they could not make soup, or provide shelter. They had the impression that, had they been properly led, victory might have been secured. As for Frossard, when he had superiority of numbers he had displayed lack of insight and resolution. Bazaine had shown both incompetence and selfishness, and evidently did not care about a battle which he did not consider his own.

Prussian Superiority.

The issue of this battle exemplified the fundamental difference between the Prussians and the French. The victory was won by the rapid concentration on the field of numbers of troops belonging to a great variety of corps and divisions. The achievements of the Prussian army on August 6th could not have been accomplished, unless every officer had been zealous to hurry forward with energy and self-abandonment on hearing the voice of the cannon; if he had not done so it might have been a day of defeat instead of victory. Although the chief command in the battle was changed four times, being held successively by Kameke, Stülpnagel, Goeben and Zastrow, there was the most perfect unity in the conduct of the engagement, testifying alike to the absence of personal jealousy and to uniformity of tactical system.

CHAPTER VIII

SEDAN

ABOUT noon on August 6th a rumour was current in Paris that the Prussian army was defeated. The *Marseillaise* was sung in the streets, and some decorations were exhibited. But the illusion did not last long. Just before midnight a report was received by the Empress from the Emperor, saying: "We are in full retreat; we must rise to the occasion; we must declare a state of siege and prepare for the defence of the capital. I have no news of MacMahon." The Cabinet was immediately summoned and met the Empress at the Tuileries. It was resolved to collect all available troops and defend Paris. The Ministers separated as dawn was breaking on Sunday morning. Early in the day the worst was known; the north-eastern gate of France was open to the invading enemy. At 9 Paris heard of the catastrophe, and determination to make a brave resistance was coupled with demands for the deposition of the Emperor and the punishment of the generals who had betrayed their country. The spirit of 1792 was not dead.

The News in Paris.

At Metz the first idea was to concentrate the third and fourth corps and the Guard at St. Avold and attack the enemy in flank. A train was prepared to carry the Emperor into the heart of his troops. Napoleon was already in his carriage when he heard that the railway station of Borney was in possession of the enemy, and the line of retreat of the defeated army was not known. He therefore returned to the prefecture, and Lebœuf proceeded to St. Avold alone, where he found Bazaine and Bourbaki, with whom he discussed many plans. One of these contemplated withdrawal to Châlons, leaving Alsace, Lorraine, and a large portion of Champagne at the mercy of the enemy. The resignation of his military command by the Emperor was also mooted, and it was proposed he should resume the reins of government. Napoleon, however, refused to leave his soldiers. On August 8th the indecision continued, but it ended by the army retiring to the neighbourhood of Metz. Next day Napoleon transferred the command of the army to Bazaine, although he did not entirely surrender control of it.

Napoleon Resigns the Military Command.

Montauban Summoned to Paris.

In Paris the Chambers had been summoned to meet on August 11th, but they met on August 9th. Ollivier and Gramont showed a determined spirit, but were violently attacked. The deposition of the Emperor was called for and the institution of a provisional government. The excitement grew, and the Deputies nearly came to blows. At last a vote was passed inviting the Cabinet to resign. Montauban, Count of Palikao, in command at Lyons, was summoned by the Empress to Paris, and made Minister of War. Ollivier and his colleagues immediately surrendered their posts, and Montauban found himself at the head not only of the army but the Government as well. He appeared before the Chambers on August 10th. When the members called upon him to speak louder, he said: "Pardon me, twenty-five years ago I received a bullet in my breast, and it is still there."

Bazaine's Appointment.

A new Ministry was constructed, Latour d'Auvergne becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Ministers did not occupy the Treasury Bench, but were dispersed throughout the House among the ordinary members. Lebœuf was deposed, and Bazaine was given command of the Army of the Rhine, great, but misplaced confidence being reposed in him. Bazaine represented to the Emperor that both Canrobert and MacMahon were senior to himself, but the Emperor replied that his appointment was demanded by public opinion. This was followed, as we have said, by the Emperor's resignation of the command of the army.

Retirement of the French Armies.

It was now determined to withdraw the whole army behind the Meuse in the direction of Châlons and Paris. The discussions on this point lasted a week, and the retreat did not begin till August 14th. It was desirable that the Emperor should return to Paris, but he would not undertake the journey till he knew that his army was safely out of Metz.

The war now enters into a new phase. MacMahon retired into the interior of France, followed by the third Prussian army. He halted in the plains of Champagne, oscillating between Paris and Metz. As he proceeded in a half-hearted and indecisive manner he suffered the defeat which destroyed him. At Metz the Prussians were endeavouring to cross the Moselle and throw themselves on the rear of the retreating enemy, and the French were endeavouring to liberate themselves from the net which entangled them and organise the defence of their country in the centre of France.

Bazaine's Hesitancy.

In order to attain their purpose, the Germans had to alter their direction, turning themselves round gradually, and using the First Army, which remained at Metz, as a pivot. They had to move, first to the south and then to the west of the city. The

two adversaries had a race which should first arrive at the high ground between the Moselle and the Meuse. The responsibility of resisting these movements fell upon Bazaine, and his talents were not equal to the task. The successful carrying out of the Emperor's plan demanded the utmost energy and speed, but at the very moment when Bazaine should have been giving the necessary orders he was still hankering after another policy and longing to remain in Metz. However, on August 14th the retreat began. At midday the *Cent Gardes* and the Imperial carriages appeared before the prefecture and the Emperor and his son left in safety by the Porte de France. The troops followed about 4 p.m. Nothing was left to the north of the city except the third army corps and part of the fourth. Suddenly a cannonade was heard, and the Battle of Borny had begun.

Bazaine's Blunder.

The country through which the rear of the French army had to march consisted of two plateaux, called by the names of Borny and St. Barbe, which were separated by ravines which, about three miles from Metz, became one and descended in a westerly direction to the Moselle. The heights and slopes were covered with many villages. Early on August 14th the Germans found that the French encamped on the plateaux were preparing to march, and set off in pursuit of them. The proper course for the French would have been to continue their retreat and to allow the Germans to come within the range of the guns of the fortress. About 5 in the afternoon Bazaine arrived on the scene. He had two plans open to him—to continue his course or turn on the Germans and crush them. He did neither, but stayed where he was and fought a feeble battle, called by the French after Borny, by the Germans after Columbey.

"The Alley of the Dead."

Goltz, who had begun the attack, was held in check before Columbey, and awaited assistance. This was given by Zastrow. Though the Prussians did not gain much ground, they inflicted severe losses on the French, Decaen being killed and Bazaine wounded. The struggle was furious, a hollow way leading up to Columbey being disputed step by step with such terrible carnage that it has since been called "The Alley of the Dead." On the whole, the Prussians did not gain the ground they wished for, but prevented the passage of the French. The loss on the French side was 3,500 and on the German 5,000.

Next day (August 15th) the Moselle was crossed, and by noon the right bank was entirely evacuated. The Battle of Borny had delayed the French retreat by twenty-four hours. On the dawn of this day the Germans pushed their reconnaissances close up to

Metz. A thick fog enveloped the Valley of the Moselle, but when the King came up shortly afterwards, and the mist had risen, clouds of dust revealed the march of long columns moving towards the west. The retreat of the French seemed to be secure. On this day, however, the two armies came into close contact, and an artillery duel, begun by accident, continued for several hours.

Napoleon Leaves Gravelotte.

The Emperor, moving by slow stages, reluctant to leave the scene of conflict, slept with his son in a small cottage at Gravelotte. A few faithful friends made an offering of flowers. He did not know whether to go or stay, or along which road to travel. Thus the Imperial nephew spent the birthday of his uncle, one of the saddest anniversaries which that much-tried family has ever experienced. Bazaine was in a state of similar uncertainty. It is said that when he lost the last sight of Metz he was seized with dizziness; he lost his head; and the uncertainty of the commander spread through every department of the administration. The night passed quietly, and Napoleon left Gravelotte with imposing parade at daybreak. Bazaine came to bid him farewell, and the Emperor said to him, "I confide to you the last army of France; think of the Prince Imperial," and recommended him to proceed with all speed to Verdun and Châlons. The Emperor abandoned the route by Mars-la-Tour as too dangerous, and chose that by Étain. He sent away his dragoons and was escorted by Chasseurs d'Afrique. From Étain the Prince Imperial telegraphed to his mother, "Everything goes better and better."

The French Surprised.

Bazaine was now left to himself. If he had marched at once on August 16th he would have caught the Germans at a disadvantage; but Lebœuf insisted on a delay, which proved fatal. At 9.15 on August 16th the French soldiers were making their soup, and many of the horses, unsaddled, were being led to drink. Suddenly an alarm was raised, and shells fell into the camp. Vionville was choked with baggage wagons, and at the first fire the drivers fled. Wherever they went they carried dismay and confusion, some retreating to Rezonville, some as far as Gravelotte. Order was with difficulty restored and resistance organised.

Alvensleben's Attack.

The artillery which had caused the panic belonged to the advance guard of Prince Frederick Charles, who did not desire to bring about a battle there, but hoped to fall in with the rear-guard of the French and, if possible, to compel them to halt and fight before they reached the Meuse. The sound of the cannonade startled Lebœuf at Verneville and Bazaine at his headquarters at Gravelotte. By this time other parts of the German army

became informed about the movements of the French. Alvensleben learned that their outposts were at Trouville and Vionville, and camps of large bodies of troops were visible behind these two villages. He thus knew that at least a great portion of the French forces had not begun to march to Verdun and, in order to detain them, determined to attack them with the third corps and the sixth cavalry division. Though he was not aware of the strength of the enemy, he was confident in the bravery of his troops and inspired by his previous success. For the purposes of defence the French occupied Vionville, Flagny, and a building called the White House, to the south of Rezonville.

Bazaine's Narrow Escape.

It was now about 10.30 a.m. Had Bazaine adopted a strong line at once, the Germans might have been driven back before they had time to collect and form, and the road to Verdun could have been secured. But the battle began as a soldiers' battle, and so it continued, being fought with great energy and determination on both sides, but in separate detachments without definite plan. The Prussians, however, were being constantly reinforced, and Bazaine's opportunity passed; indeed, within half an hour the most favourable positions were occupied by the enemy's cavalry. At last, after an obstinate struggle, Vionville and Flagny were carried, and the Prussians began to move towards Rezonville. At this moment Frossard went in search of Bazaine, who ordered a charge of cavalry, which was performed with splendid energy, but produced no effect, as they were checked by the Prussian infantry in front of Flagny. At this time Bazaine, separated from his staff, was nearly taken prisoner, but he galloped away, sword in hand, side by side with a Prussian officer. At last his escort arrived and dispersed the enemy.

A Desperate Charge.

The first attack of the Germans had been successful: of Frossard's five brigades three were in retreat, but still all was not lost. The grenadiers of the Guard formed a firm defence to Rezonville, and stood like a wall round the town. Had Bazaine displayed vigour and grasped the situation at this moment, victory might yet have been secured. But he began to be afraid of his communications with Metz, and was distracted by two conflicting impulses—to push forward or hold back. Alvensleben was in serious danger. It was now 2 and he had to hold his own for an hour or two until help arrived. He had to depend on a charge of the Prussian cavalry, and decided to run the risk. He had at his disposal only eight squadrons under Bredow. In order to give time for the tenth corps to come up the cavalry were entrusted with a duty as desperate as that of the Light Brigade

at Balaklava. This body of magnificent troops rode at Canrobert's division and went right through it, checking the movement of the French before it had well begun, but losing more than half their number in the effort. This charge was the turning-point of the battle. Fresh detachments crossing the Moselle enabled Alvensleben to hold his own. For some time the struggle on the German right and centre remained stationary, as the Prussians were unable to make any impression on the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard.

Artillery Duel at Rezonville.

At last, at 4 o'clock, Prince Frederick Charles appeared, having ridden from Pont-à-Mousson. He saw that the stress of the battle was on the left wing, where French troops had appeared under Lebœuf and Ladmirault. After a brisk artillery fire the infantry drove the French out of the wood. A cavalry charge followed, in which Bismarck's two sons rode as privates. They both distinguished themselves; one was wounded, and the other lifted a wounded soldier on to his horse and carried him off the field. The day ended with a severe artillery duel. It was now past 7, and both sides were exhausted, but the contest continued until darkness fell, at the very last moment a violent cannonade, the origin of which is uncertain, breaking forth on both sides. The French slept on the ground which they held in Rezonville or on the heights to the south of it, and on the ridge on the north, overlooking the upper road to Verdun. In the battle the French had lost 17,000 men out of 125,000, and the Germans 16,000 out of 77,000 men.

Bazaine Retires.

During the night the French army was ordered to retire towards Metz, to their great surprise, as they imagined that they had gained a victory, and on August 17th the approach to the Meuse was still open by the northern roads. But Bazaine could not bring himself to abandon Metz, and determined to fall back upon a strong position west and north-west of the fortress. He said that the number of his wounded, the state of the army, and the lack of ammunition and supplies left him no alternative. As a competent judge remarks, "That the army should have fallen into this condition within sight of a great depot shows how deeply the canker of disorganisation had entered into the French military system." Bazaine now took up a purely defensive position, with his front towards the west. He had not given up the idea of retiring to Châlons, as is shown by the fact that he reported to the Emperor, on August 17th, that he would move towards Verdun by the northern road when the needs of the army had been supplied. If he had begun the march in the morning, or even in

the night of August 17th, the Germans would not have been able to oppose the movement, but only to harass his flank, whereas they were now able to concentrate a superior force and cut off his retreat altogether.

Bazaine's movement was carried out without opposition, and by nightfall on August 17th the Army of the Rhine was in the position he had determined for them. On the left, under the great fort of Plappeville, lay Frossard with the second corps; Lebœuf, with the third corps, was on the north; Ladmirault, with the fourth corps, was at Amanweiler; Canrobert, with the sixth corps, on the right, at St. Privat; while Bazaine took up his position with the Guard in the glacis of Plappeville.

Moltke's Plans.

It was Moltke's business to prevent the escape of Bazaine from this position, and this he did with consummate skill. He had, within reach, the whole of the First and Second Armies excepting the fourth corps, which was engaged in an expedition against Toul; and the second corps, which had not yet arrived from Germany, but was proceeding by forced marches to Pont-à-Mousson. Moltke knew that the French army was west of the Moselle; he therefore found the first corps, with some cavalry, sufficient to watch Metz on the east. The tenth and third corps were left in their positions at Vionville and Mars-la-Tour; the seventh, eighth, and ninth corps were brought up on their right, and the Guard and the twelfth corps were placed to the left of the third corps and west of Mars-la-Tour. Thus, at the close of August 17th, 140,000 men were in line, parallel to a road which led from Metz to Mars-la-Tour.

Successful French Movement.

In order to reach the position assigned to them on the German right, the seventh and eighth corps had to make a flank march, in close proximity to the forts of Metz. It was essential to the success of the movement that their march should be unobserved, and that no indiscreet impetuosity should bring on a premature engagement. Stringent orders to this effect were issued from headquarters and were obeyed so exactly that the French were allowed to slip away, not only unchecked, but unobserved. The consequence was that at daybreak on August 18th Moltke did not know whether Bazaine was continuing his design of retreating by the northern roads or had retired definitely to Metz. He had to be prepared for either event. He therefore ordered the Second Army to move to the north, towards Doncourt, while he, with the seventh and eighth corps of the First Army, prevented any interference from Metz. If Bazaine were in retreat the same army could follow closely till the First Army came up in support, and, if

he determined to remain at Metz, the Second Army could wheel round to the right and surround him on his right flank.

Mannstein's Precipitation.

At a quarter to twelve on the morning of August 18th, when the soldiers had just finished their breakfast in Ladmirault's corps, patrols arrived announcing that the enemy had arrived at Verneville. At the same moment the sound of artillery was heard coming from the batteries of Mannstein, who commanded the ninth corps. The fire, which was unexpected by the French, was an equal surprise to Prince Frederick Charles. When he learnt from Hessian scouts that a portion of the French troops was encamped at St. Privat, he prepared a vigorous attack upon the French right. But it was a condition of success that all should act together, so that this sudden attack of Mannstein's on the French centre caused the greatest alarm. The fire was promptly replied to by French batteries posted on all the heights. The advance of the Germans was repulsed and Mannstein's precipitate action ended in failure. Indeed, he found himself in a most dangerous position and, had he been vigorously attacked, little resistance could have been made. But there was no one, to lead. Bazaine was in his house at Plappeville, his horse saddled outside, his staff grumbling with discontent. He attempted to minimise the danger, and as he was not there to give orders nothing could be done.

Attack by the Guards.

Prince Frederick Charles set out to march in the direction of the cannon. At half-past three new vigour was thrown into the Prussian attack, and at 5 in the afternoon the French were beginning to retreat. Still, as he surveyed the battle from Plappeville at this hour, Bazaine might believe that victory had inclined to his favour, and that the French had only lost a few advanced posts. Canrobert still held his position at St. Privat and Doncourt. Although his corps had been driven back at Ste. Marie, and he was now engaged in a severe artillery combat, Ladmirault was holding his ground at Amanweiler and Montigny. Lebœuf had been compelled to evacuate the Bois de Geniveaux, but had been able to maintain his position at the farm of Moscou. Frossard, although he had lost St. Hubert, still held his position at Pointe-du-Jour and Rozellieures. But the Imperial Guard had as yet taken no part in the engagement and only about half the German forces had been employed, so that much might be done on both wings with fresh troops.

The battle had now been raging for five hours without intermission, evening was coming on, and if any decisive effect was to be produced the Guards must take part in the engagement.

ATTACK ON ST. PRIVAT

Soon after 5 King William, who was commanding in person, gave orders to the three brigades of Guards to advance to the attack of St. Privat. As they advanced they were received with a heavy fire, but continued to press steadily forward; but nearly all the generals, field officers, and adjutants who remained on horseback were either dismounted or killed. The loss was so great that orders were given to suspend the attack and await the arrival of the Saxons. The Saxon troops, who formed part of the twelfth corps, reached Doncourt at 6.30, and then the Guards were ordered to continue their advance. At 6.45 the Guards forced their way into the village from the south and met some of the Saxon troops entering from the north at the same moment. The houses in the village were stormed one after the other, and the Germans were not masters of the place until it was too late to continue the conflict.

Retreat of Ladmirault.

This successful attack upon St. Privat made it possible for the Hessians and the third brigade of Guards to attack Amanweiler, but they were so hotly received by the superior numbers of the French that they could gain no advantage. However, St. Privat was the key of the position, and when that was captured Amanweiler had to be abandoned. Ladmirault, also, fearing to be taken in flank, had to break up his positions and retreat to Plappeville, sacrificing his large encampment of huts and many other munitions of war. When the news of the defeat of the French right wing reached headquarters, Bourbaki, the commander of the Imperial Guard, ordered his soldiers to march to their support, but the general arrived too late to be of any advantage.

The Defile of Gravelotte.

On the other side of the field, Fransecky, who commanded the second corps, received orders from the King at 5.30 to carry the farm of Moscou. To do this it was necessary to pass through the terrible defile of Gravelotte, which can never be forgotten by anyone who has seen it, as it appears impregnable. The pass is only twelve yards wide and is formed by the steep bank of the Mance. The road to Metz is here bordered for about 500 yards by a wall of precipitous rock, 30 or 40 feet high, and on the other side by a ravine in some places 20 feet deep. Along this road the infantry had to advance unsupported, until they reached St. Hubert. Their progress was watched by Moltke and by the King himself, until Roon forced him away from his dangerous position.

The orders given to Fransecky were that his troops were to climb the steep ascent by the eastern bank of the Mance until they arrived at Pointe-du-Jour, which was the highest part of the wood.

They were then to storm this important position. These orders were carried out, the troops proceeding in one continuous close column, every file closing up to the next one, and each rank calling to the other, "Close up well forward, shoulder to shoulder." The drummers beat the charge, the bugles sounded the advance, and the soldiers answered by a hurrah. When they arrived on the plateau they were received by a storm of bullets from mitrailleuses and chassepots, while the solid mass of soldiers moving forward on the high road were cut to pieces by projectiles. In the meantime, the Prussian artillery kept up a continuous fire, directed against the French troops on the plateau, over the heads of the storming columns. The sun had now gone down, and it was found that in some cases the Prussian troops, who had reached the heights, were firing, in the confusion, on their advancing comrades. Fransecky therefore ordered the bugler to sound "Cease firing," and a general cessation of fire took place for a short time on both sides. Soon afterwards the column reached St. Hubert, under a murderous rain of projectiles, and eventually Pointe-du-Jour was carried.

Losses at Gravelotte.

About 10 the French delivered a terrible assault of mitrailleuses and chassepots upon the Germans, which formed the closing scene of the great battle. The King passed the night at Rezonville, sleeping on a small camp-bed, without having changed his clothes for thirty hours, and having no covering but his military cloak. Next day he moved his quarters to Pont-à-Mousson. In this battle, called by the French St. Privat, and by the Germans Gravelotte, the French lost 609 officers and 11,700 men, 6,000 French being taken prisoners. The Germans lost 904 officers and 19,058 men.

Investment of Metz.

Moltke became aware, on August 19th, that the Army of the Rhine had fallen back upon the forts surrounding Metz, and was holding positions which could not be carried by assault. He had originally intended that, while the armies advanced to Paris, Metz should be masked—that is, prevented from taking part in the campaign—by a portion of the *Landwehr*, and the division intended for this purpose was already approaching. It now became necessary to make fresh arrangements, because Metz, instead of its ordinary garrison, contained a large number of troops ready, at any moment, to break out and fight the Prussians. Therefore an army of investment had to be formed, and this was comprised of the whole of the First Army, four corps of the Second Army, and a division of the *Landwehr*. This army, consisting of 175,000 men, was placed under the command of Prince Frederick

Charles. Besides this, an Army of the Meuse was created and placed under the Crown Prince of Saxony to assist the Third Army, which was 240,000 strong, in advancing on the French capital, The Third Army and the fourth corps had reached the Meuse on August 19th, and were halted there to enable the rest of the new army to come up.

Napoleon a Wanderer.

We must now return to the Emperor. He had left Gravelotte at daybreak on August 16th, accompanied by the Prince Imperial and Prince Napoleon, the journey becoming more and more of a flight. He reached Verdun at 1, the inhabitants being silent and stupefied. The under-prefect was obliged to ask him whether they should cry, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" He had to travel to Châlons in a third-class carriage, and reached the town in the evening, unexpected, and found a lodging with difficulty. The course of events now depended on the leaders assembled in the camp — the Emperor, Prince Napoleon, MacMahon and Trochu. A conference was held, and it was decided that Trochu should return to Paris with the title of Governor of the capital; that the Emperor should go back to the Tuileries; that the command of the Army of Châlons should be given to MacMahon, who was, however, to remain under the orders of Bazaine; and that the camp, which was composed chiefly of *Gardes mobiles*, should be broken up. Trochu was detested by the Empress, but was beloved by the populace, and it was thought his popularity would cover the unpopularity of the Emperor.

Trochu Arrives at Paris.

Paris at this time was governed by the Empress as Regent and Palikao as Minister of War. They naturally thought that the safety of France depended upon their preserving their authority, and that the return of the Emperor was undesirable. Therefore, when the news of the changes made at Châlons arrived in the evening, Palikao telegraphed to beg the Emperor to surrender the idea, which implied the abandonment of the army of Metz. Trochu reached Paris at midnight, and went first to Chevren, Minister of the Interior, and asked him to sign the Emperor's decree. He hesitated and said that the Empress must be consulted. A stormy council was held at the Tuileries, in which the Empress expressed herself strongly against the return of the Emperor. At last Palikao consented to countersign the decree, and it was presented to the Ministers. On August 18th Palikao announced to the Chambers that he had himself recalled Trochu to Paris, as the best man to undertake the government of the city.

Napoleon at Châlons.

At Châlons during the whole of August 17th nothing seemed to be decided. There was no news from Bazaine, nor did the Emperor make any movement of departure, but it was evident to MacMahon that the camp was indefensible. On the following day some *mobiles* left the camp, and the Emperor announced his departure to MacMahon and Prince Napoleon, but still he stayed on. The Prussian army approached, and at 8.30 MacMahon telegraphed to Bazaine, " If the Crown Prince attacks me in force, I shall occupy a position between Epernay and Reims, so as to be able either to join you or to march to Paris as circumstances may demand."

Divided Counsels.

At 10 a.m. Magnan arrived from Metz, bringing bad news. Bazaine said that he would resume his march if possible. During the day messages from Bazaine gave successive scraps of information about the catastrophe of Gravelotte. What was MacMahon to do? His own prudence counselled retreat; but Palikao in Paris urged him to join Bazaine at Metz. About midday on August 19th telegraphic communication was finally interrupted, and he was left without information except such as could be brought by messengers. The Prussian cavalry was scouring the country and getting nearer and nearer to the camp. It became necessary to act. At daybreak on August 21st the camp of Châlons, which had witnessed so many of the glories of the Empire, was broken up under a leaden sky and heavy rain, and the army reached Reims, the Emperor fixing his headquarters at the Château de Courcelles, two miles from Reims, where he was joined by Rouher. Rouher represented the views held in Paris. He was strongly in favour of a march to Metz and a junction with Bazaine. If this were effected, the united armies could pursue the Crown Prince on the road to Paris. MacMahon, with better military knowledge, recognised that Bazaine was invested, and strongly urged return to Paris. The Emperor remained silent. It was settled that MacMahon should take command not only of the army, but of all the towns which defended Paris. This would be a set-off against the authority of Trochu, and Rouher carried off in his pocket the decrees necessary for this purpose.

MacMahon Retreats.

News at last came from Bazaine. On August 19th he had entrusted a letter to a gamekeeper, who hid it in the sole of his boot. It reached Reims early on August 22nd. It announced the defeat of St. Privat, and that Bazaine's plan was to retire to Châlons by St. Menehould and Montmédy if the road were free, and, if this were impossible, to reach it by way of Sedan and

Mézières. Another letter arrived later, expressing a doubt whether he should be able to march at all. A third letter from Bazaine, dated August 20th, never arrived, and, left to his own devices, MacMahon on August 23rd withdrew his army towards the north-east.

The General Call to Arms.

The first care of the Ministry of August 10th was to increase the strength of the army. The contingent of 1870 was immediately summoned to the colours. All citizens from twenty-five to thirty years of age, unmarried, or widowers without children, not forming part of the *Garde mobile*, were called out, and some other persons who belonged to the classes of 1865 and 1866, who had escaped service, were incorporated. The admission of volunteers was arranged for, and a National Guard was established in the Departments which should include all men under forty. But all these troops had to be exercised and trained.

Bazaine the Hope of France.

Labour was abundantly spent in repairing and arming the fortifications of Paris erected under Louis Philippe. For this purpose a number of sailors were summoned, as well as the marine artillery, the gamekeepers, and the Custom-house officers. It was also necessary to accumulate provisions and money. The pictures of the Louvre, the Crown diamonds, the bullion in the Bank, and the captured flags of the Invalides were sent for security to Brest. The interior government of the country gave a great deal of trouble, anarchy began to raise its head, and there were disorders and murders in the streets, while in the Chambers the deposition of the Emperor was discussed. It is impossible to describe the anxiety of this month of August, and the only hope of the people seemed to lie in Bazaine. All generals but he were denounced as traitors; all foreigners were believed to be spies. The condition of the provinces was as bad as that of Paris.

Negotiations for an Ally.

An effort was also made to secure allies. We have related some of the negotiations begun with Austria and Italy. These were continued at Metz at the beginning of August. But Austria could not undertake any decisive action before the beginning of September, and Italy would do nothing unless the evacuation of Rome by the French were conceded. The Emperor positively refused to abandon the Pope, and it is doubtful whether his doing so would have secured the alliance of Italy. Vimercati at Metz and Vitzthum at Florence found themselves equally impotent. Russia gave France to understand that any violation of neutrality by Austria would bring her also on the scene of action.

But the events of August 6th brought all these negotiations to an end. Wörth opened the doors of Alsace, Forbach of

Lorraine. Immediately after these defeats Austria took pains to declare that she was free from all engagements, and Vitzthum was delighted to feel that he had escaped a serious danger. On August 7th Gramont asked Italy to send 60,000 men to the assistance of France, but the proposition was instantly declined. Great Britain, with Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, refused to commit herself. The *entente cordiale*, the alliance of the Crimea, was already forgotten. There can be little doubt but that the sympathies both of the Court and the people of Great Britain were really with the Germans. A Neutral League was formed, the object of which was to confine the extent of the war, but mainly to protect Italy from pressure by France, and membership of which would be a sufficient ground for maintaining inactivity. The alliance did not take the form of a treaty, but merely of an exchange of ideas and of agreement in a common action. The Neutral League completed the isolation of France.

Prince Napoleon and Italy.

It was indeed difficult for Napoleon to believe that his old friend Victor Emmanuel would leave him entirely in the lurch. Therefore, on August 19th, he sent Prince Napoleon to Florence to see the Prince's father-in-law, to induce him to declare war against Prussia, and, if possible, to carry Austria with him. When he arrived at Florence he found that he could do nothing and that he was received with more pity than respect. On August 27th Cadorna, the Italian Ambassador in London, asked Lord Granville if he did not think that the time had come to put an end to the horrors of war, but he was told that the time had not yet come and that any effort would do more harm than good. Prince Napoleon remained, amusing himself with his Italian relations, until the catastrophe which destroyed both the dynasty and France. We have said nothing about Russia. She determined to remain neutral so long as Austria pursued a similar policy, but if Austria had joined France Russia would undoubtedly have made war upon Austria. Her private ties were far closer with Austria than with Prussia, but she desired the liberation of the Black Sea and the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris as keenly as the Italians desired the liberation of Rome.

MacMahon's Effort.

The army which left Reims on August 23rd to march in a north-easterly direction numbered about 120,000 men. The object was to reach Bazaine, and the route to be followed had been traced with great care and precision by Palikao. Leaving Châlons on August 21st, the army could reach the Meuse in four or five marches and concentrate in the neighbourhood of Verdun. MacMahon would have against him the Third Army, under the

Crown Prince of Saxony. If he followed this route he would avoid the Third Army and could easily beat the Fourth Army, which did not consist of more than 70,000 men. He would then march to Metz, join with Bazaine, and return with him to crush the Third Army. This plan was not at all impossible, and with good fortune and a good leader might have been carried out with success. But, unfortunately, MacMahon had lost two days by going to Reims, and he determined not to march straight to Verdun, but to bend a little to the north in the direction of Montmédy, hoping thus to avoid the enemy altogether.

MacMahon's Difficulties.

When MacMahon arrived at the river at the end of the first day he was informed that there were no more provisions, although the troops had been ordered to carry supplies for four days. What was to be done? He determined to move towards Rethel in order to get provisions. But the commissariat was badly organised, and the soldiers took to marauding and discipline became slack. At last they reached the Aisne and the Argonne, and in the neighbourhood of Grand Pré they suddenly came into contact with the German scouts. Moltke was contemplating a march on Paris, which he hoped to reach in about a week's time, when information reached him from different quarters, notably by telegraph from London, through the French Press, that MacMahon had changed his plans and intended, if possible, to join Bazaine.

Moltke's Masterly Strategy.

From this, on August 25th and 26th, he had to alter all his calculations, as his previous arrangements had been made on the supposition of a march upon Paris. The fourth German army, now called the Army of the Meuse, had reached the valley of that river and was occupying the road between Clermont and St. Menehould, in the immediate neighbourhood of the historic town of Varennes; but it was not, of itself, strong enough to oppose MacMahon, if he should operate in the direction of Metz. The Third Army had established communications with the Fourth, and the two armies together formed a line forty-six miles long, broken by a right angle. In order to crush the French army it was necessary that, while the Fourth Army detained the French and obstructed their progress, the Third should make a long bend to the east to envelop them and deal a crushing blow. These complicated operations were carried out with such precision that in no single case did any crossing of soldiers occur. This rapid wheel to the right of an army of more than 200,000 men, and its concentration at the point originally determined, is probably one of the most masterly exploits ever executed in any war. There was great difficulty in procuring subsistence upon a new line of

advance, but this was met by the zeal and resource of the commissariat.

Palikao's Anger.

On August 27th MacMahon fixed his headquarters at Chesne, in the Argonne. He was informed there that the Fourth Army was marching up the Meuse, and that the Third had already changed its course, was proceeding north, and was by this time approaching the Aisne. He now saw the terrible nature of the danger to which he was exposed. He could not bear to abandon Bazaine, but he felt that he might be cut off both from Metz and from Paris. After consulting the Emperor, he sent a message to Bazaine at 3.25 p.m., saying that he had learnt that the Crown Prince of Prussia was approaching, and that he was obliged to retreat on Mézières, unless he heard that Bazaine had already begun his retreat. At 8.30 he dispatched a similar message to Palikao. If MacMahon had really reached Mézières he would have been in easy communication with Paris, but he was not his own master. When Palikao received MacMahon's dispatch he sent a furious telegram, not to the general, but to the Emperor, at 11: "If you abandon Bazaine the Revolution will be in Paris, and you will be yourself attacked by all the forces of the enemy. Paris can protect herself against an attack from outside. The fortifications are finished; it seems to me urgent that you should rapidly reach Bazaine." The dispatch concluded by saying that it was quite impossible that the Crown Prince could be where MacMahon believed him to be. This dispatch reached MacMahon at 1 in the morning, and, in spite of the remonstrance of the army, he determined to obey it. The retreat towards Mézières had already begun, the weather was terrible, the country extremely difficult, and everything was thrown into confusion by the change of plan.

Moltke Closing in on MacMahon.

On August 28th MacMahon had his headquarters at Stone. Here he learned in the afternoon that the Germans had occupied Stenay. This was very grave, because it closed the route to Metz by Montmédy, the alternative route by Verdun having been closed long ago. At the same time he received another dispatch from Palikao, ordering him to relieve Bazaine. Below Stenay there was a bridge thrown across the Meuse at Mouzon, and a wooden bridge lower down at Remilly. MacMahon intended to cross the Meuse by these bridges, to reach Carignan, and then march up the Chiers to Montmédy. This plan was unwise, because it delayed the march of the army and brought it too near the Belgian frontier, which it was contrary to international law to cross. Orders had been given to carry out these movements,

but they went wrong, and August 29th was a day of disaster. On the other hand, it was favourable to Moltke, who had his headquarters at Grand Pré. All his calculations turned out as he would wish. The Army of the Meuse was almost concentrated, and the army of the Crown Prince was only a march behind. He had penetrated the design of MacMahon and determined to prevent it. He therefore gave orders for an attack on Beaumont, a small town lying two miles from the Meuse, and about six miles from Mouzon.

Battle of Beaumont.

On the morning of August 29th the fifth corps reached the place in small detachments, weary and harassed, wishing for nothing but repose, and many of the troops did not arrive till night. MacMahon reached Beaumont at 7 a.m. He had no idea of immediate danger, and the troops, resting after their labour, were engaged in foraging. The town was surrounded by woods and there were many farms on the slopes. The troops were principally encamped on the south of the town, at dangerous positions, but were so tired when they arrived that they were allowed to rest in the first places they reached. Failly, who commanded, fancied himself in perfect security, and had no apprehension of attack. Suddenly, just after the church clock had struck mid-day, a cannonade began. The panic was indescribable, but the chivalrous French spirit asserted itself, and the best preparations were made for defence which circumstances allowed. But no resistance was possible, and everything fell into the hands of the Prussians—tents, baggage, even the wounded—and prisoners were made in crowds. The fifth corps was entirely defeated. The first corps had just crossed the Meuse at Remilly and were pursuing their road to Carignan, when they heard the cannon of Beaumont. They could not retreat, however, because the Emperor was with them, and they could not desert him. The seventh corps was at Stone when they heard the sound of the battle, about six miles from Beaumont, but they dared not disobey orders, and had to continue their march. It is not necessary to pursue the dolorous story. The day of Beaumont was fatal. Eighteen hundred men were killed and wounded and 3,000 taken prisoners.

Concentration on Sedan.

After the battle the Emperor might have escaped to Mézières and secured his personal safety, but he refused to leave the army. He reached Carignan at 4.30 p.m. on August 30th, and sent a reassuring dispatch to the Empress; but MacMahon was aware that the Army of Châlons had been overtaken by the forces of the enemy in far greater numbers than his own. The march to

Montmédy had become impossible, and all idea of relieving Bazaine at Metz was at an end. The choice remained between fighting a battle at Mouzon and retreating westwards without fighting, to prevent the army, if possible, from being surrounded. The Marshal therefore concentrated his forces at Sedan, which could only be effected by a night march. Every preparation had been made for the Emperor's passing the night at Carignan, but at 11 he left unexpectedly by railway for Sedan, which is about twelve miles off; the troops, marching through the night, reached their encampments at Sedan on the morning of August 31st, some arriving as late as 9.

Position at Metz.

We must now consider the position of Bazaine in Metz, which MacMahon and Palikao were so anxious to relieve. The Prussian army of the siege, gradually strengthened by the arrival of reservists and other soldiers, contained now more than 150,000 combatants. It invested the city on both sides of the Moselle and was stationed in trenches, batteries, and parallels, often double or three-fold in depth, the artisans within the lines being utilised for the investment. The outposts were pushed forward as far as the fire of the forts permitted; indeed, they were generally within reach of the heavy ordnance, only the reserve being entirely out of range. The whole length of the line of investment was about thirty miles. Observatories were erected on all lofty points, and connected by telegraph with each other and with the different headquarters, so that any weakness in the blockade could be immediately repaired. The fortress was well supplied with ammunition, but not so well with provisions, as the city contained, besides the army of Bazaine, the inhabitants of the city and those of a great part of the surrounding country.

Bazaine's Final Effort

Considering these difficulties, it is creditable to Bazaine that he was able to make a sortie on August 26th when MacMahon's army was marching from Reims to Rethel. His object was to get possession of Thionville and force his way to Châlons by the passes of the north, but after a few attempts he became convinced that the Prussians were stronger than himself, and he determined to postpone any other efforts until the ground should have recovered from the effects of heavy rains. However, on August 31st he made a powerful sortie with the object of driving the Prussians back or, at least, replenishing his commissariat. He advanced by the right bank of the Moselle, and succeeded in getting as far as Columbey, but he was defeated by Manteuffel. The French army was driven back to Metz on September 1st, and its surrender was merely a matter of time, as provisions were becoming scarcer,

and after the last sortie the besieged began to slaughter their horses.

The Eve of Sedan.

Sedan was one of the worst places which could have been chosen as a refuge for a defeated army. It was surrounded on the south, north, east, and west by a series of hills which dominated the river, the city, and fortress. To the east stretched the last spurs of the Argonne from Remilly to Donchery, which offered a favourable spot for placing artillery, and there were similar heights on the north-east. To the north the hills were of a different description, as they were separated from each other by deep ravines. Important points on this side were the plateaux of Illy, on the summit of which was a Calvary, the peninsula of Iges surrounded by the Meuse, and the heights of the Ardennes, which marked the Belgian frontier. If the enemy occupied these heights he would be master of Sedan, of the army, indeed, of everything, and would be able to cut off the French retreat. MacMahon's only hope lay in seizing these eminences, destroying the bridges across the Meuse at Bazeilles and Donchery, marching along the defile between the Meuse and the frontier, and so reaching Mézières and Paris. This was the last chance of safety, but the Germans were using these remaining hours of grace in a manner to make it impossible for the French to profit by it.

Wimpffen Arrives from Paris.

King William arrived at Buzancy on August 30th, and in the evening was informed of the victory of Beaumont. Orders were immediately given to the two Crown Princes to close all avenues of retreat for the French, the Saxons those on the east, the Prussians those on the south and west. Bismarck reminded King Leopold of his duty to disarm any Frenchman who crossed the frontier. Sedan being too small to contain the retreating army, the fifth corps took up a perilous position at Vieux Camp, the seventh corps on the slopes of Algerie, and the twelfth corps at Bazeilles. Ducrot was still on the march. At 9 a.m. Wimpffen suddenly arrived from Paris, having travelled thither from Algiers. He had with him an order to supersede Failly in the command of the fifth corps. MacMahon was much distressed at this, and considered that Failly had been badly treated. Wimpffen also had with him a letter, of which he said nothing, which gave him the command of the whole army in case MacMahon should be disabled. At 9.30 the Marshal ascended to the summit of the citadel; the view to the north and to the north-east was cut off, but in other directions he saw quite enough to convince him that he had no time to lose if he intended to reach Mézières. He

ordered the bridge at Donchery to be destroyed, but this was not done.

The French Army Trapped.

About 10 o'clock on the morning of August 31st news was brought to the Emperor that the enemy were close to Donchery and advancing to Mézières, but the Emperor still believed that a retreat to the west was possible, nor was MacMahon less obstinate in his conviction that there was no pressing danger. The officer who brought the news found, on his return, that the road by which the Emperor wished to withdraw his army was so encumbered by fugitives as to be useless. Early in the morning the Bavarians were approaching Bazeilles, and had prevented the destruction of the bridge. Other misfortunes occurred. MacMahon had expected to find four days' provisions in Sedan. They were indeed there, but the greater part was in railway wagons. At the first sound of the firing the station-master had lost his head and sent them all off to Mézières. This increased the urgency of departure. The Marshal hoped that the Meuse would protect him, but the bridges still existed, which allowed the advance of the enemy. The bridge of Douzy over the Chiers was left standing, like the bridge of Bazeilles. As soon as the sappers, sent to destroy the bridge at Donchery, got out of the carriages, the train steamed off to Mézières with their powder and tools, so that nothing could be done. As the day advanced, the net gradually closed round the devoted army. At 5.30 a kind of council was held, when it was found that, although MacMahon was determined to get away, he did not know by what route he should effect his object. When night fell the French army remained in the position in which they happened to find themselves, the fires of the Belgian troops marking the line of the frontier. Moltke had only one anxiety—that his prey might escape him in the night. If the morning found the French still where they were his triumph was assured.

The Battlefield of Sedan.

On September 1st, 1870, the French army at Sedan was confined within a space of four miles and a half from north to south and two miles from east to west. Sedan lies on the right bank of the Meuse with the suburb of Torcy on the left bank, defended by a *tête-du-pont*. The village of Bazeilles is on the right bank, and so is Balan, a suburb of Sedan, above the town. On the east are the villages of Givonne, Daigny and Moncelles, and on the north-west those of Illy and Floing. The ground between Sedan and Bazeilles, on the right bank, is low, whereas on the opposite side the high ground comes down to the bank of the river between Remilly and Wadelincourt. The wood of

Garenne, which played an important part in the battle, lies to the north of the town. Sedan is seven miles distant from the Belgian frontier.

Positions at Sedan.

The right wing of the French held Balan and Bazeilles and was opposed to the Bavarians; then came the first French corps at Givonne and Daigny, opposed by the Prussian Guard and the Saxons of the twelfth corps. The positions of Illy and Floing to the north of Sedan were defended by the seventh French corps and two cavalry divisions and were attacked by the eleventh and fifth corps, together with some cavalry. The fifth French corps was posted just outside Sedan to act as a reserve. But the three main posts of the French position—Bazeilles to the south-east, the valley of the Givonne, and the positions of Floing and Illy —were all exposed to the attack of the German troops, marshalled for the purpose by the consummate skill of Moltke.

MacMahon Wounded.

The battle began before daylight, at 4 in the morning of September 1st, by the Bavarians under Von der Tann advancing to attack Bazeilles. The village was most obstinately defended in the streets, houses and gardens, both by the soldiers and the inhabitants, and was only captured after a severe struggle. At 5 Lebrun sent word to MacMahon that he was severely attacked and that a great battle was imminent. MacMahon rode out to see for himself, and as he was reconnoitring from a point of vantage, with a field-glass in his hand, the splinters of a shell wounded him in the thigh. He fell from his horse and became insensible. The wound was not dangerous, but it entirely incapacitated him for performing the duties of command, and he was carried back into Sedan. This happened at 6.15. The tidings were brought to the Emperor as he was dressing, and his eyes filled with tears. He mounted his horse and rode along the Daigny road to Bazeilles.

Wimpffen Takes Command.

When MacMahon found that he was wounded, he nominated Ducrot as his successor, a man of great energy and fine and decisive character. He saw that the one chance of safety lay in reaching Mézières, where he would find the corps of Vinoy and a good supply of provisions, and be in communication with the northern fortresses. He had desired to begin the march on the day before, but as soon as he heard that he was in command he said there was not a moment to lose and that the plans already formed must be carried out. The army did not like the notion of a retreat, but Ducrot was perfectly right. He explained that the attack was merely a feint, and that the real struggle was to come in the opposite direction. It is still disputed among military

experts whether a retreat would have been honourable, and there is no doubt but that it would have been very difficult. At this moment Ducrot received a letter from Wimpffen informing him that he (Wimpffen) had been appointed to the command by the Minister of War at Paris, and that he was strongly opposed to a retreat. A heated personal interview ensued. Ducrot, who knew the Prussians and the ground, insisted that they were being surrounded. Wimpffen, who knew neither, maintained that Lebrun must be supported at all hazards in his contest against the Bavarians. Ducrot, obeying the orders of Palikao, rode away, declaring that all was lost.

Wimpffen's Optimism.

Wimpffen was brave and energetic, but penetrated by the ideas of Palikao. He still believed that the proper course was to press on to Carignan and thence to Montmédy, in the hope of joining Bazaine, and regarded the defeat of the Bavarians at Bazeilles as the first step in the operation. He said to the Emperor, whom he met in the valley of the Givonne, "Don't be distressed, your Majesty; in two hours I shall have thrown the enemy into the Meuse." As he rode away, he heard a voice behind him, "Pray God that we are not thrown into the river ourselves." His idea of retreating to Carignan was purely chimerical, when the Saxons had, after superhuman efforts, obtained possession of the ridge of Villers and Cernay and the valley of the Daigny and Givonne, and had joined the Bavarians, who had become masters of Bazeilles; and, when these two victorious arms had united to drive the French out of Balan, the issue of the battle could be no longer doubtful.

"La dernière cartouche."

Just as Wimpffen was making efforts to throw the Prussians into the Meuse, Von der Tann was reinforced by the arrival of the fourth Prussian corps, while the Saxons held Moncelle and the valley of the Givonne. The struggle in Bazeilles became more and more severe. At this time occurred the incident known as "*la dernière cartouche*," in which an isolated house was held by fifty men and three officers against masses of the enemy. They fought until only a single cartridge was left, and when that was fired the few survivors surrendered. Bazeilles was captured at mid-day.

The King at Sedan.

During the battle the Crown Prince took his stand a little to the south of the village of Donchery, and the King of Prussia established himself at a point a little farther to the east, from which the whole field was visible. This stationary position of the two commanders was of great advantage, both for receiving reports and sending orders. After the capture of Bazeilles, the French

artillery had been compelled to retire to a new position at Balan, and all possibility of their being able to break through on this side was at an end.

The Emperor's Narrow Escape.

At this moment the Emperor rode back to Sedan, passing through Balan. He found that he was neglected on the battle-field, and that his physical powers were exhausted. He had to force his way through crowds of running troops, who were seeking refuge in the fortress, while shells were falling in the streets. As he rode into the town, one of the projectiles exploded in front of him and killed his horse.

Meanwhile the battle began to rage in the direction of the north-west. The Prussian troops approached by the difficult road which Ducrot would have followed had he been able to carry out his plan of retreating to Mézières. The French divisions holding Floing and Illy were exposed to an awful fire of artillery, and by noon all hope of escape was closed. Illy was then taken by the advance of the Prussian Guards, the iron ring closed more pitilessly round the fortress, and the end was at hand.

Napoleon's Despair.

What was the condition of things in Sedan? All night no one had slept for terror. At dawn of September 1st men began to creep away to Bouillon. As the sun mounted, the roar of guns spread from south to north, from north to east, and then all round, and the streets swarmed with wounded soldiers. About noon, accompanied by his staff of aides-de-camp, the Emperor rode in, a death's head at this feast of horrors. It was said that for four hours he sought death; certainly he had done nothing to avoid it. He would have set out again, but it was impossible to leave the town. He knew that all was over, that further resistance was useless, and hoisted the white flag on the summit of the citadel, but no one heeded it and it was pulled down.

Wimpffen, persisting in his delusions, begged the Emperor to place himself at the head of his troops and cut a passage out of Sedan. Napoleon, better informed, refused. Wimpffen, attempting the mad enterprise himself, forced his way with a body of men through the Bavarians, but behind the Bavarians he found the solid Saxons and then realised that the battle had been lost and won.

Ducrot sought his master at the palace, as all headquarters of the Emperor were called during the time of war.

"How I wish I had listened to you!" said the Sovereign; "the retreat by Mézières was our only chance of safety." Silence followed, broken by the roar of cannon.

"How can we stop this firing?" continued the master. "I

have hoisted the white flag; I wish for an interview with the King of Prussia. I think I might obtain favourable terms."

A Curious Position.

Ducrot shook his head, remarking that he had not much confidence in the generosity of the enemy. He suggested a sortie in the night, but the Emperor said, "All our chances are lost."

The storm of cannon-balls became heavier and heavier, and a shell exploded in the courtyard.

The Emperor dictated to Ducrot these words, "The white flag having been hoisted and negotiations opened with the enemy, firing must cease all along the line."

But who was to sign it? Ducrot refused, on the ground that Wimpffen was Commander-in-Chief. But where was Wimpffen? Eventually Ducrot carried off the order, looking for someone to sign it.

Lebrun arrived and a similar conversation took place. He said, "If you wish the firing to cease, you must send a message to the enemy by a bugler and a white flag. The message must carry a request for an armistice, signed by the general commanding."

The paper was drawn up and Lebrun, like Ducrot, looked for someone to sign it. Both were unsuccessful. Faure refused the request of Ducrot, and Wimpffen that of Lebrun.

Napoleon Surrenders.

Napoleon was in despair. Neither Ducrot nor Lebrun returned; Wimpffen had disappeared from view, and general after general was killed. At last some Prussians came, summoning the fortress to surrender. Then Napoleon wrote with a firm hand:

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,—

"Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, there is nothing left me but to render my sword into the hands of Your Majesty.

"I am, Your Majesty's good brother,

"NAPOLEON."

Reille took this letter to the King, who did not know that his "good brother" was in Sedan, and who answered:

"MY BROTHER,—

"While regretting the circumstances in which we meet, I accept Your Majesty's sword, and request that you will appoint one of your officers, and furnish him with the necessary powers to treat for the capitulation of the army which

has fought so valiantly under your command. I, for my part, have appointed General Moltke to this duty.

"Your loving brother,

"WILHELM."

Moltke's Terms.

Whom should the Emperor appoint to represent him? With great difficulty Wimpffen was persuaded to accept the duty, and he left for Donchery. The discussion about terms of surrender lasted two hours.

Moltke said, "The whole army must be prisoners, with arms and baggage; the officers will be allowed to retain their swords, but they will be prisoners like the rest."

Wimpffen tried to obtain easier terms, but Bismarck replied that France had declared war, and that the whole army must be transported to Germany; then he added that, as a condition of peace, Germany would demand the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and an indemnity of 4,000,000,000 francs.

To a suggestion of further resistance Moltke replied, "You have no provisions and no munitions of war; your army is decimated. You may verify our position: we can destroy you in two hours."

In fact, Sedan was menaced by 500 cannon.

Wimpffen, however, threatened to renew the struggle.

"As you please," said Moltke; "the armistice will end at 4 o'clock to-morrow afternoon; at that hour I will re-open fire."

Napoleon's Journey to Wilhelmshöhe.

At 6 next morning, September 2nd, Napoleon set out to visit King William. Bismarck met him just before he reached Donchery, and they went into a weaver's cottage by the roadside. Napoleon asked for easier conditions, and Bismarck referred him to Moltke, who asked whether he were prepared to negotiate; but the Emperor answered that he was prisoner of war and could do nothing. He begged to see the King, and this was allowed, after the capitulation had been signed. The interview took place at the Château Bellevue, close to Frénois, and lasted twenty minutes. Nothing was settled, except that Napoleon was to go to Wilhelmshöhe, the former palace of his uncle, Jerome, King of Westphalia.

The Emperor left on the following day, September 3rd, for Wilhelmshöhe. He slept the first night at Bouillon, in a little inn, and as he drove to the door tears coursed down his cheeks. The French army, now prisoners, were shut up in the Peninsula of Iges, surrounded on three sides by the Meuse, on the fourth by

a canal; 21,000 prisoners had been made during the battle; to these were now added 83,000. Their condition was very miserable; they were without shelter, straw, and huts, and had only scanty provisions. On September 6th they began to leave for Germany, 2,000 men at a time. A few, but only a few, succeeded in escaping.

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR WITH THE REPUBLIC

THE earliest news of the defeat of Sedan reached Paris on the afternoon of the fatal day. Next day, September 2nd, a telegram arrived: "Great disasters; MacMahon killed; the Emperor prisoner; where the Prince Imperial is, unknown." On September 3rd the extent of the catastrophe was revealed. The Emperor telegraphed to the Empress, "The army is defeated and captured. I am myself a prisoner." **After Sedan.**

On September 4th the momentous decision had to be made whether the Empire should continue or not. Perhaps, could Palikao have seized the occasion, the Regency might have been preserved, but the opportunity was lost. The Chambers met towards the previous midnight, and the news of disaster was confirmed. Thereupon Jules Favre proposed that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty should be considered as deposed, that a provisional government should be formed, and that Trochu should be continued as Governor-General of Paris—a proposal less astonishing in itself than the torpor with which it was received. The Ministers met in council at the Tuileries at 8 on the morning of the 4th. There was great difference of opinion. One remarked that the Emperor alone could abdicate, that the Empress could not, since her power was derived from him alone. The Empress was strongly opposed to anything which might cause civil war; if she had to disappear, she said she would rather do so peacefully. It was proposed to commit to the Chamber the election of a Council of Regency. The dispatches which reached the Empress during the day announced the increase of popular excitement in Paris and the fact that the Republic had been proclaimed at Lyons.

About 10 o'clock bodies of workmen gathered in the centre of Paris. In the Place Vendôme there was a cry of "*Déchéance! Déchéance!*" National Guards also appeared in the Rue Royale and the Rue de Rivoli, for the most part without arms. It is probable that these movements were organised by the advanced Liberals, such as Delescluze and Blanqui. It is well known that, in the Revolution of 1789, few popular movements of any kind, **Revolution Once More.**

such as the march to Versailles and the Massacres of September, took place without being organised and paid for. Palikao said that he was sufficiently strong to put down any hostile agitation, and could dispose of 40,000 men, but this number was greatly exaggerated. Indeed, the only man on whom he could depend was Trochu, who was by no means popular at Court, being especially disliked by the Empress. He was a friend of the Opposition, however, and much beloved of the people. It is believed that, at this time, he might have saved the dynasty had not Palikao offended him by attempting to entrust the defence of Paris to his subordinate. Nor had Trochu the magnanimity to offer his services unreservedly to the Sovereign, so that on September 4th, although he did nothing to stir the *émeute*, he allowed it to proceed unchecked.

The Chamber Attacked.

When the Chambers met on September 4th there were three proposals before them—those of the Government, of Jules Favre, and of Thiers. Palikao, in the name of the Government, proposed to establish a Council of Government and National Defence. The Council was to be composed of five members to be elected by an absolute majority of the legislative body, while the Council was to nominate Ministers, with Palikao as Lieutenant-General. A grave defect in the motion was that it made no mention of the Regent.

Jules Favre simply proposed *déchéance*—that is, deposition of the Napoleon dynasty, as he had done a few hours before. Thiers advocated the creation of a Committee of Government and National Defence. The question of *déchéance* was left open. The majority was in favour of Thiers' proposition, but before the vote could be taken the Chamber was attacked by the mob. There is no need to describe the scene, which followed the course of all Paris revolutions. The Empress, like Louis XVI. and Louis Philippe, was opposed to the shedding of blood, and the troops and police retired, leaving the mob masters of the situation. A cry arose that the members should quit the Palais Bourbon and proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, and thither accordingly they went, Jules Favre, a man of lofty stature and unblemished character, leading the way.

Trochu's Government.

Trochu, the most popular man in Paris, was sent for, and came with some hesitation. He refused to act without consulting Palikao, his superior officer, whom he found completely crushed, seated with his face in his hands, having just heard of the death of his son at Sedan. After listening to Trochu's statement, he said, "If you do not take the direction of affairs, everything will be

lost; if you do, everything will be equally lost, but at least the army will follow you." Trochu took this as consent on Palikao's part, and returned to the Hôtel de Ville. A new Government was formed, of which he was the head. Jules Favre was Minister of Foreign Affairs, Le Flô of War, Fourichon of the Navy, Crémieux of Justice, Gambetta of the Interior, Picard of Finance. It assumed the title of "The Government of the National Defence."

The Empress Deserted.

While this was going on, the Empress remained at the Tuileries, surrounded by about twenty faithful servants. She heard the cries of the mob in the Rue de Rivoli, and saw, in the distance, the surging crowds in the Place de la Concorde. About 2 p.m. two of the Ministers arrived in the Tuileries, together with Metternich and Nigra, the Ambassadors of Austria and Italy. They had heard on the way the tumultuous shouts of "*Déchéance!*" and "*Vive la République!*" and advised the Empress to seek safety in flight. When she heard what had passed in the Chamber, she was indignant at the desertion of Deputies who owed everything to her. She then asked a friend if the Tuileries could be defended without employing force, and he replied in the negative. "Then there is nothing more to be done," she answered, "for I will not have a civil war." The servants of the household began to run away, as rats desert a sinking ship. Pietri, the Minister of Police, arrived, and said: "We are betrayed. All resistance is impossible, and the forces on which we relied are leaving us. The safety of Your Majesty necessitates an immediate departure."

Flight to England.

The Empress bade farewell to her friends, most of whom wished to accompany her; but she said that it would be impossible. She was left alone with Metternich, Nigra, the two Chevreaus, Pietri, and her reader, Madame Lebreton. Eventually she found an asylum in the house of her faithful friend Evans, the American dentist, the most upright of men, who, admitted to the friendship of almost every reigning house in Europe, remained until his death the trusted confidant of all, as he had been the trusted confidant of Heine in his youth. He took the Empress and her companions, with infinite wisdom, to Trouville, where his wife was staying, avoided those mistakes which ruined the flight of the old monarchy to Varennes, and, on a stormy night, one of the most tempestuous of the century, the night on which the *Captain* foundered, conveyed the Imperial party in a private yacht to Cowes.

It is needless to describe the dying agonies of the Senate and the legislative body. These were neither very long nor very dignified. Thiers expressed the general feeling when he said:

"We have only a few moments to pass together. We will not dissolve, but retire each one to his own house, to live as good citizens devoted to our country. We, indeed, neither resist nor assist those who are fighting against the enemy. We can only say, 'God help them!'"

The Frenzy of Revolution.

Paris gave itself up to scenes already too common in its history. With characteristic levity the ensigns of the Empire—the eagles and the crowned N—were destroyed; omnibuses ran as usual; shops and cafés were open; cries of "*Vive la République!*" alternated with the playing of the *Marseillaise*. The police were absent, and in the streets soldiers and prostitutes indulged in public debauch, as they had done in the Palais Royal at the beginning of the century, before the arrival of Napoleon as First Consul. At night the theatres were open and there was almost an illumination.

When history narrates these epochal catastrophes, it is difficult to realise how little they interrupt the general course of human affairs. On Sunday, June 18th, 1815, when the fate of the world was being decided a few miles off, at Waterloo, the cafés along the boulevards of Brussels, which led to the battlefield, were all open, and the crowds, who sipped their sugared water, gazed upon the passage of wounded soldiers and fugitives as an amusing sight.

German Advance on Paris.

The Imperial family was once more in exile—Napoleon at Wilhelmshöhe, the Prince Imperial and the Empress at Hastings, and Prince Napoleon at Florence, whence he was soon expelled, though his wife drove out of the Palais Royal in Paris in her own carriage like a true Princess. Pietri, Palikao, Chevreau, Rouher, Gramont and Benedetti sought safety in emigration. But the German peril was at the gates. If it had been forgotten in the moment of exultation, it now returned as a burden of sorrow, sounding through all the chants of triumph. On September 4th King William was at Réthel, on September 5th at Reims, and in a week's time he would be at Paris.

The German army received its marching orders on the evening of September 2nd, and next morning advanced in different directions on Paris, embarrassed with 120,000 prisoners. They were to be within ten leagues of the capital by September 14th. The Third Army was to escort the prisoners to Pont-à-Mousson and, having handed them over to the troops before Metz, join the Crown Prince. The army of the Crown Prince of Prussia was to march to Versailles, that of the Crown Prince of Saxony to St. Denis. Their routes intersected each other at Reims, but all passed with-

out disaster. The march proceeded quietly and regularly. Preceded by the trusty Uhlans, their mounted scouts, they moved in open order, always within reach of Moltke, who could direct them where he pleased. After the surrender of Reims on September 5th, Laon was occupied on September 8th, but a terrific explosion of a powder magazine killed 50 Germans and 300 *Gardes mobiles.*

As the armies approached Paris they met with a certain amount of resistance, and a few combats took place, which were of no great importance. Versailles was occupied on September 19th, and the defiling of the troops through the town lasted from 10 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon. Versailles remained the headquarters of the King and the Crown Prince of Prussia till the close of the war.

How Paris was Invested.

In the investment of Paris the Crown Prince of Saxony occupied the right bank of the Seine and the lower Maine from Argenteuil by Montmagny and Blanc-Mesnil, and through the wood of Bondy to Gournay; the Crown Prince of Prussia occupied the left bank of the Seine from Gournay to Bonneuil, Choisy-le-Roy, Thiais, Chevilly, Sceaux, Meudon, Sèvres and Bougival. The two armies touched each other at the peninsula of Argenteuil. The forces taking part in the investment, which eventually reached the number of 250,000, were divided in such a way that the Prussians occupied the north and west, the Bavarians the south, the Saxons the east; while the Würtembergers were stationed before the Paris forts. After the combats of Petit-Bicêtre and Chatillon on September 19th, the investment was complete, six army corps occupying a space of fifty miles and standing in some places within the fire of the fortifications.

Fortifications of Paris.

Paris was now a fortress of the first rank, its river line of defences being composed of ninety-four armed bastions, and the second line by a circle of advanced forts, well provided with garrisons and guns, one of which, Mont Valérien, was regarded as impregnable. Besides these, the hills surrounding Paris were furnished with entrenchments and redoubts, all connected with each other. Bismarck had no desire to storm the capital, but determined to invest it and trust to the effects of famine. He wished, it is said, to allow the Parisians to "stew in their own juice," a very brutal expression, perhaps not historically accurate. He believed that, if all supplies of food were carefully cut off, a population of 2,000,000, many accustomed to luxury and self-indulgence, could not hold out for very long. Great pains were, therefore, taken to make the lines of investment impenetrable.

Capture of Strassburg.

But Paris and Metz were not the only cities which were being besieged by German armies. Toul, an ancient city of Lorraine, which with Metz and Verdun formed the "Three Bishoprics," the first territory ceded by the Teutons to the French, capitulated on September 23rd, after a terrible bombardment. The possession of this city opened up for the Germans direct railway communication with the Rhine. Four days later, on September 27th, Strassburg, the great frontier city of the Rhine, the most important acquisition of Louis XVI., fell into the hands of the Germans, having held out since August 10th. In the bombardment great pains were taken to spare the cathedral, which was only slightly injured. On the other hand, the public library, consisting of about 300,000 volumes, many of exceptional value, was entirely destroyed.

Rome, the Capital of Italy.

A natural result of the fall of the Empire was the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome and the establishment of Rome as the capital of Italy. Indeed, an announcement of this policy had been made by Ollivier on July 31st, 1870. It was obvious that the Papal troops were quite unable to protect the Papal territory. On August 29th a public declaration was made by the Ministry at Florence that the capital would be transferred to Rome before the end of September. On the 1st of that month Victor Emmanuel proposed to the Pope that Rome should be occupied by the Italians on the following conditions: The Pontiff was to retain his sovereignty over the Leonine city—that is, over the portion of Rome situated across the Tiber and occupied mainly by St. Peter's and the Vatican, and over all the ecclesiastical institutions in the city. The incomes of the Pope, the Cardinals, and all the Papal officers and officials were to remain unchanged. The Papal debt was to be guaranteed to the Pope, and the Cardinals were to retain their present immunities, even if not residing in the Leonine city. All nations were to be freely admitted to Rome, and the Catholic clergy throughout the whole of Italy were to be immune from government supervision, and the laws with regard to military service, inheritance of estates, and municipal government were to be modified so far as Rome was concerned. Unhappily the Pope refused to accept these offers, and the division between Church and State in Italy still continues.

On the morning of Sunday, September 11th, the Italian troops entered Roman territory, and Viterbo was occupied without opposition. The garrison of Rome numbered 9,000 men of different kinds, and the gates were barricaded and strengthened by earth-

works. The garrison had sixty guns, and the extent of walls to be defended was thirteen miles long. The storm began on September 20th, but after three hours' fighting breaches were made at each of the points attacked, and when the Italian troops began to charge with the bayonet the Papal troops ran away. Then Keyler, the commandant, hoisted the white flag, and negotiations for surrender were begun. The Italians lost 21 killed and 117 wounded, the Papal troops 6 killed and 20 or 30 wounded. A plebiscite for the annexation of the Papal territory to Italy was taken on October 2nd, with the result that 136,681 voted "Yes" and only 1,507 "No." The transcendent event, the completion of Italy by the crown of Rome, the dream of so many generations, the goal of the strivings of so many patriots, the cause for which so many men had suffered and died, was accomplished by a *coup de main*, which, in the general turmoil of European affairs, passed almost without notice.

The Guerillas of the Vosges.

After Werder had captured Strassburg, he was sent to conquer the southern portion of Alsace, from Schlettstadt to Belfort, and drive the *mobiles* and the free corps out of the passes of the Vosges, in which they were conducting a guerilla warfare. They had collected together from all parts, and their operations were conducted from the lofty Plateau of Langres, which played so important a part in the war of 1814. These antagonists are the most difficult to deal with in the invasion of a country. They come into existence from the necessity of the case, yet cannot be treated as belligerents and must be put down with severity. They inflicted serious losses on the regular troops, and the measures needed for their extermination constitute a stain on the conduct of the war. Great Britain had experience of them in the South African War, in which the measures adopted for their suppression only produced additional irritation, and she allied herself with them in Spain against Napoleon, when they were called patriots and resisters of tyranny and oppression. They were for many years the curse of La Vendée, where they were also assisted by the British Government until they were put down by the genius of Napoleon.

German Organisation.

Certainly the conduct of the war by the German armies forms a striking contrast to the wild attacks of these undisciplined combatants, and even to the behaviour of the French regular troops. The German operations were a triumph of reason, calculated effort, and unbroken discipline. Every loss was rapidly repaired; roads, bridges, railways were promptly mended; a man lost by death, disease, or desertion was immediately replaced; hundreds of

thousands of armed warriors obeyed the order of a single mouth, the thought of a single brain. Disobedience and mutiny were unknown. The French, clinging to the old ideas of chivalry and dash, confident in the strength of outworn principles and ideals, were no match for the cultured, spectacled, serious masses of a national army, which now came down upon them with resistless might, but also with the moderation and self-command which should always be at hand to temper the exercise of power. The order imposed by Moltke on the general conduct of the war was shown in the detailed execution of it, in the discipline of the corps, the organisation of the field force, the accuracy of field telegraphy, the faultless commissariat, the quality of the food supplied, in which the famous "pea sausage" played an important part, the rapid communication by field-railways, the admirable sanitary arrangements, and the devotion of men and women of all classes in the work of the hospitals and the care of disease.

How the Victories were Won.

War is a hideous thing, but it loses much of its horror when directed by organised reason and intelligence. The first Napoleon was the incarnation of order, no person having ever manifested in such harmonious equilibrium the spirit of calculation and the energy of passion; but he had to build upon a foundation which was not strong enough to bear the weight of his ideas. When he saw that his last hope had been defeated at Waterloo, he said, "It has always been the same since Crécy!" Bismarck and Moltke were able to act upon a surer foundation; the victories of Sedan and Paris were won, not in the playing fields of public schools, but in the classrooms of gymnasiums and on the benches of universities.

The Germans at Versailles.

We have already recorded that, on October 5th, King William moved his headquarters to Versailles. In these gilded saloons the aged monarch slept on a field-bed, the General Staff developed their plans for the administration of a conquered France, Bismarck plied his diplomatic arts to prevent the interference of Europe with his plans. The halls and galleries, silent for years, echoed once more to the throng of princes and courtiers. Unfortunately, during the siege of Paris the lovely country which stretches between the château and the capital was gradually turned into a howling desert. St. Cloud, the scene of so many historical events, was set on fire by the French, and only with difficulty and danger could the Germans save any part of the edifice and the costly works of art it contained. Malmaison, inseparably connected with the name of Josephine and the First Con-

sulate of Napoleon, was ruined in a sally by the French on October 21st.

Rise of Gambetta.

A new character was given to the struggle by Léon Gambetta, a man of commanding ideas and fiery eloquence, who always kept the leaders of the Great Revolution before his eyes. He left Paris in a balloon, and reached Tours on October 7th, where he joined the provisional Government. He spared no effort to rouse the country against the invaders and compel the retirement of the besieging army. For this purpose France, with the exception of Paris, was divided into four governments—the north, under Bourbaki, with Lille for its capital; the south, under Fiérick, who had his headquarters at Le Mans; the centre, under Palikao, in Bourges; and the last, under Cambriêls, in Besançon. Eleven camps of instruction were also formed against the enemy. Two armies, which bore the names of the Loire and the Seine, were to advance upon Paris and assist in sorties organised by Trochu.

Sorties from Paris.

In accordance with this policy sorties were made on October 13th and October 21st, the first in the south and the second in the west, and the more important attack on Le Bourget, in the south-east, which took place on October 28th and caused great sensation in Europe. The French succeeded in driving the Germans from Le Bourget and holding it for two days, but they were eventually driven back after an obstinate engagement. There was great difficulty in keeping up communication between the capital and the provinces, because all the telegraph wires had been destroyed by the invading army. This difficulty was surmounted to a great extent with admirable ingenuity by the use of carrier pigeons and balloons.

Surrender of Bazaine.

In forming his plans for the relief of Paris, Gambetta had counted on the co-operation of Bazaine, who was shut up with his army in Metz, but before the organisation of the Army of the Seine was completed Bazaine capitulated. On October 11th he sent one of his adjutants, Boyer, to the headquarters at Versailles to propose terms. He demanded for his army a free departure with arms and baggage, with the obligation not to take part in the war for three months, while Metz preserved the right of defending herself. At the same time private negotiations were conducted between Bazaine and the Empress Eugénie in England, with the object of employing the army of Metz for the restoration of the Empire. The history of these negotiations is imperfectly known, but it is probable that Bazaine was deceived by Bismarck for his own purposes. These negotiations came to no result, and Bazaine

was at last forced to capitulate on similar terms to those which had been granted to the French army at Sedan. If he had only held out for a fortnight longer the course of the war might have been materially altered. As it was, Metz and its fortifications were delivered to the enemy, with arms, munitions of war, and provisions; and the whole army, including three marshals—Bazaine, Canrobert and Lebœuf—with 6,000 officers and more than 150,000 soldiers, became prisoners of war. The disarmament took place on October 27th and 28th, in a meadow on the road between Jarny and Metz. A catastrophe of this kind has seldom been recorded in the history of any European war.

Prussian Movements after Metz.

In the last months of 1870 the northern half of France, from the Jura to the English Channel, from the frontier of Belgium to the Loire, was one vast battlefield. Of the troops set free by the capitulation of Metz, part remained behind as a garrison under Zastrow, having also the object of attacking Thionville, and part marched to the north under Manteuffel, to occupy Picardy and Normandy and prevent Bourbaki from approaching Paris. Another portion joined the Second Army, which, under the command of Prince Frederick Charles, had its headquarters in Troyes. This army was supported on the right by Von der Tann and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and on the left by Werder, who was on one side opposed to the French Army of the Loire and on the other to the volunteer corps of Garibaldi. Other detachments went to strengthen these armies, which were besieging Paris, and were also sent against the forces in the north. The result of the various movements was that Soissons fell on October 16th, Verdun on November 8th, Thionville on November 24th, Pfalzburg on December 12th, Montmédy on December 14th, and Mézières on January 2nd, 1871, the garrisons of all these towns being sent as prisoners to Germany. One fortress, the little castle of Bitsch, nestling among the mountains of Alsace, was never taken, and did not come into the possession of the Germans till the peace.

Garibaldi in the Vosges.

We have already mentioned that Werder had great difficulty in dealing with the mutinous districts of the Jura and the Vosges, in consequence of the resistance of the inhabitants. These were joined by Garibaldi and his two sons, Ricciotti and Menotti, who were accompanied by a motley crew of Republicans of all nationalities—Italians, Spaniards and Poles. Lyons, with the camp of Santonay and the industrial town of St. Étienne, was a centre of rebellious excitement. The red flag floated in the streets,

and the Socialists, who got command of the town, established a reign of violence and terror. Garibaldi, who had been brought from Caprera to France in a French ship, proceeded by way of Marseilles to Tours, where he received the command of all the free corps on the Vosges. He established his headquarters in Dôle on October 14th.

Capture of Belfort and Dijon.

In the chilly days of November and December, when Treskow began the siege of Belfort, a violent struggle took place in Burgundy, round Vesoul and Montbeliard, Gray and Dijon. The last-named city, the old capital of Burgundy, was taken on the last day of October, by Prince William of Baden, and this success assisted the capture of Belfort, bravely defended by its commandant, Denfert-Rochereau. When Treskow entreated him not to increase the horror of the war unnecessarily, he replied that the best method of effecting that would be the retreat of the Germans. Dijon was held with difficulty and had to be evacuated more than once, while the night attack on Châtillon by Ricciotti Garibaldi, which cost considerable loss to the Germans, showed the dangers to which the invading army was exposed. It seemed possible that the line of the Rhine might be reconquered, and the valleys of the Black Forest exposed to attack.

Guerilla Tactics.

Gambetta now set himself to involve the whole French people in the struggle against the Germans, and make the annihilation of the enemy a national duty. The character of the war became very bloodthirsty, and the attacks of guerilla combatants upon the German troops had, as we have said, to be put down by severe reprisals. In the night of October 7th a squadron of Prussian hussars was attacked by free corps at Athis and almost entirely destroyed. An example was necessary, and the town was burned. The neutral Powers were horrified at these measures, which, however, were shown to be absolutely essential.

Defeat of Motterouge.

In October some cavalry regiments were sent in a southerly direction to explore the country between the Seine and the Loire, make requisitions, and fall in with the rearguard of the Army of the Loire under La Motterouge, who was marching to the relief of Paris. The Crown Prince, learning that this force was in Toury, which lies between Orleans and Étampes, sent against them General von der Tann, with the first Bavarian army corps and some North German troops. They came up with the rearguard of the retreating French at Artenay on October 10th, compelled them to fight in the forest of Orleans, and, on the following day, took possession of Orleans. Motterouge was deprived of his

command by Gambetta, who gave it to Aurelle de Paladines, who had served in Africa, the Crimea and Italy.

Battle of Coulmiers.

The new commander got together the various contingents which had been formed and practised in the several camps of instruction, and set himself not only to recover the line of the Loire, but to cross the stream at various points and carry out the original design of a march towards Paris. Although great pains were taken to conceal these movements, they came to Von der Tann's knowledge. In order that his flank might not be turned, he evacuated Orleans on November 8th, leaving his sick behind, in charge of the municipality, as he hoped to be able to return. Wittich, who had been sent against Châteaudun and captured it with difficulty, defended as it was by *Gardes mobiles* and free corps under the command of Lipowski, a Pole, received orders to retreat to Chartres. A severe battle took place at Coulmiers on November 10th, in which the French were much superior in numbers, and Von der Tann had some difficulty in effecting his retreat to Tours, where he was joined by Wittich. In the fight, which lasted from daybreak to dusk, the French lost 2,000 killed and wounded, and the Germans only a little more than half this, showing the difference between seasoned troops and hot, inexperienced levies.

Gambetta's Enthusiasm.

The victory at Coulmiers caused great rejoicings to the French and some discouragement to the Germans. Gambetta, to whose energy and genius it was mainly due, did everything in his power to increase the forces at his disposal, and unite the whole strength of the south and north in common action. He summoned up, as it were, from the soil new forces from the south. He hastened in person to the camp of Conlie, in Brittany, and succeeded in reconciling the two generals, Charette and Kératry, who had quarrelled. But his principal hopes for the salvation of France and the deliverance of Paris from the iron ring which enclosed her, lay in the Army of the Loire and the energetic leadership of Aurelle de Paladines. But, as before, enthusiasm and zeal were no match for discipline and experience. The German troops in the vicinity of the Loire were united in a single army under the command of Frederick Francis, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. A week after the battle of Coulmiers he inflicted such defeats at Dreux, Châteauneuf, Bigny, and in the forest of St. Jean, upon *Gardes mobiles*, who under Fiéreck were attempting to join the Army of the Loire, that he not only prevented the threatened junction, but created such dismay among the young recruits that Kératry laid down his command and Fiéreck had to be super-

seded. Some detachments retired by way of Nogent-le-Rotrou to Le Mans, where they were followed and watched by the Germans.

Attempts to Relieve Paris.

The Grand Duke now received orders to march farther to the east and join the Second Army under Prince Frederick Charles. This resulted, on November 28th, in the indecisive Battle of Beaune-la-Rolande, north-east of the Forest of Orleans, in which the French were as numerous as the Germans. Both sides were aware of the importance of the battle and the influence it would have on the progress of the war. It was therefore contested with the utmost energy, and the losses on both sides were correspondingly heavy. The Germans, however, had the best of it, and the French were prevented from carrying out their design of proceeding to Paris by way of Fontainebleau. Further attempts to push through to the west were repelled in a number of engagements fought by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin between Artenay and Châteaudun, the most important being the Battle of Loigny, on December 2nd, the great day of the fallen Empire. The French were compelled to retreat with serious loss, but the Germans also suffered considerably, their difficulties being enhanced by the endless labour caused by the nature of the muddy soil, now thoroughly soaked with rain, and the cold winter which had begun to make itself felt.

Trochu's Ineffectual Efforts.

Trochu, who commanded at Paris, was not ignorant of the efforts which were being made to relieve him. He did his best to second them by repeated sorties to the south and west, and desired to effect a junction with the Army of the Loire in the Forest of Fontainebleau. But the possibility of relief from the side of the Loire was gradually coming to an end. The day after the Battle of Loigny, the French were driven back from Pougny, and the result of four days' fighting on the bank of the Loire and the edge of the thick forest which protects Orleans was that the French were eventually compelled to abandon their positions and retire to the south, the Germans reaching Orleans on December 4th. Trochu's attempts to break through the lines of investment at the same time and join the Army of the Loire were also repulsed. It is impossible to contemplate without a deep sense of pathos the result of the passionate efforts of the French, everywhere crushed by the iron hand of the relentless foe, like the struggles of a boar in the folds of a python.

By the capture of Orleans a large number of prisoners and much booty fell into the hands of the Germans, and what remained

of the Army of the Loire retreated down the river to Blois. Bishop Dupanloup was taken in his palace, and his cathedral was turned into a receptacle for captives. Gambetta narrowly escaped being captured on his way from Tours to the field of battle. He was dissatisfied with the manner in which Aurelle de Paladines had conducted the campaign, and relieved him of his command. He now conceived the plan of forming his levies into two divisions, one of which should operate towards the east under the command of Bourbaki, who had relinquished the command of the Army of the North to Faidherbe, while the other, under Czerny, should undertake the duty of expelling the enemy from the lower and middle Loire. For the purpose of conducting these operations with greater freedom, the seat of the Government was removed, on December 10th, from Tours to Bordeaux, and was followed there by a portion of the Diplomatic Body.

France's Desperation.

The struggle of the French against the invaders became more and more severe. The feeling of desperation grew stronger, and this was enforced by the pressure of the French Government, which drove combatants into the field and extracted money from all quarters. Chanzy, the commander of the second Army of the Loire, conducted a splendid resistance against the troops of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin at Meung, Beaugency and Marchenoir, and gained considerable advantages, until Prince Frederick Charles, who had at last driven back Bourbaki, came to the Grand Duke's assistance. Chanzy was driven back towards Blois and Tours, both of which were soon occupied. Chanzy now retired to Vendôme and Le Mans, in the valley of the Sarthe, to strengthen the Army of the West, while Bourbaki was driven to the south, and the whole country as far as Bourges and Nevers was occupied by German troops. The great object had been to prevent the Army of the Loire from reaching Paris, and this object was attained. Orleans, Chartres and Beauvais were used by the invading army as places of concentration of their forces directed against the south, west and north. About Christmas there was a cessation of hostilities to give the troops rest. Von der Tann established a kind of winter quarters in Orleans. Men and horses needed repose, and their equipment repairs, while the shoes of the infantry had been destroyed by constant marches in the snow and rain. The French were even in worse plight; the inhabitants had fled in terror, and the wounded, overflowing the neighbouring hospitals, had to be taken as far as Bayonne, Biarritz and Pau. It was sometimes difficult to get the *mobiles* to stand their ground.

BELEAGUERED PARIS

Battle of Le Mans.

After a fortnight's rest the united armies of Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, numbering more than 70,000 men, advanced against Chanzy. In the midst of the paralysing cold of an unusually severe winter the Germans pursued the French over fields whose surface was covered with snow and slippery ice. Shot at by the sharpshooters of the free corps, who lay in ambush behind every hedge and every wall, the Germans moved slowly by painful efforts, hill after hill and field after field, but a decisive battle took place at the gates of Le Mans on January 11th and 12th, 1871, and the camp of Conlie was captured on January 15th. Chanzy was compelled to retire to Laval, where he attempted to reorganise the relics of his army, and the Germans pressed forward to Alençon.

Further Sorties from Paris.

The attempts to reach Paris by the armies of the south and west were seconded by the effort of the beleaguered forces to break through the lines of investment and join their deliverers. For this purpose batteries armed with large pieces of field ordnance had been erected on the heights of Mont Avron to the east of Paris, in front of the forts of Nogent and Rosny, in order to bombard the villages occupied by the troops of Saxony and Würtemberg. Ducrot had selected this region as best adapted for a successful outbreak, and he issued a proclamation declaring that he would return from the attack either a conqueror or a corpse. He made frequent assaults on the Germans to the south and north to divert the attention of the enemy, while he passed beyond Vincennes, carrying his main force in ironclad trains, to reach the point against which his efforts were directed. Under the protection of a terrible cannonade from Mont Avron and the forts of Charenton and Nogent, he threw eight bridges across the Marne and attacked the villages of Brie, Champigny, Villiers, and Noisy. On November 30th the Germans were able to defend their positions for a whole day, but were eventually compelled to evacuate Brie and Champigny, which, however, were shortly afterwards recovered. In their engagements in the two days' battle of Villiers, Cornilly, and other combats, the Germans lost about 6,200 men, and the French enjoyed the triumph of marching some hundreds of German prisoners through the streets of Paris, but they lost on their side 12,000 men and more than 400 officers.

The hopes of the defenders of Paris to obtain relief from the south gradually disappeared, while cold and hunger produced their inevitable results. But the beleaguered city continued to look for assistance from the north and north-west, from Normandy,

Artois and Picardy, the free corps of French Flanders and the "Wild Boars of the Ardennes." Since October considerable forces had been collected in these regions, supported by the strong places of Lille and Amiens, first under the command of Bourbaki and then of Faidherbe. The fact that La Fère, St. Quentin and Péronne were in the hands of the French hampered the concentration of the German forces, and made an advance upon Paris possible at any moment. The combat of Formerie between Rouen and Amiens on October 28th, 1870, showed how much the organisation of the French forces had improved. But Manteuffel and Göbe, by superhuman efforts, gradually became masters of the Valley of the Somme, and Amiens was captured after a great battle on November 27th, after which the Germans proceeded to the conquest of Normandy.

The Crushing of France.

Rouen fell on December 6th, and three days later, by the conquest of Dieppe, the Germans reached the shores of the English Channel, the French taking refuge in Le Havre, where the soldiers arrived in the most miserable condition without clothes and without shoes. The peasants took refuge in the same place, although their peace was afterwards disturbed by patrolling Uhlans. Ten days later the repulse of a sortie, organised by Trochu on a large scale at Le Bourget, already the scene of hard-fought engagements, gave the Germans and the French the opportunity of celebrating their Christmas in comparative peace. Christmas Eve was marked by the long-protracted and sanguinary Battle of Hallue. At Bapaume, on January 2nd and 3rd, 1871, the victory remained uncertain, the French retreating to the north and the Germans to the south. Rouen had to be carefully watched by Bentheim, and many prisoners were taken. The Germans learnt from them that the population was becoming tired of the war and that the *mobiles* had to be driven into the field by force. The stores of the French became gradually less. Roncy was captured on January 8th and Péronne on January 10th. The departure of Manteuffel for the Army of the East inspired Faidherbe with new courage. Reinforced by fresh arrivals of marines and *Gardes mobiles*, he determined to make an attack on the lines of investment; but he suffered a serious defeat at St. Quentin on January 19th, and that important fortress was lost to the French. Gambetta now went to Lille and did his best to rouse the spirits of the northern army. But it was all in vain. The troops were clad in rags and wooden shoes, and the people were gradually losing their spirit. Gambetta went by way of Calais to Bordeaux to exert in another direction the efforts of a heroic defence. Longwy fell on January 25th,

and the eyes of Europe were turned to a new scene of conflict on the Jura and the Saône.

Bombardment of Paris.

The bombardment of Paris, which had long been deferred, was now begun on the day after Christmas Day, and increased tenfold the distress of the besieged citizens. The Parisians had believed that an effectual bombardment at so great a distance was impossible, but when shells were seen to fall in the heart of Paris, in the Luxembourg, in the churches of St. Sulpice and the Panthéon, when persons were killed in the Rue de Bois and the Faubourg St. Germain, there was a general outcry against the barbarians who had the audacity to destroy the metropolis of civilisation. Trochu was now driven, against his better judgment, to make one last effort on January 19th, the day after the King of Prussia had been proclaimed Emperor of Germany in the Mirror Gallery of the Palace of Versailles. The whole of the French forces, 100,000 strong, marched in the direction of Meudon, Sèvres, and St. Cloud for the final struggle. Vinoy commanded on the left, Ducrot on the right, while Trochu conducted the whole advance from the commanding position of the Observatory. By 11 a.m. the redoubt of Montretout and the villas had been taken, but Ducrot was hindered in his advance by the barricades which had been erected in the streets of Paris, and was unable to give support at the proper time. After an obstinate fight of seven hours the French were driven back into Paris, with a loss of 7,000 men, and next day Trochu demanded an armistice to bury the dead. After long discussions a convention was signed providing for a suspension of hostilities from January 28th to February 19th. It was stated at Berlin in the succeeding winter, on the authority of Moltke, that until this last sortie had been made and failed the success of the investment of Paris was still regarded as uncertain, and that the King's baggage stood ready packed at Versailles in order that he might depart at any moment if it were necessary to do so.

A United Nation.

Whilst events were passing on the Seine, the Loire, and the Somme, and in the east of France, the new German Empire, which was to take the place of the Holy Roman Empire of ancient days, to realise the aspirations of many centuries, and make Germany a single nation, was slowly coming into being. North Germans and South Germans were now fighting together for a common cause against a common enemy, and differences of race and creed had disappeared on the field of battle. Surely the time had come when this union should be politically consummated, when the Main should no longer separate communities which God and

Nature had joined together; when Germany should take its place among the consolidated nations of the world. Baden was the first to show the way. She was followed by Bavaria, Würtemberg and Hesse; and in November, 1870, the Ministers of these four States conferred with Bismarck as to the best means of enlarging the North German League so as to include the South. Some difficulty was found with Bavaria, a country with a strong national life, differing from Prussia in religion and sentiment, and proud of its individuality. But by mutual concessions these difficulties were overcome, and both Bavaria and Würtemberg were allowed certain privileges with regard to military service, taxes, post and telegraphs. A treaty was signed with Bavaria on November 23rd and with Würtemberg on November 25th.

Bavarian Hesitancy.

These treaties had now to be confirmed by the Parliaments of the South and the North. No difficulty was made in Carlsruhe, Stuttgart, Darmstadt or Berlin, the necessary majority of two-thirds being readily obtained. A great advance in political wisdom was apparent since 1848 and 1849. It had been recognised that compromise is the essence of government, and that strict and pedantic adherence to outworn precedents makes progress impossible. In Munich, however, strong opposition was met with, partly from the Ultra-Catholics and partly from the Democrats, the first not liking to submit to the headship of a Protestant sovereign, the others holding that the basis of freedom lay in particularism, and that it would be fatal to individual liberty to submit to the stern rule which made Prussia a military nation and held the community together with an iron hand. Many had also dreamed of a future in which Bavaria should be at the head of a South German Confederation, Catholic and cultivated, sociable and unrestrained, free from the narrow formalism which characterised the North.

King Ludwig's Aspirations.

For many weeks the excitement of these debates held Germany in suspense, and it was feared that the cause of German unity might spell shipwreck to Bismarck. It was said that eighty-five members of the Bavarian Chamber had sworn never to consent to the Treaty of Versailles, or sanction the admission of the country into the North German League. King Ludwig was at this time Sovereign of Bavaria, one of the most brilliant and attractive personalities that ever occupied a throne. Splendidly handsome, full of enthusiasm for art and music and all lofty ideals, he was now beginning a career which was to end in gloom and sorrow. Instinct with the idea of renewing a German Empire of which his ancestors had so often been the head, he addressed

a demand to King William to assume that position, with the assurance that the Upper House of his country was in favour of the step, though even then it was doubtful whether the patriots in the Lower House would give their consent.

The Empire Established.

When it was known that the Reichstag in Berlin had agreed to the new order of things, and that the proposal of the King of Bavaria had met with the general approval of the princes, it was determined to send a deputation to Versailles to congratulate the King. Thirty members of the Reichstag, with the venerable President Simson at their head, carried to their Sovereign the wish of the nation that he would accept the dignity offered him, and give to the ancient title of Emperor a new lustre. This was the second time that Simson had made a similar offer. In 1849 a small majority of the Frankfort Parliament had begged the King of Prussia to assume the crown of the German Empire, and the same offer was now made by the German people and its princes after a series of brilliant victories.

The Emperor Crowned at Versailles.

On December 18th, 1870, the deputation made its request to the King, who personally acceded to it, and it was arranged that the new order of things should begin on January 1st of the coming year. The public and solemn assent to this act was given in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles on January 18th, 1871, the 117th anniversary of the day when the first King of Prussia, Frederick I., received the crown in the old capital of Königsberg and opened a new epoch to the glories of his House. It is needless to describe the historic scene when, in the sanctuary of that proud palace in which French Sovereigns and Ministers had so often plotted for the ruin of the Germany they despised, a new European Power was created which should compel France to take a second place in the counsels of the world. It came as a cheerful piece of news on January 22nd that the Bavarian Parliament had accepted the proposal of the new Empire with a sufficient majority.

Paris Surrendered.

The line of demarcation established by the Convention cut through the Departments of Calvados and Orne, and left in the power of the Germans the Departments of Indre-et-Loire, Sarthe, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret and Yonne. It then passed to the north-east, but did not include the Departments of Pas-de-Calais and Nord. The cessation of war in the Departments of Côte-d'Or, Doubs, Jura, and at Belfort was deferred for the present. Arrangements were made for the election of a National Assembly, which was to meet at Bordeaux and to decide the question of war and peace. The whole of the Paris forts were to be immediately surrendered and the fortifications dismantled. All the French

troops in Paris were to be considered prisoners, with the exception of 12,000, who were to be left for the security of the capital. They were to remain for the present within the walls of the city, their arms being surrendered. The National Guard and the gendarmes were allowed to retain their arms for the purpose of preserving the peace, but all the free corps were disbanded. Measures were taken for the provisioning of Paris. No one was allowed to leave the capital without the joint permission of the French and Germans, and the municipality was to pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within fourteen days. All German prisoners were to be immediately exchanged for a corresponding number of French.

Approach of the Commune.

The Convention was carried out with difficulty; the forts were evacuated and occupied by Germans, arrangements were made for the elections, and outbreaks of patriotic fury were prevented. Gambetta attempted to exclude from the franchise for the election of the new Assembly anyone who had served under the Empire. Some objection was taken to this, but Jules Simon and Arago left for Bordeaux to carry out the work according to the conditions of the Convention. Gambetta retired; his military dictatorship was at an end. The arrival of provisions for the starving capital was hailed with enthusiasm, but the Republicans and advanced Democrats began to cause disturbance. They would not accept the situation, attributing defeat not to the superiority of the enemy, but to the incompetence of the Government. The largest number of votes was given to the extreme candidates—Victor Hugo, Delescluze, Ledru Rollin, Lockroy, Floquet, Louis Blanc, Rochefort, Gambetta, and other members of the International. The coming Commune began to announce itself.

Renewed Fighting.

The bloodshed was not at an end. Werder had, for a long time, his headquarters in Dijon, from which centre he contested several engagements in November and December, 1870. Garibaldi directed his operations from Autun and, joining with General Cremer, attempted to drive the Germans out of Burgundy and relieve Belfort. The battle took place at Nuits, famous for its wine, on December 18th, and the Baden troops sustained the hottest part of the fray. The French were compelled to retreat in the evening, having lost 2,000 dead and wounded, besides leaving 700 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The losses of the Germans were also very severe. Gambetta now formed a plan by which Bourbaki, perhaps the most competent of the French generals, should, with that part of the Army of the Loire

which, after the second conquest of Orleans, had retired to Bourges, move eastwards towards Nevers and, gathering what reinforcements he could, throw himself on the German communications, set Belfort and the Upper Rhine free, and carry destruction into the hills of Baden and the Black Forest. Telegraph wires were to be cut, railways broken up, and bridges destroyed, so that the retreat of the Germans towards the Rhine might be cut off. In pursuance of these plans, the bridge over the Moselle at Fontenay was broken down on January 22nd, 1871, and railway communications were interrupted for ten days.

Battle of Villersexel.

The only barrier to the carrying out of these designs, inspired by the genius of Gambetta, was the force of Werder, who was posted at Dijon with 28,000 men, composed of contingents from every part of Germany. Whilst Bourbaki was approaching in rapid marches by way of Besançon and Montbeliard to raise the siege of Belfort and invade Alsace, Werder was compelled to evacuate Dijon, which was immediately occupied by Garibaldi. Proceeding by forced marches past Gray, Vesoul and Lure, after three days Werder got in front of the enemy, whom he defeated on January 9th at Villersexel, on the Oignon, losing 27 officers and 619 men. He then occupied a favourable position on the wooded heights beyond the Lisaine, and arrested Bourbaki's march, at Héricourt. Three days' obstinate struggle, on January 15th, 16th and 17th, gave Manteuffel time to come up from the north, and the victories of Werder at Héricourt and of Göben at St. Quentin were the first gifts of honour which the newly-proclaimed Emperor received at Versailles. Bourbaki had intended to march from Besançon in a southerly direction towards Lyons, but it was too late. Manteuffel arrived to the assistance of Werder, with two army corps—the Pomeranians under Fransecky and the Westphalians under Zastrow.

Bourbaki Surrounded.

Kettler was left behind at Dijon to watch Garibaldi, posted there with 25,000 volunteers, and hold him in check; whilst the larger portion of the army marched between the forces of Garibaldi and Bourbaki by way of Gray to Dôle, an important junction of three railways, thus cutting off the supplies of food and clothing which were intended for the hungry and frozen soldiers of Bourbaki. Whilst Garibaldi fought against Kettler on January 21st, 22nd and 23rd, under the impression that he had the whole of Manteuffel's army in front of him, Bourbaki was gradually surrounded by the troops of Werder, Zastrow and Fransecky in such a manner that they had no alternative but cross the frontier into Switzerland.

Bourbaki's Gallant Struggle.

By the Convention of Paris, the Departments of the Côte d'Or, Jura and Doubs had been excepted from the armistice, in order that Bourbaki might have an opportunity of relieving Belfort. When Jules Favre made these conditions, he did not know that Bourbaki was separated from Garibaldi, and that his army was in the Jura in a miserable condition, without clothes or ammunition. After an engagement at Salins on January 27th, Bourbaki's troops were attacked not far from Pontarlier on January 29th and driven to the frontier, where 10,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans. The last two days of January witnessed the Battle of Frasne, which caused still greater losses, and Bourbaki was reduced to such a state of despair that he attempted his life. But the wound was slight, and he was conveyed to Lyons, where he speedily recovered.

Bourbaki's Army Capitulates.

His place was taken by Clinchant, who, on February 1st, had the alternative of a capitulation like that of Sedan or of crossing the neutral frontier. He chose the latter, and Europe witnessed the spectacle of an army of 65,000 men in the most miserable condition, half-starved and scarcely like human beings, crossing the frontier and laying down their arms, the Swiss doing their utmost to supply their needs. General Cremer, with a small force of cavalry, contrived to reach the soil of France. An eye-witness tells us that when the French arrived in Switzerland their clothes were rent and dropping off them, their hands and feet were frost-bitten, their shrunken features and uncertain gait told of gnawing hunger, their deep coughs and hoarse voices bore witness to long nights spent on snow and frozen ground. Some had tied bits of wood under their bare feet to protect them from stones; others wore wooden sabots; hundreds had no socks, and such as were worn were only of thin cotton. For weeks none had washed or changed his clothes or removed his boots. Some had lost their toes; for three days they had neither food nor fodder served out to them, and before that only one loaf was allowed among eight men. This was the fourth French army which had been rendered useless for further combat since the Germans had invaded France in August, the others being those of Sedan, Metz, and Paris. Belfort, which had been so nobly defended by Denfert-Roehereau, capitulated by order of the French Government on February 16th, and the garrison, in recognition of their bravery, were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Losses of the War.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable wars in history, marked by twenty-three battles and an endless number of other engagements. Never before had such large masses of men been

seen in conflict. The losses of the Germans were calculated at 5,254 officers and 112,000 men, while those of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners almost defy enumeration. The number of German prisoners captured by the French did not exceed 10,000, whereas at least 400,000 unarmed Frenchmen crossed the Rhine as captives.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMUNE

The Bordeaux Assembly.

THE National Assembly at Bordeaux consisted of 750 Deputies, elected in Cantons from a list of candidates for each Department. The general desire was for peace. The peasants had chosen Orleanists and Legitimists, as being men well known and of position, who could be trusted and were in favour of peace. They formed the majority of the Assembly, numbering 400 against 350. The Departments of the south-east, where the war had been most severe, returned Republicans, and in Paris many Revolutionaries were chosen. There was not a sufficient number of Monarchists to outweigh the Republicans, but they were determined not to submit either to Gambetta or to Paris, and therefore they left the choice of the form of government to the future.

The Republic Formed.

Jules Grévy, a Republican and an opponent of Gambetta, was made President, and Thiers was placed at the head of the Executive, as he had been elected in twenty-six Departments and was very popular in consequence of his protest against the war. He was, indeed, master of the situation. He selected for his Ministers moderate Republicans, who belonged to the peace party, and announced that his policy would be confined to reorganisation, the restoration of credit, and the revival of industry. On February 26th Thiers and Jules Favre signed the preliminaries of peace, which were ratified by the Assembly on March 1st by 546 votes to 107, with 23 abstentions. Napoleon III. was formally deposed and declared responsible for the ruin of France.

The Germans in Paris.

On this same day the German troops marched through a portion of the capital. The *amour propre* of France had been so far considered that an occupation of Paris had been given up, but the march had been conceded by Thiers as a ransom for Belfort. Prussian and Bavarian troops marched from Mont Valérien, through the Arc de Triomphe and the Champs Élysées. The Palais de l'Industrie and the Cirque Impérial were assigned to the German troops, and a strong French force guarded the line which separated the occupied districts from the remainder of the city. The day passed without serious incident, but was kept throughout

Paris as a day of mourning. Neither the Emperor nor the Crown Prince accompanied the troops. As soon as the ratification of the treaty had been notified by Favre to Bismarck, Paris was evacuated and the march home begun. The headquarters of Versailles were broken up on March 7th.

Paris Repudiates the Assembly.

As soon as the preliminaries had been ratified, four of the Revolutionary Deputies for Paris resigned, refusing to sit in an Assembly which had surrendered two provinces, dismembered France, and ruined the country. It was inevitable that a conflict should break out in the Bordeaux Assembly between the Revolutionaries of the towns, especially of Paris, and the Deputies for the country districts. The decree allowing the Prussians to enter Paris roused intense indignation in the city, and there were signs of a coming storm. The cannon which had been purchased by the citizens for the defence of Paris were removed to Montmartre and Belleville, but the people had the good sense not to attack the Prussians. Another cause of offence was that the Bordeaux Assembly determined to sit at Versailles and not at Paris. Moreover, the commercial interests of the capital were neglected by the Assembly refusing to sanction the postponement of rent and of payments due for commercial transactions which had been granted during the siege, and the payment to the working men as National Guards, which cost a considerable sum, was stopped.

Paris Without Government.

When Thiers arrived at Versailles on March 15th he sent troops to bring back the cannon from Montmartre, and three days later the soldiers made common cause with the people. Lecomte, who commanded the troops, was shot by the mob, and so was Clément Thomas, who happened to be passing. During the day the insurrection grew, and Thiers and the other members of the Government left Paris, intending to return with an army and destroy the rebels who would pillage Paris and ruin France. Thus on the morning of March 19th Paris was without regular government, and all authority passed into the hands of the old war party—the National Guards and the revolutionary Republicans. A Central Committee of the Federation of the National Guards, which had been formed at the end of February and chosen on March 15th, installed itself at the Hôtel de Ville and sent representatives to the different Ministries.

On March 19th the red flag floated from the Hôtel de Ville, and at half-past eight the Central Committee of the Commune held their first meeting in the room from which Trochu used to give his orders. The president was a young man of thirty-two—Edward Moreau, a commission agent. The Committee spent their

time organising the elections and providing for the carrying out of public affairs, and sat till 1 o'clock. At 2 the proclamation they had drawn up was posted in the town: "Citizens, the people of Paris, calm and impassive in their strength, have awaited, without fear as without passion, the shameless fools who wish to touch our Republic. Let Paris and France together lay the foundation of a true Republic—the only government which will for ever close the era of Revolution. The people of Paris is convoked to make its elections." This was signed by twenty obscure persons.

Programme of the Commune.

Twenty thousand men were encamped in the square before the Hôtel de Ville, with pieces of hard steel at the ends of their muskets, and fifty cannon and mitrailleuses were drawn up in front of the building. At the same time a meeting of the heads of battalions of the National Guard and of the mayors and deputies of the Department of the Seine was being held at the Town Hall of the third arrondissement. The Committee fixed the date of elections for the following Wednesday, declared the state of siege at an end, abolished court-martials, and gave an amnesty for all political causes and offences. At 8 p.m. it received a deputation from the mayors and deputies, of which Clémenceau was the best-known member. The discussion was stormy, and lasted till 10.30. The Commune proclaimed its programme—the election of the municipal council, the suppression of the Prefecture of Police, the right of the National Guard to elect its officers, the proclamation of the Republic as the legal government, the remittance of all rents due, an equitable law on over-due bills, and the exclusion of the army from Parisian territory. There was yet a third meeting of mayors and deputies of the several arrondissements; this included Louis Blanc, Carnot and Floquet. At its close the Central Committee held a heated debate which lasted far into the night.

The Central Committee in Power.

Next morning the Central Committee was summoned to leave the Hôtel de Ville, but they refused to yield, and arranged the election of the municipal council for March 22nd. The Committee also managed to get 1,000,000 francs advanced for current expenses. March 21st was the day of trial for the Committee. The Place Vendôme was occupied by their soldiers, and an attack was made upon them by those who desired to support the authority of the Assembly. Firing took place, and a certain number were killed. Paris was divided between the friends of the Committee and the supporters of the Assembly. The night passed quietly; the Place Vendôme was defended by

barricades, and the battalions of the Hôtel de Ville were strengthened. It was impossible to hold the elections on March 22nd, and they were deferred until March 26th. The mayors of the Department of the Seine organised themselves against the Committee, and sent a deputation to the National Assembly at Versailles; but when they found that union with the Assembly would lead to civil war, they returned to Paris and eventually came to terms with the Committee.

Constitution of the Commune.

The elections were held on Sunday, March 26th, a day of quiet, with order and regularity; and the Commune, the government of Paris by its own municipality, was proclaimed. The majority of the Central Committee were Republicans and Socialists, but they did not put forth any programme of social reform. Their one desire was to defend what they called Republican principles, and the autonomy of the Commune, against those whom they designated as the "Men of Versailles," the only people from whom an organised government could be expected. The newly-elected General Council of the Commune consisted of ninety members; of these, fifteen, the most moderate, retired a few days after their election. The rest belonged to the party of the insurrection and retained their seats. Among them were a few members of the original Central Committee, but there were associated with them representatives of all the extreme doctrines which had been disseminated among the lower classes of Paris since the fall of the Empire. There were followers of Blanqui, either pure and simple, or with a difference; advocates of a democratic dictatorship; Radicals like Félix Pyat and Delescluze, who sprang up in the last years of the Empire and wished to revive the Jacobin tradition of 1793; June Socialists; "Reds," who were ignorant both of the theory and practice of government, but who had a desire for the existence and the opportunities of the revolution; and seventeen members of the International, who favoured sweeping social changes, to be carried out by peaceful means. The last were the members of the Committee who had the clearest ideas of what they wanted and from whom most had to be expected. Although the General Council was thus finally constituted, the General Committee did not altogether surrender its powers, but continued to act in order to serve as a bond between the Council and the National Guard, over whom it continued to have considerable influence. The Commune was never able to divest itself of the double authority of the General Council and the Central Committee.

The Work of the Commune.

The General Council began its work on March 29th. It appointed committees to carry out the various branches of government, with full powers—an executive committee, a finance committee, committees of war, justice, public security, subsistence, labour, manufactures, commerce, foreign relations, public service, and education. It remitted all rents due in October, 1870, and January and April, 1871, and gave a respite of three years in respect of commercial obligations. It abolished conscription and established compulsory military service for all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty, adopted the Republican calendar and the red flag, and declared all the acts of the Government of Versailles to be null and void.

There can be no doubt that the leading members of the committees laboured hard in their several departments to realise the ideals they set before themselves. It was impossible, in the short time at their disposal, and in the circumstances, to do much; but they set before the people of Paris a high standard of independence and hard work. The names of those engaged in this work and of the members of the International are little known. The Republicans were more familiar. Foremost amongst them was Delescluze, the intimate friend, first of Ledru Rollin, then of Rochefort, Flourens, Raoult-Rigault, Cluseret and Félix Pyat. Blanqui had been chosen, but he was a prisoner at Versailles and could not take his seat. He was represented by Paschal Grousset, a man of culture and refinement, who had charge of foreign affairs. Rochefort was a member, but he had sufficient insight to distrust the success of the movement, and did not take an important part in it. Jourde was a good Minister of Finance.

Failure of Communal Government.

But however excellent the intentions of the Communal Government may have been, it was not likely that they could be effectually carried out. There was a lack of unity and organisation, and an absence of discipline and knowledge of affairs; conflicting orders were given, confused and difficult to accomplish; much was destroyed, little constructed. The committees at first established were changed, both in the persons of whom they were composed and in the work they were to undertake, while their methods were modelled too much after the example of 1793. They made domiciliary visits in search of suspected persons, and filled the public offices with their own adherents. Among the mayors and municipal officers were seen citizens like Malou, Tolain, Heligon, Murat, sitting by the side of millionaires like Tiraud, distinguished barristers like Herisson, statesmen like

Clémenceau, men of letters like Henri Martin. But the instruments of which they made use were far from creditable. Twenty or thirty thousand criminals served in the National Guard; a corps of women was formed, which contained, together with the famous women of the markets, a number of very doubtful characters. There was little security of property in the city; the National Guard thought more of attacking Versailles than of keeping order, and the so-called police were themselves among the worst offenders. Passes and certificates of security were bought and sold.

Paris Fights Versailles.

On April 3rd the *Gardes Nationaux Fédérés*, the soldiers of the Commune, attempted a sortie in retaliation for an attack made by the troops of Versailles the evening before, and marched upon Versailles in three columns. They occupied an important flanking position against Versailles, in the neighbourhood of Asnières and Neuilly, and protected the passage with strong barricades. This success stimulated the Commune to further efforts. The soldiers of the Commune who were taken prisoners were shot without trial, the Government treating the Communards not as political rebels, but as criminals. The Commune retaliated by seizing certain people of good position, who were suspected of sympathy with Versailles, and said that any execution of a soldier of the Commune would be followed by the shooting of these hostages. They also arraigned the heads of the Versailles Government — Thiers, Dufaure, Picard, Sommer — before their courts and confiscated their property. As we have said, Paschal Grousset undertook Foreign Affairs, and Cluseret and afterwards Rossel represented War, assisted by the Pole Dombrowski.

Second Siege of Paris.

The principles of the Commune spread to the provinces. Lyons, St. Étienne, Creusot, Narbonne, Marseilles, Toulouse, Limoges, all set up Communal governments, which, however, had little strength and did not last long. They indulged in shouts of "*Vive Paris!*" but had no power of control, and could not assist the city they regarded as their head. Therefore the Government of Versailles had before it the simple task of reducing Paris, and when the army of Thiers, which was mainly composed of soldiers who had returned from captivity in Germany, was sufficiently concentrated, the second siege of Paris was begun.

Commune's "Testament."

Attempts were made at this time to bring about a reconciliation between Versailles and Paris. A so-called League and Union, formed among the citizens of Paris for the preservation of

municipal rights, conducted this work, assisted by the Freemasons; and on April 11th, 1871, a deputation from Lyons visited Versailles and then Paris, but to no purpose, as the Government of Versailles would make no terms. The movement, however, had the effect of inducing the Commune to declare its objects, which was done in a document called a "Testament." Their aims, it seemed, were to establish the absolute autonomy of the Commune throughout the whole of France, which should secure to every Frenchman the full exercise of his rights and inclinations as man, citizen and workman; but their chief end was to abolish the centralisation which had been the curse of France for so many years, and to convert the country into a loose federal State, a confederation of completely independent town republics, of which the communes should form organic cells. Despotic, arbitrary, unintelligent and costly centralisation would thus be replaced by a free union of all local authorities, which should direct the independent operations of individual forces towards a common end—namely, the prosperity, liberty and security of all. A National Guard, composed of all citizens, was to take the place of the standing army, and public business was to be transacted by elected officials. It was, indeed, an exalted ideal, the direct negation of everything which had distinguished France for eight hundred years. She was no longer to be the *Grande Nation*, distinguished by splendour and éclat, a brilliant court and conquering army, but a democratic Switzerland, divided into cantons and communes, the individual freedom of which was only limited by the necessities of combination for the purposes of existence.

Committee of Public Safety.

Supplemental elections, held on April 16th, added twenty-one members to the Council, and on April 20th, the date of the Testament, the executive was reorganised. Each of the nine special committees was replaced by a delegate, who acted as a Minister, and the nine delegates together formed what was practically a Ministry. On March 28th, after a parade at Fort d'Issy, the majority carried by forty-five votes to twenty-three the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of five members, such as had existed in the great Revolution.

Versailles Victorious.

The troops of the Commune offered a brave resistance to the army of Versailles, but MacMahon gradually made himself master of the outer works of defence, though each success served to stimulate the terror of the Communal government and urge it to fresh acts of violence and atrocity. The need of money was

supplied by the confiscation of public and municipal revenues, obtained by requisitions upon the Bank of France, the Post Office, the railway and telegraph companies, and the rich merchants. The separation of Church and State was decreed, and the possessions of the Church were declared to be public property. On May 8th Thiers issued a proclamation calling upon Paris to free herself from the tyranny of the Commune and re-establish peace, order and prosperity. In answer to this, the property of Adolphe Thiers was declared to be confiscated, but the many treasures of art his house contained were, by friendly influence, safely deposited in the public buildings. Other attempts at indiscriminate plunder were fortunately checked; Beslay contrived to save a large portion of property preserved in the Bank of France, and Jourde provided that the restoration of all the property deposited in the Mont de Piété, the State Pantechnicon, should be confined to the articles belonging to the poor of the value of less than 20 francs.

Communist Leaders' Determination.

The leaders of the Commune determined that if they fell Paris should fall with them, and that the army of Versailles should only conquer its ruins. The *Cri du Peuple*, a newspaper founded by Blanqui and edited by Jules Viller, said, on May 19th: "Our walls may fall, but no soldier shall enter Paris. If M. Thiers is a chemist, he will understand what we mean. The army of Versailles must understand that before Paris surrenders it will dare everything." As danger threatened, the General Council, the Committee of Public Safety, the Central Committee, and the National Guard, which had so long contended against each other, drew closer together, and a Scientific Committee was established to assist the Barricade Committee, to examine how far the destructive forces of science could be used in the service of the Revolution.

"Bloody Week."

As MacMahon gradually became master of the bridge of Neuilly and other points in the neighbourhood of the fortifications, the fever of resistance became more pronounced. On May 18th the column in the Place Vendôme, which symbolised the victories of Napoleon, was pulled down. On May 21st the Paris troops advanced without fighting to the Point du Jour, and occupied the western districts. Fierce fighting continued for seven days, from May 21st to May 28th, the so-called "Bloody Week." The army of Versailles gave no quarter, and the Commune was stimulated to reprisals. The hostages were put to death, among them Darboy, Archbishop of Paris; Abbé Allard; President Bonjeau; and the universally-respected Curé of the Madeleine,

Duguerry. The principal buildings of Paris were drenched with petroleum, and either wholly or partially burnt, including the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Luxembourg, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, and the Cour des Comtes.

Wholesale Executions.

The work of retaliation and repression was carried on with terrible severity. The city was gradually conquered from the Point du Jour to the Père la Chaise, district by district, barricade by barricade. On May 31st Thiers proclaimed that the full penalty would be exacted and, in fact, no quarter was given. Men were put to death after a pretence of trial, or without any trial at all, by officers and soldiers. It was admitted at Versailles that 17,000 persons were killed; as a fact, the number reached at least 20,000. Besides these, 38,568 persons were arrested, of whom 1,058 were women and 651 children; and of the number arrested 1,179 died in consequence of bad treatment. The prisoners were tried by court-martial and condemned to death or penal servitude. The number of the condemned reached 13,450, of whom 2,710 were sentenced to death and 7,500 to transportation. The court-martial continued to sit as late as 1876. The effect of these measures was to wipe out the Revolutionary and Socialist parties; the only parties that remained were Monarchists and Republicans, the former being divided into Legitimists and Orleanists, since the cause of the war had destroyed all chance of a Bonapartist restoration.

Constitution of the Republic.

By the elections which took place on May 1st, the moderate Republicans obtained a majority. But the decrees of banishment against the Houses of Bourbon and Orleans were recalled, and the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville were actually elected to the Assembly. In October, Aranda was chosen President of the General Council of the Oise, a very influential position. In the supplementary elections of July 28th the Republicans were successful in twenty-five out of thirty-nine Departments, and of twenty-one Deputies returned from Paris sixteen belonging to the Union of the Press, and the followers of Thiers, were elected. The fact that a loan was subscribed many times over showed the inexhaustible wealth of the country and the confidence with which it was regarded by foreign nations. The war indemnity could now be paid and the evacuation of the country by the army of occupation secured. A proclamation of the Comte de Chambord in favour of the white flag weakened the Legitimists and strengthened the hands of the Republic, and gave Thiers the

support of all sensible and practical people. On August 21st an enactment was passed, by 491 votes to 94, providing that the head of the executive should take the title of President of the French Republic, that he should have the power of appointing and dismissing his Ministers, and the right to address the Assembly whenever he pleased; but that the individual Ministers, the Cabinet as a whole, and the President himself should be responsible to the Assembly. This meant the formation of a moderate Republic, equally opposed to Monarchy and to advanced Republicanism. This was a provisional constitution; the final and definite constitution was not formed till 1875.

Peace Signed.

During the very height of these disturbances the Peace of Frankfort was signed on May 10th by Bismarck on behalf of Germany and by Jules Favre and Pouyer-Quertier on behalf of France. The arrangements with regard to the payment of the indemnity of five milliards and the tracing of the frontier between Belfort and Thionville received the approval of the German Emperor and the French Assembly. The final closing of the war was received with the greatest joy, not only in Germany itself, but in all parts of the world inhabited by Germans. A South German paper wrote: "The dove of peace which was sent out from the German Ark has at length returned with a fresh olive branch. The sound of the cannon and the tocsin no longer summon us to the murderous field of battle; they have become heralds of peace. The flood of war has overwhelmed many of our dear ones, but our land and people stand as if refreshed with morning dew, ready for the work of our hands and for the seed-time of culture. The general feeling of the great majority of our people is thanks and praise to God that, together with peace abroad and at home, we have laid the foundations of a strong Fatherland and of civic freedom. We know that in this battle of giants our people have won spurs of honourable knighthood, an equality of rank with the first nations of the world. But this exalted rank lays heavy duties upon us. Let us first think of our duties towards the dead, who fell in this holy war upon the field of victory."

The First Reichstag.

The first German Reichstag, or Parliament, met in Berlin on March 21st, 1871, containing representatives from every part of Germany, both north and south of the Main. Their first duty was to consider how the government of Alsace and Lorraine could best be carried out, and then to take care of those wounded and invalided in the war and the families of the dead. A sum of

12,000,000 marks was voted as a present to the generals and statesmen who had contributed in a conspicuous manner to the successes of their country, and a similar sum to the governments of the separate States as assistance to the support of the reservists and others who were liable to military service.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

GLADSTONE'S MINISTRY, 1868-74

THE British Parliament elected in 1865 was dissolved by proclamation in November, 1868. The question before the country was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. Although Gladstone himself was defeated in Lancashire, the voting was favourable to the Liberal Party, the Liberals being returned with an overwhelming majority. This was a surprise to the Conservatives, just as the election of 1874, which closed Gladstone's Ministry, was a still greater surprise to the Liberals. On December 2nd Disraeli sent a letter to his supporters in both Houses of Parliament, announcing his intention of resigning before Parliament met. The Queen at once sent for Gladstone, and he had no difficulty in forming a Government. Lowe became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Childers, First Lord of the Admiralty; Goschen, President of the Poor Law Board; Bright, President of the Board of Trade. The seals of the Foreign Office were given to Lord Clarendon, those of the Colonial Office to Lord Granville, of the War Office to Cardwell, of the India Office to the Duke of Argyll. Lord Justice Page Wood, a man of the highest character, which shone conspicuously on his spiritual face, became Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Hatherley. Although a strong Churchman and a man of deep piety, he had no objection to the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

Gladstone's 1868 Cabinet.

Parliament met on December 10th, but the Queen's Speech was not delivered until February 16th, 1869. The Queen did not open Parliament in person, and therefore was not compelled to read a speech which announced legislation on the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland and heralded a measure to which she had previously been strongly opposed. The Irish Church Bill was brought forward on March 1st. It provided that from and after January 1st, 1871, the Church of Ireland was to be entirely disconnected from the State, and that its government was to be entrusted to a body in the composition of which the clergy and laity of the

Disestablishment of Irish Church.

Church should be agreed, and that this body should be incorporated by law. For the purpose of disendowment the property of the Church was to be vested in commissioners appointed by Parliament for ten years, private endowments given to the Church of Ireland after 1660 being excepted. The fabrics of churches and parsonages were to be handed over to the governing body already mentioned. Full compensation was given to all vested interests. The State was no longer to subsidise either the Catholic Church through the grant to Maynooth College, or the Presbyterians through the Regium Donum; but compensation for the loss of these sums was to be made from the funds of the disestablished Church. Gladstone estimated the whole value of the existing endowments at £16,000,000. Of this sum £8,500,000 were to be given back to the Church under its new constitution, and the remaining £7,500,000 were to form a compensation fund for the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering not met by the existing poor law.

The Lords and Irish Disestablishment.

There was little opposition in the Commons to a measure of which the country had expressed its approval: the Bill was read a second time before Easter by a majority of 118, and the third reading was passed by a majority of 114 on June 1st. But the Bill had to pass the ordeal of the House of Lords, where the decisive struggle had to take place. It was determined to contest the second reading in the Upper House. Although the Queen was strongly opposed to the measure, she did not desire to see a violent conflict between the two Houses, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to remind him that the Bill had been carried by an overwhelming majority through the House of Commons, which had been specially elected to express the feeling of the country in the matter, and that it was not likely that a fresh election would have a different result. Eventually, after a debate of four nights, at 3 o'clock in the morning on June 19th, the second reading of the Bill was carried by 179 votes to 146. By this wise resolve, preferring the welfare of the country to its own predilections, and the will of the nation to its own private opinions, the House of Lords voted in a manner worthy of its best traditions. It should have been evident to the peers that by such behaviour alone could the continued existence of a hereditary chamber be preserved. But having gone so far, they were not prepared to go farther, and so altered the Bill in Committee that the Irish Church remained in possession of £13,000,000 instead of £8,500,000, while other important changes were also made.

A Successful Compromise.

Gladstone refused to accept these amendments, and the Bill was returned to the Lords much in the same state as that in which it had been first introduced in the Commons. There was a deadlock; but the spirit of political wisdom and compromise which has permeated the history of the United Kingdom for so many years, and made it a model of instruction for the world, once more prevailed. On July 21st a meeting was held at the Colonial Office attended by Lord Granville, Lord Cairns, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when the peers met on the following day they found the matter had been arranged. The compensation offered had been slightly increased, and the application of the surplus was left to the decision of Parliament.

There can be no doubt but that the disestablishment of the Irish Church has been a success, and justified the prevision of those who carried it. Under its new conditions the Church has been, if more clerical, more prosperous than it was before, and the Church of England has been rather strengthened than weakened by its severance from a sister whose indefensible position was the cause of constant irritation.

Education Reform.

The budget had been introduced on April 8th. The financial condition of the country was not very favourable, as the Abyssinian expedition had cost £9,000,000. Robert Lowe framed his measure with wonted cleverness and ingenuity, but roused, after his manner, a great deal of unnecessary opposition; yet the budget was eventually found not to be so eccentric as it appeared at first sight, and was passed quietly into law. The year 1869 also witnessed a measure which was a first step towards the organisation of secondary education, but which has not been much developed since. Probably the only sound policy is to abolish the distinction of secondary education altogether, and leave but two classes, elementary and superior—the education of the common school and the education of the University, just as changes have abolished the second class on most British railways and left first and third classes to fight it out side by side.

But the great triumph of Liberalism under Gladstone's Government was secured in 1870—a year of far other memories on the Continent—by the passing of a Land Act for Ireland and an Education Act for England. The first was a step towards Home Rule as the only remedy for Irish difficulties, and the second has more profoundly modified the whole condition of England, intellectually and socially, than any other measure ever passed by Parliament.

Irish Land Bill, 1870.

An Irish Land Bill, which had been discussed in the Cabinet during the autumn of 1869, was introduced into the House of Commons on February 15th, 1870. It recognised that the Irish farmer had an estate in his holding, and extended to the whole of Ireland and gave the sanction of law to the Ulster custom of tenant right. It gave compensation to tenants who were turned out of their holdings for any other cause than the failure to pay their rents, and provided that they should receive the value of their unexhausted improvements. Hitherto all that had been done by the tenant for the soil in the absence of the landlord led merely to the raising of his rent, a grievance which did not practically exist in England and was peculiar to Ireland alone. It also made it easier for those who held the soil to become the possessors of it. Before this an enterprising tenant might turn a barren desert into a fruitful farm, and for his trouble and enterprise would have to pay a higher rent for the land, the value of which he had largely increased, or be turned out of his holding without receiving any pecuniary advantage for what he had done. This now became impossible. The burden of showing that he had made the improvements was laid upon the landlord, otherwise it would be presumed that they had been made by the tenant. Contracting out of this arrangement was illegal for all whose rent was under £50 a year. On the other hand, the landlord could avoid all claims to compensation by granting a lease for thirty-one years.

Coercion Act Follows Land Act.

The principle of the Bill met with little opposition in either House. In the House of Commons only eleven members voted against the second reading, and in the House of Lords the Bill passed that stage without a division. It was more difficult to get it through Committee. Some amendments were made in the Upper House, but were not accepted by the Government, and the Act eventually passed much in its original form. The Land Act of 1870 was a step in advance in the settlement of Irish grievances; it checked arbitrary eviction, and recognised the principle that the tenant was part owner of the soil. But the fact that it was not a complete remedy for the evil which it attempted to remove was shown by the passing of a Coercion Act for Ireland. This Act declared the use of firearms to be illegal in proclaimed districts, allowed dwelling-houses to be searched for arms, or for evidence of the authorship of threatening letters, and the arrest on suspicion of persons wandering about at night. It also provided that agrarian murder might be punished by the levying of compensation on the district in which it occurred, for

the seizure of intimidating newspapers, and for a change of the place where offences were tried. On the other hand, the Fenians in prison were released on condition that they left the country, a limitation of very doubtful wisdom.

Forster's Great Education Act.

The Education Act of 1870 is a landmark in English history. Its effect went far beyond the expectations of those who carried it. The passing of it was mainly due to the statesmanship and foresight of William Edward Forster, and it will always be associated with his name. Forster announced that the object of the Bill was to cover the country with good schools. The existing schools, called Voluntary because they were partly maintained by voluntary subscription, belonged to religious bodies, such as the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, and the Jews. They received grants from the State if they satisfied the requirements of the inspectors of the Education Department, but were greatly deficient in number for the needs of the population, and this deficiency it was the object of the new Act to remedy.

School Boards Established.

To effect this, England and Wales were divided into school districts, generally conterminous with the borough and the parish. If it were found that sufficient accommodation was not supplied in these districts for children between the ages of five and thirteen, and if after six months the need was not met by voluntary efforts, a School Board was to be established with power to levy a rate. Unfortunately, in England, all educational legislation has been made a battleground for conflicting sects. It may be doubted whether Englishmen care for education at all in the sense in which it is cared for by Germans and Swiss. Englishmen are so gifted naturally, and are able to do so much by their own intelligence, that they distrust and even despise the routine which their foreign rivals impose upon themselves. It is said that Germans always begin at the beginning, Englishmen in the middle; that Germans will never take the second step till they have taken the first, but that Englishmen always prefer to break the line of ignorance. Consequently it was impossible to carry compulsory education at that time, although it has since been recognised that such a condition is absolutely necessary for the creation of an educated population. Forster left the question of religious training to the direction of the local authority, which might have any religion taught or no religion taught at all, as it pleased.

The Bill was strongly opposed by the Birmingham Education League, which, in that fortress of Radicalism, supported free, compulsory, and secular education, with School Boards everywhere

and no Voluntary schools. Gladstone intervened, however, as a mediator, and the Bill passed its second reading. Three months were allowed to elapse between the second reading and the Committee stage, during which time there was a great deal of private discussion. On June 16th, an amendment was accepted by the Government, proposed by Cowper-Temple, who was an English Churchman and a Whig. It provided that no Catholic or distinctive religious formulary should be taught in a Board school, and that a Voluntary school should receive no assistance from the rates. This clause has been famous ever since, and the author of it has given his name to a form of religious teaching which is moral and edifying, but which is not conveyed by any special religious formulary. The amendment also contained a clause which relieved voluntary subscribers in respect of their contributions, and was favourable to the Church of England. This facilitated the passing of the Bill, and the Cowper-Temple clause was carried by 252 votes to 95. What was called a "Conscience Clause" also provided that religion should be taught either at the beginning or the end of the school day, so that those might absent themselves who wished to do so. A single School Board was established for the whole of London, and this great measure finally became law on August 9th.

Gladstone's Retrenchment.

In the days of Gladstone retrenchment was a watchword of the Liberal Party, and the Prime Minister did his best to make it effective. The Navy Estimates in 1870 were the lowest since 1858, and the Army Estimates had been reduced by more than £2,000,000 since 1868. This economy was mainly brought about by the withdrawing of British troops from self-governing colonies. In this year the Canadian Rifles, the Cape Mounted Rifles, and the West India Regiment were disbanded. These reductions of expenses produced a surplus of more than £4,000,000, which was spent in reducing the income tax to 4d. in the pound, lowering the duty on sugar by 50 per cent., abolishing the remaining burden on newspapers and on railway passengers, and in the institution of halfpenny postcards, which the Prime Minister used very largely in his private correspondence.

Army Reforms.

Another triumph of the Liberal Government in 1870 was the reformation of the army by Cardwell, who was Minister of War. When he assumed office the army was under the dual control of the War Office and the Horse Guards. The Commander-in-Chief, who sat at the Horse Guards, and was appointed by letters patent for life, dispensed patronage and exercised power without consulting the War Minister, who was responsible to the House

of Commons. This was a survival of the time when the army was supposed to be under the personal control of the Sovereign. Cardwell saw that it was necessary that the War Office should be under a single head. The first step was made by removing the Commander-in-Chief from the Horse Guards to the War Office, which was done by an exercise of the Royal prerogative, but against the private wishes of the Queen. He then proceeded to alter the terms of service for which a soldier enlisted, and to establish a reserve. Before 1847 a man enlisted for life or for twenty-one years; in 1847 enlistment for ten years was allowed, against the opinion of the Duke of Wellington. Now, in 1870, twelve years was fixed as the longest and three years as the shortest period for which a man might enlist; and it was calculated that in ordinary circumstances six years would be spent in active service and six in the reserve. This reconstruction of the army was due to the victory of the Prussians over the Austrians at Königgrätz. The success of the Prussian army, which before the war had been regarded by competent military observers as little better than an exalted militia, had shown that a soldier serving only two or three years with the colours could become the most formidable combatant in Europe. It is noteworthy that a reform originating out of the war of 1866 should have been consummated on the verge of the still greater conflict of 1870.

Civil Service Reform.

This era of reform beheld a great change also in the appointments of the Civil Service. By an Order in Council, dated June 7th, 1870, all public offices in the State, excepting the Foreign Office and the Education Office, were thrown open to competition, a change which had been advocated for nearly twenty years by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote. Hitherto all appointments had been made by private patronage, the exercise of which was a great burden on those to whom it belonged, and a very inefficient method of choosing public servants. The change has, no doubt, been beneficial; but it has had the result of limiting the ambitions of the ablest men the Universities produce and driving them to prefer a modest certainty to an honourable struggle, besides filling the public offices with men who are too able for the work they have to do, and are apt, therefore, to display more ingenuity in contrivance than common sense in everyday administration. On the whole, however, the change has been advantageous, and the country has gained by the application to the whole Civil Service of the principles which have made the Civil Service of India the most efficient, the most intelligent and the purest bureaucracy in the world.

A Memorable Session.

The session of 1870 was indeed memorable, and in recalling its achievements, Mr. Herbert Paul says: "Between February 8th and August 10th Parliament took the first step, the step which counts, in remodelling the agrarian law of Ireland, established a permanent system of education in England and Wales, introduced into the army the principle of a short enlistment and a reserve, formed a code of neutrality in time of war, erected a scientific theory of naturalisation, provided for the extradition of criminals, and abolished the punishment of the innocent with the guilty by the forfeiture of the felon's estate: of an activity so various and so successful, scarcely an example can be found since the days of the Great Parliament, which assembled in 1640 after eleven years of barren personal rule. Although Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, especially Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Forster, were the principal agents in producing this splendid result, the entire credit does not belong to them. It was shared by their followers, by the Conservative Party, and by the House of Commons as a whole."

Purchase in the Army Abolished.

This record of reforms was increased in the following year by the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army. To us, indeed, it seems almost incredible that such a system could ever have had a vogue. The sale of commissions which had originally existed had been regulated by Royal Warrant in the reign of Charles II. The system was abolished by William III., but was resumed after his death. Although prices were fixed by statesmen, sums largely in excess of the legal amount were given and received, and, in 1871, both regulation prices, which were legal, and over-regulation prices, which were not only illegal but criminal, were charged as a matter of course. An Act of George III. abolished the selling of offices in other departments, but gave to the Crown the discretion of retaining the practice in the army if it should think fit, and this discretion had been regulated by a warrant sanctioning and regulating the practice. It became apparent that no effective reorganisation of the army was possible without the abolition of this practice. As Gladstone said, the nation must buy back its own army from its own officers. Purchase, indeed, was unknown at any time in the Navy, the Engineers and the Royal Artillery. In the army it did not extend beyond the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

This reform had been taken up as a special question by George Otto Trevelyan, the son of Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had reformed the Civil Service. As compensation must be voted to those who lost money by the change, a Bill was introduced into

the House of Commons, where it met with the most violent opposition. Having passed the Commons with great difficulty, the Bill went to the Lords in the beginning of July, and again encountered the most determined hostility. A dilatory motion proposed by the Duke of Richmond was supported by Lord Salisbury, who said that "seniority tempered by selection meant stagnation tempered by jobbery." The motion was carried by 155 votes to 130. The Prime Minister now found himself face to face with the House of Lords—not for the first time. So the Cabinet determined on drastic action. As purchase had been originally established by Royal Warrant, it could be abolished by Royal Warrant. On July 18th, therefore, the Queen signed such a warrant, abolishing purchase in the army from November 1st, 1871. She made no difficulty about it after she had received a minute from the Cabinet intimating their unanimous approval. By the abolition of purchase the efficiency of regimental officers was greatly improved.

Further Army Reforms.

Another important step in army reform was the division of the country into territorial districts, each of which contained a battalion of the line, two regiments of militia, and the volunteers of the district, all under the command of a lieutenant-colonel. A system of what were called linked battalions was also introduced, by which half a regiment was maintained at home and half abroad, the officers and men being interchangeable.

Abolition of Religious Tests at Universities.

In the same year religious tests for degrees were abolished. It is difficult for anyone not intimately acquainted with the conditions of University life to understand what injustice was imposed by the existence of these tests. Dissenters might gain the highest honours of the Universities, but could not take degrees unless they were prepared to sign the Thirty-nine Articles. But when this disability was removed others still remained. In many colleges fellowships could not be held unless the holders were prepared to take holy orders after a certain number of years, and a large number of the highest posts were reserved for clergymen. A community in which academical distinction ought to be the determining consideration in promotion was mainly a clerical body. The result of this was profound. The taking of orders was, with the less serious-minded men, regarded with levity, and even with blasphemy, and the more serious were hindered from taking orders at all. In some cases they resigned their fellowships and embraced a life of poverty; in others, by refusing to serve the Church, they lowered the intellectual standard of the ministry. It was long before Gladstone could bring himself to

see the essential justice of the reform. But he did so by 1871, and the Abolition Act of this year served not only to make the Universities national institutions, but gave renewed strength and vigour to the Church itself.

Lowe's Match Tax.

The harmonious march of reform was interrupted by the eccentricity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe. In the budget of 1871 he had to provide for an extra charge of £3,000,000, caused by the greater expense of the army and the abolition of purchase. The easiest mode of doing this would have been to raise the income tax to 6d., but the Chancellor preferred more tortuous methods, and among them the imposition of a tax on lucifer matches, a halfpenny a box for wood and a penny for wax. A good classical scholar, he proposed to mark the stamp by which the tax was imposed by a Latin motto, "*Ex luce lucellum*" ("A little gain from light"), a frivolous proceeding which tended to make the new tax ridiculous as well as odious in the eyes of those who had no sense of humour. A storm of indignation arose, a procession of match-makers marching by way of protest from the East End to Westminster. The tax was withdrawn and the income tax was raised.

Legalisation of Trade Unions.

Another important indication that a new era had dawned was found in the Act for the legalisation of trade unions, which gave effect to the report of the Royal Commission appointed to examine the subject which was published in 1869. The most prominent advocates for new methods in dealing with this question were Frederic Harrison and Thomas Hughes. Bruce, the Home Secretary, brought in a Bill to amend the law. By it trade unions were declared to be neither criminal conspiracies subject to prosecution, nor illegal combinations incapable of prosecuting those who defrauded them. They were to be registered in such a way as to allow them to bring dishonest officers to justice, and, on the other hand, were not to be saddled with the legal liabilities which attach to corporations. The Bill should have stopped there, but unfortunately it attempted to deal with the practice of picketing. It went so far as to make peaceful picketing impossible; as Mr. Sidney Webb said, in its eyes a strike was lawful, but anything done in pursuance of a strike was criminal. The picketing clauses were made into a separate Bill, and the measures passed the House of Commons without difficulty. They finally became law after the Lords had very seriously increased the severity of the picketing clauses. A similar solicitude for the working members of the population was shown in the institution of Bank Holidays, by the closing of banks on Easter Monday,

Whit Monday, and the day after Christmas, generally known as Boxing Day. The fourth Bank Holiday, the first Monday in August, was not instituted until later. The closing of banks led to the closing of shops and to a general national holiday. The author of this excellent measure was Sir John Lubbock, banker, philanthropist, and distinguished man of science, who afterwards bore the title of Lord Avebury.

Gladstone at Blackheath.

This beneficent legislation, which leaves a white mark in the pages of British history, did not tend to make the Ministry popular; and on October 28th, Gladstone, who was member for Greenwich, addressed an audience of 20,000 persons on Blackheath. This audience was not friendly, as it contained many who had been discharged from the Woolwich dockyards. Lord Morley has described how, in the cold mist of the October afternoon, Gladstone stood bareheaded, pale and resolute before a surging mass, few of them friends, many of them furious at neglect or discharge by an economising Government. At first he could hardly make himself heard, but after half an hour of interruptions he prevailed. The speech lasted two hours, and at the end he had deserved and won applause.

Gladstone's Difficulties

But his office was not a bed of roses. It is difficult to maintain the spirit of a nation at the level of that of a great Minister in a great Cabinet. The Court was also a subject of anxiety; the Queen lived in retirement, and there was a breath of Republicanism in the air. Public opinion did not understand the crushing work which the administration of a great Empire implies, nor realise that the necessary occupations of the head of the State left little time for public functions or for society. Sir Charles Dilke, member for Chelsea, having professed Republican sentiments, the Queen good-naturedly remarked that she had stroked his hair when he was a boy, and supposed she had not stroked it the right way. Gladstone did all he could to induce the Queen to spend less time at Balmoral, but she did not like him, and complained that he addressed her as if she were a public meeting. The sympathy and sentiment of the nation, however, were aroused by the serious illness of the Prince of Wales in December, 1871, and the public thanksgiving for his recovery which followed early in the next year. But a difficult situation continued, and the deep veneration which was felt for the Mother Sovereign in every part of her dominions was not generally realised until the outbreak of sorrow which followed her death and made her funeral memorable.

There can be little doubt but that the unexpected fall of the

Gladstone Ministry in 1874 was mainly due to its best and most memorable act—the treaty of arbitration with America with regard to the *Alabama* claims. On February 1st, 1871, the two Governments agreed that a Joint Commission should be appointed to discuss the questions pending between the two countries. The British commissioners acted in a very friendly spirit, expressed their regret for the escape and depredations of the *Alabama*, and abandoned all claims for indemnification for the Fenian raids into Canada, and in consequence of this the treaty was ratified before the end of May. The five arbitrators, appointed by Great Britain and America, by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Republic, and the Emperor of Brazil, met at Geneva.

The *Alabama* Claims.

The American case was published in January, 1872. It was found, to the dismay of all lovers of peace, that it contained a demand not only for the payment of direct claims, but of indirect claims of a vague and shadowy nature, which, if admitted, might exceed the whole amount of the National Debt. The storm aroused by these preposterous claims nearly wrecked the treaty; but, through the moderation of Lord Ripon and W. E. Forster, the decision whether they were valid was left to the arbitrators. Charles Francis Adams proposed that the court should declare the indirect claims to be outside the scope of International Law. This was agreed to, and the news that the treaty was saved reached the British Cabinet on July 19th.

The *Alabama* Award.

The hearing of the case began at Geneva in the beginning of July, and the finding was issued in the middle of September. The damages were estimated by America at £9,500,000, and the amount actually paid was £3,250,000, which the Americans found great difficulty in distributing among the persons supposed to have been injured. The amount awarded was excessive, and could not be supported by legal argument. But the matter had passed out of the domain of law into that of politics, and it was worth while to make even a large payment to settle a disastrous quarrel between two peoples who ought to live together in peace and amity, and to offer to the world an example of the manner in which such differences should be arranged. But these doctrines were beyond the appreciation of public feeling in England. A sullen discontent against the award was aroused in the country, and it was made worse by the decision of the German Emperor, which was adverse to Great Britain, in the matter of the San Juan dispute. Even if this decision were right, however, anyone acquainted with public feeling at Berlin at this time must admit

that the Americans were much more popular than the British, owing to the severe neutrality of Great Britain in the Franco-Prussian War, and could have predicted the result of the arbitration before it was declared.

The Ballot Act.

During the session of 1872 the Government steadily lost ground, partly from the reasons we have mentioned, partly from discontent at smaller matters, such as the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and of Mr. Harvey to the Rectory of Ewelme. Disraeli said at Manchester: "As I sit opposite the Treasury bench, the Ministers remind me of one of those marine landscapes, not very unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes; not a flame flickers upon a single pallid crest, but the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumblings of the sea." One of these earthquakes was the Ballot Act, which, promised in the Queen's Speech of 1870, was rejected by the Lords in 1871, and finally passed in 1872. Although in some particulars it was not consistent with sound political theory, and with the highest standard of political morality, which demands that an elector shall not be ashamed to declare his opinions in public, the Ballot Act has been a success and strengthened the parliamentary system. No one would now propose to abolish it.

Gladstone's Irish University Scheme.

The Government eventually fell on the question of Irish University Education. On his entry upon office in 1868 Gladstone had determined to devote himself to the removal of Irish discontent. He had disestablished the Irish Church, reformed the land laws, and now intended to deal with the problem of higher education. The granting of Home Rule, which was part of the same scheme, was to come at a later period. The University of Dublin, which was really the same as Trinity College, had opened its doors to Catholics as early as 1794. A few attended, but all places of honour and emolument were reserved for members of the Irish Church, which had been disestablished in 1869. Mr. Gladstone's Bill, which attempted the solution of the difficulty, was introduced on February 13th, 1873. It proposed to establish a new University of Dublin, which was to be a teaching as well as an examining body. It was to include Trinity College, the Catholic University of Dublin, and the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, which were unsectarian. The money for its endowment was to be found by Trinity College, the Consolidated Fund, and the Irish Church surplus, and was to amount to £50,000 a year. But to these arrangements, which

were not very wise or statesmanlike, two were added which made it impossible that the Bill should pass. By one of these any teacher might be dismissed who, in speech or writing, wilfully gave offence to the religious opinions of any member, and by the other the University was to have no chairs of theology, modern history, or of moral and mental philosophy. The colleges of which the University was composed might, indeed, teach these subjects, but they would not be taught authoritatively by the University.

Rejection of the University Bill.

Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing these measures was so persuasive that it was thought on all hands that the Bill was sure to pass. It was wrecked, however, by the opposition of Cardinal Cullen, the head of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. The Cardinal said that the Bill was in flat opposition to what the Catholics had been working for in Ireland for years. It continued the Queen's Colleges and set up another Queen's College in the shape of Trinity College with a large endowment; it perpetuated the mixed system of education to which he had always been opposed, while no endowment or assistance was given to the Catholic University; the Council could appoint professors to teach English literature, geology or zoology who might be dangerous men in Catholic eyes. The Bill was rejected by 287 votes to 284, its principal opponents being Fawcett, Patrick Smyth, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and Disraeli.

Disraeli Declines Office.

After this division Gladstone was of opinion that the Cabinet ought to resign, and as they agreed with him he went to the Queen for that purpose. The Queen, of course, sent for Disraeli; but he was unwilling either to accept office in the present Parliament or summon a new one. Thus, a week after their defeat, the Liberal Cabinet determined to remain where they were, although nothing could be worse for the country than the continuation in power of a weak and discredited Ministry. Even in this condition they were able to pass the Judicature Bill, which was due to the genius and industry of Lord Selborne. His plan was to unite all the superior courts in one Supreme Court of Judicature and give to every court the power of administering equity. The Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer remained as divisions of the High Court, but the judges of one division had power to sit in any other. He also established a Court of Appeal, consisting of nine judges and sitting in three divisions, whose decision should be final.

In July, in consequence of some irregularity in the public accounts, the details of which need not detain us, the Cabinet

was remodelled, and Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister.

Gladstone Decides for Dissolution.

It was natural that Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, should desire to construct a great budget and carry out ideas which had long been in his mind, but which he had not been able to bring to maturity. He proposed to abolish the income tax and the duty on sugar, and make up part of the deficit by raising the succession duties and the duty on spirits. He could not, however, obtain all the money he required unless he could reduce the Estimates for the army and navy. To this Cardwell and Goschen strongly objected, and Cardwell said that he could only give way if the country sanctioned the new policy. This confirmed the Prime Minister in his determination to dissolve, a step he had, for other reasons, long contemplated. He felt it was intolerable to carry on a Government unless not only the House of Commons but the country was firmly on his side. This was not the case, for, since 1872, the Opposition had won twenty seats, and the latest contest, at Stroud, proved unfavourable. It was understood that Parliament was to meet on February 8th, and members of Parliament, and even members of the Government, were taking a comfortable holiday.

Liberal Defeat.

Suddenly, on January 24th, 1874, Gladstone's address to his constituency appeared in the morning papers, and the world knew that a dissolution was imminent. The result of the election was a great surprise, both at home and abroad, but it was decisive. Gladstone had been informed by Lord Wolverton, the chief whip, that he was sure of an increased majority, and the Diplomatic Body had informed their Governments that the Liberals were sure to win. The Conservative majority was fifty, exclusive of the Irish Home Rulers, who held aloof from both parties. Gladstone, following what he believed to be the proper constitutional usage, was reluctant to leave office without meeting Parliament, but yielded to the advice of his colleagues, and on February 17th this memorable Government ceased to exist. It perished because it was too good for the age and the circumstances with which it had to deal; but the spirit of human actions, even when they fail, often lives after their seeming decease, and leads to greater successes than their premature triumph might have achieved.

CHAPTER II

RUSSIA AND THE EAST

Alexander II.'s Great Reforms.

THE policies pursued towards Europe by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia and his son Alexander II. were very different. The former attempted by aggressive means to raise Russia to a position of supremacy; the latter endeavoured by a course of important internal reforms to elevate his country to an equality with other civilised peoples, and emulate the example of Peter the Great by bringing his empire into close connection with the rest of Europe. The first of such measures was the liberation of the serfs, which, whatever inconveniences it may have brought with it, was absolutely necessary if Russia were to fall into line with European civilisation. The second was the introduction of universal military service for fifteen years, which served, as it has served in Germany, to elevate the intelligence of the nation and form the basis of a national education. Other steps were the extension of the railway system, both for industrial and military purposes; reform of the taxes, by which the privilege of exemption was taken away from the nobles and approach made towards establishing equality of rank; reform of law and justice; encouragement of commerce and industry; and the improvement of education and culture.

The Brussels Congress.

Alexander also contemplated, what his successor Nicholas II. brought to being, the extinction, or at least the diminution, of war, by the general adoption of principles of International Law. For this purpose a congress, held at Brussels in 1874, laid the foundations of an improved international code for the conduct of wars. These efforts to reduce armaments and mitigate the evils of war do not produce immediate effect and are often misunderstood. They are attributed to a crafty device to induce Powers to deprive themselves of the means of defence in order that they may fall an easier prey to their neighbours. But the seed, once sown, begins to grow, and the bread is cast upon the waters, although someone else may find it after many days.

Alexander pursued a similar magnanimous policy in his relations with the East. The friendship formed with Turkey by the assistance of the Grand Vizir, Mahmoud Pasha, was not

interrupted by the sudden fall of this Minister; indeed, in the difficult question in regard to the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which arose shortly afterwards, both Powers adopted a similar policy. The Bulgarians were the most active and most promising branch of the southern Slavs. They are more solid, more laborious, and more trustworthy than the Servians.

Position of Bulgaria.

It is difficult to unravel the intricacies of the origin of the races inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula. The history of any one of these peoples written by any other is too much infected by racial jealousy to be trustworthy. The Servians maintain that the Bulgarians are not Slavs at all, but a Mongol race who have adopted the Slavic language and customs; the Bulgarians declare that they are Slavs who were conquered by Mongols, and received their name and a certain tinge of their language. However this may be, those who have most carefully studied the situation are of opinion that, if Constantinople is to be held by any of the Balkan races, the Bulgarians have most claim to it and would occupy it with the greatest advantage to the civilisation of the world. The Bulgarians professed the Eastern form of Christianity, generally known as the Greek Church, and were under the authority of the Greek Patriarch who lived in the Fanariote Quarter of Constantinople, so called after the Fanar, or lighthouse, the most conspicuous building in it. As the Greeks were their principal rivals, were of an overbearing disposition, and always laid claim to the possession of Constantinople, which the Bulgarians desired for themselves, and as the Bulgarian Church was an ancient and distinguished community, dignified by a literature, churches and traditions of its own, they wished to have an independent Patriarch and throw off the yoke of the Greeks; and the Sultan and the Tsar were agreed in granting these privileges.

Russia in Asia.

During the reign of Alexander the Russians extended their confines far over the plains of Central Asia. This development began with the conquest of Siberia, which was inaugurated by Peter the Great and continued by Nicholas I. Step by step Russia advanced into the country of the Kirghizes, defending its acquisitions by building fortresses as it proceeded, and in 1843 the great horde of that people submitted to Russian authority. This was succeeded by long wars with the Khan of Khokand, in the 'fifties and 'sixties, which had the object of extending Russian power in the valley of the Syr Daria, the ancient Jaxartes, and of conquering the important commercial city of Tashkend. When the country was subdued, it was incorporated with the Russian

Empire under the name of Turkestan in 1865. The two following years witnessed the defeat of the Emir of Bokhara and the annexation of his dominions, Samarkand, the capital, falling into Russian hands in May, 1868. The Emir was wise enough to see that resistance was useless, and that his best hope lay in a close friendship with the victorious foe.

Conquest of Khiva.

Still more important was the campaign against the Khan of Khiva, the last portion of Turkestan which remained unsubdued. These conquests were not like the exploits of the ancient Persians, mere military manifestations for the glory and interest of the Sovereign. They were brought about by inevitable circumstances. It is impossible for a civilised Power to be the close neighbour of an uncivilised Power without feeling the necessity of extending its frontiers. The conqueror who attempts to introduce civilisation and good government into a country which has not known them finds his roads of communication broken up and his criminals and conspirators gladly received across the border, and reprisals are forced upon him, and war tends to annexation. The Russian military stations in Turkestan were perpetually harassed by the raids of the undisciplined tribes of the valley of the Oxus, south of the Aral Sea. They were obliged to put them down by force, and in the conflict which ensued the Khan of Khiva seized some Russian subjects and refused to give them up. This was regarded as a cause of war. The Khan was compelled to submit, and the influence of Russia in Central Asia was largely increased. The advance of Russia caused Great Britain some alarm with regard to her position in India, and Count Shuvalov was sent to London to give explanations. He succeeded in persuading the British Government that Russian conquests in Khiva threatened no danger to India, but were merely measures of absolute necessity for the preservation of those districts Russia had already conquered. He also said that if the Russian advance in Central Asia, which was in the interest of peace and civilisation, was unopposed by Great Britain the Russians would not object to an extension of British influence on the side of Afghanistan. However, Great Britain thought it prudent to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Afghanistan, pay the Ameer a yearly subvention, and promise to protect his country against aggression if he would take her advice.

In 1873 General Kaufmann was placed in command of an expedition against Khiva, which was to attack it from four sides. His march, which lasted from April to June, lay through a desert country, swept by storms of wind and sand, against which tents

offered no protection. The heat was intense and there was no water, but the Russian soldier is patient and enduring, and trained by long practice to bear hardship. Khiva was defended by a force of 20,000 Turkomans, but after a siege and bombardment Kaufmann entered it as conqueror on June 10th. In the meantime Skobelev, who afterwards became so famous, was exploring the bed of the Oxus and the district towards the east. The Khan had escaped to the desert, but returned and made peace, on payment of a war indemnity of 2,000,000 roubles and the cession of the country on the right bank of the Amu Daria, the ancient Oxus. Thus the Khan of Khiva became a vassal of Russia.

Russian Aggression in Central Asia.

By this exploit the power of Russia in Central Asia was enormously increased, and Great Britain had reason to complain that the trust which Russia had imposed upon herself in previous negotiations had been greatly exceeded. Indeed, this sudden and momentous development of Russian territory and influence gave some excuse for the anti-Russian policy of Beaconsfield, and a struggle now ensued between Great Britain and Russia for the subjection of the tribes which lay between their respective frontiers. In 1875 and 1876 Kaufmann and Skobelev entirely subdued the Khanate of Khokand, and annexed it to the Russian Empire under the name of Ferighan. In 1880 and 1881 Skobelev reduced the wild and untamable horse-riding hordes of the Tekke Turkomans, and penetrated as far as Merv, a town fifteen or twenty days' journey from Khiva, which some Englishmen have described as the key to India. The territory of Khuldja, which had formerly belonged to the Chinese, was also conquered, but the greater part of it was afterwards given back to them, and the island of Sakhalin was conquered from Japan. A similar struggle was going on in Persia, where, since 1848, Nasraddin had been Shah. Moreover, the Russians had started the Trans-Caspian railway from the Caspian Sea to Samarkand. It was mainly constructed by General Annenkov, and was completed in 1888; the Trans-Siberian railway was also begun.

Trouble in the Balkans.

A league was formed between the Emperors of Germany, Austria and Russia, with the immediate purpose of preserving peace in the Balkan Peninsula, but with certain ulterior objects. There was, at this period, a Panslavic movement which aimed at uniting all branches of the Slavic race under the Tsar of Russia. This was opposed to the interests of two of the three Powers mentioned, but the Tsar hoped that if he gave way on this point his Imperial brothers might be willing to further his ambitious

designs in other directions. At this time a spark was kindled in Bosnia and Herzegovina which, gradually spreading, eventually set Europe in a flame. Ever since the Peace of Paris the Turkish Government had been falling into a state of decadence.

French Intervention in the Lebanon.

The Crimean War had left Turkey weaker than it found her. The " Sick Man " was not cured, but every day approached nearer to dissolution. The non-Mohammedan races under the dominion of the Sultan aimed more and more at independent government, with a persistence which rendered all efforts of the Christian West futile, while the Porte tried to pacify them with deceitful promises. Foreign intervention became a necessity. In 1860 the Emperor Napoleon was compelled to prevent by arms the common murders of the Druses and Maronites which drenched the Lebanon with blood. A French general marched into Damascus and enabled the Turkish pasha to inflict the penalty of justice on the murderers, while the Government at Constantinople was compelled to grant a constitution to the Lebanon, which would prevent such atrocities in future.

Fuad Pasha's Efforts for Turkey.

On June 26th, 1861, Abdul Medjid died, and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz. After initiating a few reforms he fell into a condition of slackness and apathy, and was swayed by favourites who squandered the finances. A conviction grew up in Constantinople that the Turkish Empire could only be saved from ruin by the adoption of reforms on the European model and by an approach to European culture. These views were put forward by the great statesman, Fuad Pasha, who, in the summer of 1867, accompanied his Sovereign in a journey to the Courts of Paris, London and Vienna and, under cover of the impression which this journey made upon the mind of his master, induced the Sultan to grant equal privileges to his Christian and Mohammedan subjects and release the Government from the hampering principles of the Koran. His efforts were not altogether in vain, and a good deal was effected of a reforming character. But the ignorance of the officials, the prejudices of the people, the fanaticism of the Old Turkish party, the hatred of the army towards Christians, and the hopeless condition socially and financially of the Empire made it doubtful whether reform were possible at all. Unhappily, Fuad Pasha died at Nice on February 11th, 1867, and the reforms came to an end.

Roumania a Kingdom.

One of the greatest difficulties of the Porte lay in the desire of her vassal states for independence. In January, 1859, Moldavia and Wallachia joined together under the title of the Principality of Roumania. The Diet, paying no attention to the protests of

the Porte against the union, chose as sovereign Alexander Cusa, descended from an unimportant Boyar family, who had risen by his own abilities and character. He was not a success. In May, 1864, tired of the opposition of the Diet to his wilful and extravagant rule, he imitated Louis Napoleon by demanding a plebiscite, which abrogated the Constitution; but in less than two years he was deposed by a conspiracy at Bucharest on February 23rd, 1866, and died at Heidelberg on May 15th, 1873. A German Prince, Charles Antony of Hohenzollern, brother of the Hohenzollern whose candidature for the throne of Spain was the cause of the Franco-Prussian War, was elected in his place, and as King of Roumania met with universal praise, while his gifted and beautiful Queen was recognised as a crowned genius.

Servia's Dynastic Changes.

Servia had attempted to liberate herself from the fetters of Turkish supremacy since the beginning of the century. Milosh Obrenovich, the founder of a line of national Princes, went farther and endeavoured to get rid of the Russian patronage, exercised through the National Party and the Senate in Belgrade, which possessed a predominant power. He was unable to effect this and, on July 13th, 1839, abdicated in favour of his eldest son. Milan, who was in bad health, died, and his brother Michael Obrenovich was made Prince. He was even less capable than his father of overcoming the obstacles which beset his path, and, after having for three years done his best to withstand the intrigues and conspiracies of the opposite party, also was forced to leave the country in September, 1842, whereupon the Skupshina, the National Assembly, declared that the family of Obrenovich were deposed, and summoned Alexander Karageorgievitch to the throne, and he was confirmed by the Sultan. The Emperor Nicholas was very angry at these proceedings, but when he was assured that the position of Russia as protector of the Christians in Servia would not be affected he gave his consent.

Dual Control in Servia.

The Crimean War was helpful to Servian independence. Prince Alexander declared his neutrality, and the Porte was obliged to permit him to train an army in order to defend it. The Peace of Paris also tended in the same direction. Servia remained subject to the Porte, but it became perfectly independent in administration, legislation and religion. Further, it acquired freedom of commerce and navigation under the guarantee of the Powers. The Turks continued to garrison the Turkish fortresses, but were not allowed to interfere with the administration of the country—a dual control which held within itself the seeds of disorder. Arrangements rendered necessary by the war and carried still

farther after the peace had the effect of weakening the supremacy of the Sultan, of increasing the national conscience, and preparing for the complete independence of the country. A national militia was formed with the acknowledged purpose of assisting the Christians against the Turks if the occasion arose, and no attention was paid to the protests of the Porte.

Obrenovich Recalled.

The national party of the Young Servians, supported by the Senate and the cultured classes, looked towards Russia as the head of their national inspirations and their religion. On the other hand, Prince Alexander leaned more upon the support of Austria. The opposition to him became stronger and, in 1858, he was compelled to summon a Skupshina, which on December 23rd deposed him. He took refuge in Austria, and the banished Prince Milosh Obrenovich was summoned to the throne. He died next year and, on September 26th, 1860, the crown came to his son, Michael III., who declared it hereditary in his House. He tried to increase the national army and also, with the help of the Powers, to drive the Turks out of the country, excepting those who garrisoned the fortresses. This arrangement only lasted till March, 1867, when the fortresses were evacuated by the Turkish troops, and the suzerainty of the Porte was reduced to a shadow.

Murder of Prince Michael.

On June 10th, 1868, one of those tragedies occurred which have so often disgraced the annals of Servia. As Michael was walking in the Park of Topshider, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, he was attacked by three insurgents armed with revolvers and killed, a relation who was with him being fatally wounded. Popular opinion ascribed this murder to the intrigues of Alexander Karageorgievitch. If this were the case, the plot failed. Milan Obrenovich, the youthful cousin of Michael, succeeded, and Radovonovitch was condemned to death and three others to five years' imprisonment. Michael's tragic death caused universal sympathy. During his reign he had set himself free from Turkish influence, had driven the Turks from the country, and had secured the possession of their fortresses. He had done his best to introduce European culture, and had placed the constitution on a firm basis. He fell a victim to the barbarism which he had attempted to destroy. After four years of regency there followed a period of peace and prosperity, in which the constitution was established on a parliamentary basis. Milan assumed the government in August, 1872, it being well known that he was under the influence of Russia. Montenegro and Herzegovina were also occupied in settling themselves under the protection of Russia. Danilo, Prince of Montenegro, was

murdered on August 12th, 1860, and was succeeded by his brother's son, Nikola.

King Otto Resigns the Greek Crown.

The kingdom of Greece also was not without its troubles. King Otto had proved a very bad ruler, but for thirty years the sceptre was held by his trembling hands. Bavaria had paid a large sum to maintain the security and dignity of his throne. But the defects of his personal character prevented the Greeks from feeling gratitude, and the injudicious conduct he had shown after the crisis of the Crimean War estranged the affections of his subjects, especially the army. The gradual dismemberment of Turkey encouraged the Greeks to hope for an addition to their country, an enlargement they were hardly likely to obtain under this feeble monarch. A conspiracy was formed, the head of which was the aged Admiral Canaris, so distinguished in the War of Liberation. In February, 1862, a military rising occurred in Nauplia, which, however, was put down in April, though the lack of energy displayed by the King in suppressing it encouraged others to follow the example. In October, as the King was occupied in a progress round the Peloponnesus, risings took place in Patras and Corinth and eventually in Athens itself. A provisional Government was established, and when the King heard of it he returned to the Piræus. Here he was advised by his ambassadors to abandon all idea of resistance, and from Salamis he issued a proclamation announcing his intention of returning to his own country. He went on board an English ship which brought him to Trieste.

Choosing a King of Greece.

There was some difficulty in finding a successor. Prince Alfred of Great Britain was first chosen, and crowned as King of Greece by his fellow midshipmen on board his ship with a bunch of tallow candles, but he refused the honour. The Tsar wished for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Prince Eugène, the step-son of Napoleon, who was also favoured by France. It was then determined to return to the old decision which excluded the families of the principal European Powers, and when the British Government announced its intention to strengthen the new kingdom by the cession of the Ionian Islands, the choice of a Sovereign was left to it. After searching in vain in the favourite preserves of the House of Coburg, and proposing in turn to the King of Portugal and Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the choice eventually fell on the brother of the Princess of Wales, who, on June 5th, 1863, became King of Greece with the title of George. King George married a Russian princess, as was right and proper, and the principal objects of his reign were to acquire a better frontier on the north and obtain possession of Crete, which ought

to have belonged to Greece from the beginning, and would have done so but for the prejudice and obstinacy of the Duke of Wellington.

Insurrections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the Treaty of Frankfort the condition of the Turkish Empire became worse, and the desire of her Christian subjects for independence grew stronger. The relations between the Christians—responsible for the payment of taxes and the performance of services—and their Mohammedan masters gradually became less endurable, as the financial condition in Constantinople assumed the proportions of a national bankruptcy, and the Turkish tax-farmers in the provinces resorted to the most oppressive means to extort the money necessary to pay themselves and the troops. In July, 1875, an armed insurrection, caused by these abuses, broke out, first in the Herzegovina and then in Bosnia. The women, children and old men, with their cattle and other scanty possessions, took refuge in Austria and Montenegro, while the men and youths opened an irregular warfare against the Turkish troops, who were commanded by Mukhtar Pasha, a natural son of Abdul Aziz. The rising, which might have been put down by energetic methods rapidly applied, gained strength through the laziness and carelessness of the Turks; and the insurgents, reinforced by volunteers from Servia and Montenegro, took up strong positions in the passes and ravines.

Mediation of the Powers.

At the suggestion of Austria the Powers attempted to mediate by means of a consular deputation. The insurgents were informed that they must not expect assistance from a Christian Power, and must lay their grievances before Servar Pasha in Mostar, while the Ottoman Government was advised to remove abuses and execute reforms. The mediation had no result. The insurgents knew by experience that they could place no confidence in any promises from Constantinople unless guaranteed by the Powers. Austria, Russia and Germany gave their sanction to a note drawn up by Count Andrassy with the object of putting an end to the insurrection, by obliging the Turks to grant reforms to improve the condition of the Christians, and to this note Italy and France gave their adhesion. But Great Britain kept aloof. A Tory Government was now in power, and Disraeli cherished such jealousy of Russia that he was afraid the Tsar might drive the Turks out of Europe and seize Constantinople for himself.

The winter passed in this manner, but unrest spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula. At length, on January 31st, 1876,

PANSLAVIC ACTIVITY

Great Britain gave her adhesion to the Andrassy Note, which was now presented by Count Zichy to Raschid Pasha, the Foreign Minister of the Porte. The note was considered by a Council of Ministers, and the ambassadors were informed that the Porte accepted the suggestions with regard to the equality of Christians before the law, the abolition of tax-farming, and improvement in the condition of the peasantry, and for this purpose an Irade, or Circular Note, was issued on February 23rd, promising an amnesty to the insurgents, a safe return to the emigrants, and remittance of the tithe for one year and of other taxes for two years. The insurgents, however, declined to lay down their arms or return to their homes unless the concessions of the Porte were guaranteed by the Powers. This, of course, was impossible, so the Andrassy Note failed. Hostilities began anew, the excitement spread to Bulgaria, and Prince Milan in Belgrade began to show sympathy with his brother Slavs, hoping that, in the general confusion, he might be recognised as Sovereign of Servia and Bosnia. A secret society, called the Omladina, was established in the Balkan Peninsula, similar to the Hetairia in Greece, for the purpose of spreading the Panslavic propaganda.

Russia as Protector of the Slavs.

Through this increase of Panslavic sentiment, Austria, which had hitherto occupied the principal place in the negotiations with Turkey, began to take a subordinate position, as the Hungarians had more sympathy with the Turks than with the southern Slavs. Although the Hungarians had suffered many hardships from the Turks in ancient days, yet they had never forgotten the defeat of Villagos, and their hatred of Russia and fears of an increase of the Slavic element in their own country were stronger than the recollection of their own past history. Thus Russia now took the first place in the movement. The southern Slavs in Bulgaria, Bosnia and Servia were bound to her not only by ties of race, but also of religion. The Russians were delighted to think that the races in the Balkan Peninsula were looking to them for protection, and the Tsar was proud to appear as the representative of Europe before the Turks, to defend the cause of humanity, Christianity and civilisation. The insurrection, which had begun in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, spread still farther in the spring. When in April, 1876, the Turkish commander wished to provision the fortress of Nicsics, which was being besieged, his army was intercepted at the Duga Pass.

In May the insurrection spread to Bulgaria, and there was danger of the whole of European Turkey being in a blaze. In the middle of May a conference, held at Ems, between Bismarck,

Gortshakov and Andrassy, resulted in a memorandum being presented to the Porte by the three Powers, saying that they regarded the request for a guarantee as reasonable, that there should be an armistice for two months, and that if at the end of that time satisfactory arrangements had not been made, the three Courts would take steps to enforce their wishes. Great Britain declined to join, and Russia was designated as the instrument to be employed to execute the judgment. But just at this time certain occurrences at Constantinople turned the attention of the world to matters of greater importance.

Death of Abdul Aziz.

All these events—the uprising of the Christians, the support given by the Prince of Montenegro to the insurgents of Nicsics, and the rebellion of the Bulgarians—had stimulated Mohammedan fanaticism and the hatred of the Turks against the Russians. Even before the Conference of Ems quarrels had arisen at Salonica between Christians and Mohammedans, which led to the murder of the German and French consuls, while a few days later there was an outbreak of fanaticism against the Sultan in Constantinople, Abdul Aziz being considered the cause of all the mischief. On May 11th the softas, or pupils of the Moslem theological seminaries, came together, and passing in long procession before the palace of the Sultan demanded the dismissal of the Grand Vizir Mahmoud Pasha, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The Sultan gave way, but the riot was not at an end. On May 30th his own ministers, with the consent of the new Sheikh-ul-Islam, pronounced his deposition, and declared his heir, Murad V., to be Ruler of the Faithful. When he heard of this, on June 4th, Abdul Aziz, as was publicly announced, put an end to himself by opening his veins. But it was afterwards discovered that he had been killed by a number of high officials, among whom was Midhat Pasha; eunuchs and palace officials held him fast while he was stifled by chloroform, and then a Jewish doctor, a pervert to Islamism, opened his veins.

Turkish Attempt at Reform.

Under Murad V., who was a nonentity, the country was governed by the Grand Vizir Rushdi, the War Minister Hussein Avni, and the cultured Midhat, who by many was thought a charlatan. Their plan was to establish parliamentary government on the British model, with equal rights for all religions, but at the same time to regenerate the Ottoman Empire and make it independent of external influences. The Koran and the harem were to cease to rule, and a new Eastern Empire was to be established on the Bosphorus. But this were as profitable as to graft an apple on an oak tree; nations, like individuals,

are too much bound by their past to profit by these sudden conversions.

Bulgarian Atrocities.

The Bulgarian atrocities, which horrified the conscience of Europe, took place at the very time this new era was called into existence, and showed that, however the Turks might change their principles, their actions remained the same. "You may change a man's skin," say the Italians, "but you will never change his vices." The spirit of Mohammedan fanaticism, instead of being pacified by these proceedings, was roused to more violent passions, which were intensified by the dispatch of the British fleet to Salonica. On June 15th Raschid Pasha and Hussein Avni, two of the murderers of Abdul Aziz, were themselves murdered at a Council of State by Hassan Bey, the brother of one of the slain Sultan's favourite wives. The Bulgarian insurrection, which had broken out prematurely, was put down by Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks with the utmost severity and cruelty. In Batak, on May 12th, there was an indiscriminate slaughter. Thousands of Christians—men, women and children—were murdered, mutilated and violated, and more than a hundred villages were burned. The news of these barbarities reached England on June 23rd. Further investigations made matters worse instead of better. The question occupied the attention of Parliament, Gladstone being indignant, and Disraeli, shortly to become Lord Beaconsfield, indifferent.

Accession of Abdul Hamid.

We will desert a strictly chronological order and speak of the effect on Great Britain later. Milan of Servia and Nikola of Montenegro made common cause with the insurgents in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, with the object of securing these provinces for themselves. They reckoned upon the support of Russia, and especially of the Panslavic party in Moscow. At the end of June Milan crossed the frontier with his army; but Great Britain continued to play an unworthy part. She sent her fleet into Besika Bay, ostensibly to prevent bloodshed, but really to protect the Turks from the attacks of Russia. On August 31st Murad V., who had been found imbecile, was deposed, and his brother Abdul Hamid put in his place. Milan was declared King of Servia by Russian influence on September 16th, but before the end of October his army had been so completely beaten by the Turks that the road lay open to Belgrade.

Gladstone's Bulgarian Pamphlet.

In the meantime the details of the Bulgarian massacres had begun to make way in England. On September 6th, Mr. Gladstone published a pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which was sold at the rate of 10,000 copies

a day. He declared he could not longer bear in silence his share of responsibility for the Crimean War. There was not, he said, a criminal in a European jail, or a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise at the sight of what had been done by the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. He demanded the entire withdrawal of the administrative rule of the Turks from these provinces. The words which follow have become famous: "As an old servant of the Crown and State, I entreat my countrymen, upon whom, perhaps, far more than upon any other people in Europe it depends, to require and insist that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in another, and shall employ all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

Lord Derby's Intervention.

On September 18th, when the excitement of this pamphlet was at its height, the appearance of Mr. Walter Baring's report on the massacres added fuel to the flames. He put the number of Bulgarians massacred at 12,000. The case of Batak was even worse than the report. The inhabitants had been summoned to give up their arms, and were assured that if they did so their lives would be spared. They obeyed and were all murdered; 1,200 were burned alive in a church. Lord Derby, who felt the shame and infamy more keenly than other members of the Cabinet, ordered Sir Henry Elliot, the British Ambassador at the Porte, to inform the Turkish Government that their atrocious crimes had roused the anger of the British people, and that the Powers could not be indifferent to such abominations. He was instructed to ask for a personal interview with the Sultan, and demand the punishment of the murderers, especially Achmet Aga, to which request, it is needless to say, the Turks paid no heed.

Russia Heir to the Byzantine Empire.

Unhappily, this honourable expression of opinion about the conduct of Turkey was checked by the stupid jealousy which had been the curse of British policy in the East. It was thought part of Great Britain's duty to defend Constantinople against capture by Russia, whereas a saner policy teaches that Russia is the natural heir to the Byzantine Empire, and that, if she had become mistress of Constantinople a hundred years before it would have

been better for Great Britain and better for the world. It was idle for statesmen to attempt to pervert what all the forces of Nature were clamouring to have done. The Tsar, however, gave the British Ambassador his word of honour that he had no designs on Constantinople, nor any intention of annexing Bulgaria.

Beaconsfield's Warning to Russia.

The Emperor Alexander now determined on more energetic measures. He could not see with indifference Servia destroyed, Bosnia and Herzegovina wasted, the Bulgarian Christians murdered. The result of conferences at Livadia was that on October 31st, 1876, he gave Turkey the alternative of war with Russia or a cessation of hostilities within two months. The latter, after some delay, was agreed to by Midhat. But this policy met with strong opposition from Great Britain. At the Guildhall Banquet on November 9th Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech of a threatening description. He said that there was no country so well prepared for war as England, because there was no country whose resources were so great, and he added that in a righteous cause England would begin a fight which would not end until right had been done. Naturally the Tsar was very angry at this. "Why," he asked, "should there be war with England, and what was the righteous cause?" He had assented to a congress proposed by England, of which the object was peace. Lord Salisbury, who had been deputed to attend the conference, left England on December 5th, and the conference opened on December 12th.

Great Anti-War Meeting.

In London a memorable meeting was held in St. James's Hall, on December 8th, to protest against war with Russia. Among the conveners were men of letters who did not as a rule take any part in politics, such as William Morris and Robert Browning, John Ruskin and Edward Burne-Jones. Carlyle wrote advising that the unspeakable Turk should immediately be struck out of the question and the country left to honest European guidance, delaying which could be profitable and agreeable only to gamblers on the Stock Exchange, but distressing and unprofitable to all other men. The Duke of Westminster, who presided at the morning meeting, advised that the fleets and armies of Great Britain should be sent to Constantinople, not in opposition to Russia, but for the coercion of the Turks.

The Constantinople Conference.

The conference sat in Constantinople from December 12th to the 20th. It consisted of representatives of the great European Powers without any member from Turkey. It decided that reforms should be introduced into the Turkish administration of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, and that a force of 6,000 Europeans should see that they were carried out. If it rejected

this proposal, the Ottoman Empire should be at an end. Unfortunately, the Powers were not agreed on the policy they should pursue, and Lord Salisbury was instructed to oppose occupation. The manner in which the Porte met the proposals was characteristic. The day before the conference met Midhat was appointed Grand Vizir, and Safvet Pasha announced the establishment of a Parliamentary Government. By this instrument all provinces of the Turkish Empire were to enjoy equal rights; therefore it would be impossible to accept the proposals of the conference, by which certain provinces were to be treated in an exceptional manner. The advent of this precious document was announced to expectant Europe by a salvo of artillery; but its only result was, on December 28th, to prolong the armistice and postpone the danger of immediate war. The demands of the Powers instantly took the form of an International Commission nominated by them, and the submission of the appointment of Governors-General to their approval. On January 20th, 1877, these points were finally rejected by Safvet Pasha, and Lord Salisbury declared the conference to be at an end. Shortly after this, on March 1st, Midhat, the reputed leader of the reform party, was banished, and Edhem Pasha took his place.

Russia Declares War.

Although the conference had failed, owing to the disagreement of the Powers, the Emperor of Russia determined to proceed with the beneficent work of protecting the Christian subjects of the Porte from intolerable oppression. He sent Shuvalov and Ignatiev to London, with the result that a protocol was signed at the British Foreign Office on the last day of March. It declared that if the reforms promised by the Turkish Government were not effectively carried out the situation would become intolerable. On April 10th the Porte repudiated the protocol as inconsistent with the Treaty of Paris, and after a short delay Russia declared war. Alexander avowed that he was acting as the representative of Europe, but Great Britain declined to endorse this view.

CHAPTER III

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

AFTER the Emperor Alexander had decided upon war, he left St. Petersburg, and on April 23rd arrived at Kishinev, the headquarters of his army. On the following day he issued a manifesto announcing to the world that he undertook the war in order to obtain for his fellow Christians living in Turkish territory the securities which were absolutely necessary for their future welfare. On the night of April 23rd he crossed the Pruth and entered Roumania, with whose Government he had made a convention which enabled him to march upon the Danube. The Emperor accompanied the army, not with the idea of taking the command, which he left in the hands of Duke Nicholas, but to stimulate the courage of the soldiers, and he remained in Ploesti, where his headquarters were stationed. Azakov wrote in a Moscow newspaper, "The Russian banners are moving on the other side of the Danube, for the purpose of restoring freedom and the rights of humanity to the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula, hitherto enslaved and persecuted, despised by the Powers of Europe, who are so proud of their civilisation. The slumbering Orient is awake; not only the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula, but the whole Slavic world awaits its regeneration. This is the dawn of a new, an entirely new, epoch—a dawn which announces the coming of a new day for the Slavic race."

The Tsar's Manifesto.

It is desirable to give some account of the organisation of the Slavic armies. The Russian army was organised in army corps. It was recruited by a system of compulsory military service which had been introduced in 1874, in consequence of the lessons of the war of 1870, but had not been completely developed when the present war broke out. In each army corps there were two infantry divisions, each composed of two brigades. Each brigade contained two regiments, each regiment three battalions, each battalion five companies. An army corps also had a division of cavalry, composed of two brigades, each containing two regiments; one brigade had a regiment of dragoons and a regiment of lancers, the other a regiment of hussars and a regiment of Cossacks. The cavalry division, besides, had two horse artillery

The Russian Army.

batteries, each consisting of six four-pounder guns. The army corps had, further, two brigades of artillery, one containing three nine-pounder batteries, the other three four-pounder batteries, so that an army corps at full strength held 25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 108 guns; but in actual service the corps were seldom, if ever, complete. The Cossacks were a peculiar part of the Russian army. They had an organisation of their own—a compromise between the national customs and the arrangements of a modern army. They were, as Maurice says, a semi-regular force of national horsemen, provided their own horses and equipment, and rendered military service in lieu of taxes, the Government supplying them with arms and ammunition. They were intelligent, accustomed to rely on their own resources, and made good scouts, when placed under suitable officers, but were deficient in discipline. They were organised in squadrons 100 strong, called sotnias.

The Turkish Army.

The Turkish army was composed entirely of Mohammedans, Christians not being permitted to serve, but paying a poll-tax instead. The army consisted of four classes of soldiers, each with a different obligation. A Mussulman had first to serve in the *nizam*, or active army, in which the infantry served for four years and the cavalry and artillery for five; he then passed into the *ithick* for two more years' service; from this he went into the *redif* for eight years, and then into the *mustaphiz* for six years. The army was divided into seven army corps, formed on a territorial basis: two of these were in Europe and five in Asia. The whole organisation of the Turkish army was very loose, but it was now in a better condition than usual, having been employed in 1875 and 1876 against Herzegovina and Montenegro. The soldiers were excellent, but their commanders were corrupt. They looked upon their commands merely as sources of income, and were given to peculation. They depended for their advancement, and even for the maintenance of their position, on Court intrigue; but, at the same time, the pashas were aware that if they did not do their duty they would inevitably lose their heads.

The Russian Commander.

The Russian army contained fourteen army corps, to which must be added a special corps of Bulgarian refugees, under Russian officers, so that the total force available at the beginning of the operations was about 200,000. It was commanded by the Grand Duke Nicholas, the brother of the Tsar, a man to whom the reorganisation of the army was principally due. His Chief of Staff was Nepokortshitzki, who was sometimes called "the Russian

Moltke." On April 18th the Roumanian army was mobilised for the first time in its history, and comprised 32,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 84 guns.

The Turkish Plan.

The chief command of the Turkish army was given to Abdul Kerim Pasha, who was seventy-one years of age and belonged to the old school. Maurice says of him that he thought slowly, spoke little, never set his foot to the ground, and hardly ever put his horse out of a walk. He had been educated in a military college in Vienna, had commanded the Turks in the war against Servia, but seldom left his house in Sofia. His second in command was Ahmed Eyoub Pasha, who was a born fighter but had had no scientific training as a soldier. Abdul Kerim had under his command an army of 170,000 men, in very scattered positions, and the Turks had another 150,000 still more widely dispersed in different parts of the Empire. There was a quadrilateral in Turkey, as there was in Venetia, consisting of the fortresses of Rustchuk, Schumla, Varna and Silistria, and Abdul Kerim's plan was to entice the Russians into it and destroy them; but the Russians were equally anxious to avoid the trap. On May 22nd Prince Charles of Roumania, with the consent of his Chambers, declared the country to be independent of the Porte, and, placing himself at the head of his army, marched into the field to fight against the Sultan who had been his suzerain. At the same time Russian troops crossed the Turkish frontiers into Asia, captured Bayazid without opposition, and stormed Ardahan on the upper waters of the Kur.

Russians Cross the Danube.

Between June 21st and 28th the Russians successfully crossed the Danube, partly by boat and partly by a pontoon bridge constructed not far from Galatz, and became masters of a number of important places in the Dobrudsha, while the Turks retreated to the Wall of Trajan, which extends from Tchernavoda to Kustendji. This passage of the river, which had been made with astonishing ease, cost the Russians only 800 men, and they thoroughly deserved the success which they had won. Their plans had been well thought out, and every precaution had been taken to mislead and deceive the enemy. When ready to strike, they had struck with energy and decision, whereas the Turks adopted a system of passive defence and waited for the blow to fall. The Turks ought, if they had desired to prevent the passage, to have guarded the river by constant patrolling and been prepared to concentrate at any point on which the attack might be made. Instead, they allowed themselves to be easily deceived by the adroitness of the enemy. The Turks had an overwhelm-

ing force of gunboats on the Danube, which proved to be of no service. There was no connection either between the different flotillas themselves or between the army and the navy, and this lack of understanding, enhanced probably by jealousy between the services, led to inaction and defeat.

The Tsar at Tirnova.

A last attempt was made by Russia to stop the war even at this stage by urging the British Cabinet to put pressure on the Turks to grant effective reforms in the Balkan Peninsula; but Sir Henry Layard, at this time British Ambassador at Constantinople, declared that the Porte would never consent to a course of action the result of which would be to change Bulgaria into an autonomous, although vassal State, to recognise the independence of Roumania and Servia, and to enlarge the territory of Montenegro. The Russians, therefore, were left to do the work by themselves. Towards the end of June their main army crossed the Danube at Simnitza and Sistova, and compelled the Turks to retreat, partly to Nikopolis and partly to Tirnova. The Tsar himself advanced to Tirnova, the administrative capital of the ancient Bulgarian kingdom, and from this centre of memories and hopes issued a manifesto to the Bulgarian Christians, telling them that the hour had come to free them from Mussulman tyranny.

Russians at the Shipka.

In the first days of July the Russians were in possession of all the country between Sistova and Gabrova at the foot of the Shipka Pass, so that the Grand Duke Nicholas could transfer his headquarters to Tirnova, and Prince Cherkaski, the well-known Slavophil, could begin the organisation of Bulgaria as an independent State. The Russians in Moscow thought the war would be a parallel in success to the Franco-German War of 1870, and that Bulgaria would be a new Alsace.[6] On July 16th, four days after the arrival of the main army at Tirnova, Nikopolis fell into Russian hands, and the attack on the Shipka Pass, the passage over the Balkans which opened the road to the valley of the Maritza and Constantinople, began under the direction of the gallant Gourko.

The Turks Evacuate the Shipka.

The pass was defended by Raouf Pasha, who placed his headquarters at Slivno and had at his disposal twenty-one battalions of infantry, twelve squadrons of cavalry, and two and a half batteries of artillery. On July 13th a small body of Cossacks and other troops crossed the summit, bivouacked on the southern slopes of the Balkans, and descended, next morning, into the beautiful valley of the Tundja. The drop from the summit of the pass to its foot is one of 3,000 feet in five miles, so that it was

necessary to dismount the greater part of the cavalry, and employ them in lowering the mountain-guns over the rocks and through thick brushwood. When the Turks knew that the pass was being attacked both from the north and the south, they determined to evacuate it, and Gourko's victorious cavalry took possession of Eski-Sagra, Karabunar and Jamboli till, on July 25th, they reached Harmanli, which lies between Adrianople and Philippopolis and encamped in the valley of the Maritza. It seemed as if the campaign would be over in a few weeks, and the Russians could march as conquerors into Constantinople. They were naturally seconded in their efforts by the Bulgarian Christians, who had many wrongs and insults to avenge.

Beaconsfield's Offer to Turkey.

It might have been thought that the Russian advance would be hailed with joy by all friends of liberty and progress throughout the world. But the members of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet were of a different opinion. They were full of dismay at the Russian success, and did not recognise the full evil and enormity of Turkish rule. They strengthened the British squadron in Besika Bay and offered to send ships into the Bosphorus or to occupy Gallipoli. But Turkey would not consent to this, except under an offensive and defensive alliance, and so far the Tories were not prepared to go. They would not make war against Russia unless Austria would join them. Andrassy thought it better policy to preserve the Triple Alliance, and an interview with Bismarck in Berlin confirmed him in this opinion.

Gladstone on the Position.

The view taken by the Liberals could not be better explained than in the magnificent speech made by Gladstone on May 7th, 1877. He said: "There were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high inspiration was entertained, or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned, to their favourite, their darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people who had built up for themselves a noble edifice would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy with regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—not a tradition which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the protection of these interests in strengthening the dictates of honour and justice." He added, in conclusion: "I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded; so far as human eyes can judge, it is about to be destroyed. Its destruction may not come in the

way or by the means which we should use, but, come from what hands it may, I am persuaded that it will be accepted as a boon by Christendom and the world."

Turkey's New Commander.

However, at this time the future of the Turkish arms began to brighten. It was recognised by the Turks that their disasters were due to the incompetence of their commanders and the inefficiency of the War Department in Constantinople. Abdul Kerim and Redif Pasha, the Minister of War, were accordingly dismissed from their offices and sent in banishment to the island of Lemnos, while Chalib Effendi, the new Sheik-ul-Islam, stirred the religious feelings of the Moslems and talked of proclaiming a holy war by unfurling the banner of the prophet. The command of the army on the Danube was given to Mehemet Ali Pasha, the descendant of a Huguenot family which had emigrated from France to Magdeburg, and Osman Pasha, who had been commandant of Widin, took up a strong position at Plevna with 30,000 men and surrounded it with earthworks. His army was gradually increased until it reached the number of 50,000.

Defence of Plevna.

The occupation of Plevna was of great importance, both to the Russians and the Turks. It is situated on the Vid, which is here 60 yards wide, and six roads radiating from it open communication with all parts of Bulgaria. Osman reached Plevna from Widin early on July 19th, having in six days and a half marched 110 miles through difficult country, his troops suffering much from heat and want of water. He was attacked by the Russians under Schildner-Schuldner on July 20th, but gained a complete victory. Indeed, if his soldiers had not been tired out by long marches and want of sleep, he would have entirely destroyed the enemy. The failure of the Russians was due to the fact that they underrated the strength of the foe. They threw themselves upon the Turkish earthworks without previous artillery fire or other preparation. They lost 74 officers and 2,771 men killed and wounded, the Turkish losses being slightly less.

Krüdener's Attack on Plevna.

Krüdener was now bidden drive back Osman at once, but he did not consider himself strong enough to attack. He was, however, overruled by the Grand Duke Nicholas, who ordered an immediate assault. Krüdener now commanded a force of about 25,000 men. It was decided to make the attack on July 30th, by two columns, one moving from the north-east and the other from the south-east, the general reserve in the rear forming a connecting link. The battle ended in total failure, Krüdener losing 168 officers and 7,167 men—nearly a quarter of his whole force. Osman had used up all his reserve during the battle, and had

no fresh troops to conduct a pursuit. Indeed, he was probably not aware of the extent of his victory, as darkness prevented him from seeing the disorder of the Russian retreat.

Russian Retreat.

When the news of the defeat reached Nikopolis and Sistova it created the utmost alarm. The report that the Turks were approaching caused a wild panic, the bridges at Sistova being blocked for hours by fugitive Bulgarians, who, along with wounded men and camp followers, sought the protection of the northern side of the river. If Osman had been in a condition to pursue, it is difficult to conjecture what the result would have been. The Grand Duke Nicholas was forced to retreat, and moved his head-quarters from Tirnova to Biela, and then to Gornia Studena, where he was joined by the Tsar. It is said that the Turks behaved in a barbarous manner towards the wounded Russians, although the Porte had acceded to the conditions of the Geneva Convention.

Ineffectual Attempts on Plevna.

The town of Plevna now occupied a place in the Russo-Turkish War similar to that which Metz had held in the war between France and Germany. Public feeling in St. Petersburg and Moscow was depressed, especially as telegraphic news from the seat of war was scanty and uncertain, and foreign newspapers were generally favourable to the Turks. It seemed undignified that the Tsar should be at headquarters without taking command of his army; and the Grand Duke Nicholas had not exhibited those abilities in the conduct of the war which were expected from him when he was appointed. Moreover, financial difficulties supervened, and paper-money sank in value. The Guard was withdrawn to the Danube and the reserves were called out, even though it was the time of harvest. Happily for the Russians, Osman made no attempt to advance, contenting himself with strengthening Plevna by a very large circuit of earthworks, and converting it into an impregnable fortress by numerous well-equipped batteries. On their side, the Russians brought new army corps into action and entered upon an alliance with the Roumanians to secure their help in their operations. Prince Charles placed himself at the head of his troops and took an active part in the various sanguinary attempts to drive the Turks out of Plevna. It became obvious to the Russian Government that the war must be pursued with energy, and that the Tsar must not return to his capital save as a conqueror. But, in spite of the brilliant capture of Lovcha by Skobelev, which formed a turning-point in the campaign, and the third battle of Plevna, fought on September 11th, 12th and 13th, which was mainly an

attack on the Grivitza redoubts, the siege of Plevna still continued. During these three days the Russians lost 300 officers and no fewer than 12,000 men killed and wounded, while the Turkish losses were not more than 3,000.

The War in Asiatic Turkey.

In the meantime the fire of war was raging in other places besides the Balkan Peninsula. In Armenia the Turks held their own, and successfully defended Kars and Batoum against the assaults of the enemy, and compelled General Tergukasov to evacuate Bayazid. He was, however, able to effect a masterly retreat to his own country, although his march was threatened by a Mohammedan rising in Abkhasia and Daghestan. The army of the Caucasus was not able to effect anything until it had received reinforcements in the late autumn. Then it was competent to defeat the Turks in a series of battles before Erzerum and storm the fortress of Kars, where 17,000 men, among whom were two pashas and 800 officers, as well as 300 guns and 20 banners, fell into their hands. The Grand Duke Michael, the Governor of Tiflis, was able to enter the city in triumph.

Capture of Nicsics.

Not had the Turks any success in Montenegro. Mehemet Ali and Suleiman Pasha attacked Prince Nikita from three sides, and did their utmost to crush the rebellion in the Black Mountain, but they met with serious defeats. On September 6th Nikita, who had been long blockading the fortress of Nicsics, compelled it to surrender, took the Duga forts, and turning towards the sea, occupied the port of Spizza and the defences of Antivari.

Fighting in the Shipka.

Bulgaria was the only portion of the theatre of war in which fortune smiled upon the Crescent. Here the Turks were able to drive the invaders back from their positions south of the Balkans. When Suleiman Pasha left Montenegro and, joining the troops of Raouf, marched into the valleys of the Tundja and the Maritza, Gourko was forced to abandon his position in Eski-Sagra, and retire with his cavalry to Kazanlik, and thence to the Shipka Pass. As the Russians retired, the Turks followed them, burning and wasting the country. Eski-Sagra and Kazanlik were given to the flames, and the inhabitants were murdered with indescribable horrors. Then Suleiman, with admirable strategy, placed his forty battalions right across the path of the Russians and barred their further advance; but he could not drive them from their entrenchments, and they became again masters of the summit of the pass. The struggle continued for weeks. Both sides fought with the utmost energy, and the losses on both sides were very great, but the Russians were still masters of the pass at the end of the year.

POSITION OF PLEVNA

Mehemet Ali Recalled.

In northern Bulgaria the fortunes of war wavered on the Lom and the Jantra, inclining now to one side, now to the other. Mehemet Ali, the Franco-German, whose real name was Charles Detroit, held his own against the foe with the army of the Danube, but could not drive the Russians across the river. The fact was, he had completely lost heart. He could not trust his subordinates, and knew that intrigues against him were rife at Constantinople, where the party of Suleiman were gaining the upper hand. Every pasha in the army had some friend at Court, who kept him informed of what was going on, and when they knew that Mehemet was declining in favour they became insubordinate and rendered effective command of the army impossible. At last the expected blow fell. On October 2nd Suleiman arrived on the field with an order from the Sultan giving him the chief command, and Mehemet Ali was recalled to Constantinople. Suleiman was not, however, more successful here than he had been in his other enterprise, and the Russians still held their own on the Lom and the Jantra.

Todleben's Appointment.

A radical change now took place in the fortunes of the siege of Plevna. Todleben, who had won unspeakable glory at Sebastopol, was recalled from the retirement into which he had been forced by the jealousy of the Slavs against a German to conduct the blockade of Plevna. Prince Charles of Roumania still remained in nominal charge of the western army, but the conduct of operations was left entirely to Todleben. He effected reforms in the command of the army: Skobelev was placed at the head of the sixteenth division, and Gourko was given control of all the cavalry of the western army. In order to raise the spirits and strengthen the moral tone of the men, a large number of promotions and decorations were distributed amongst those who had distinguished themselves.

Osman's Preparations.

Osman, on his side, was not less busy with arrangements for provisioning Plevna, and repairing the losses the troops had suffered. He saw that the object of the Russians was to cut his communications and establish a complete blockade, and therefore he utilised every opportunity to obtain food and forage. But he knew that his position was hopeless, and that if he remained at Plevna he would be either starved out or captured by an overwhelming force. It was almost impossible to preserve his connection with Sofia, and therefore he asked permission to fall back on the Etropol Balkans, where he would be able to manœuvre with freedom. But he received the answer, dictated by an ignorance of the situation and the art of war, that Plevna must

be held at all costs. It was not seen that Plevna was important only so far as it was a danger to the Russian communications, but that as soon as the investment was complete it would cease to effect these ends. The Sultan thought that Plevna had become a watchword of Turkish success in the eyes of Europe, and must, therefore, be held to the last.

Plevna Invested.

On the other hand, Todleben determined that no further attack should be made on the fortifications of Plevna, but that recourse should be had to blockade alone. For this purpose it was essential that he should receive every available man. The first necessary step was to cut communication between Plevna and Sofia, and to occupy the left bank of the Vid. This was committed to the competent hands of Gourko, who succeeded in effecting his object on November 1st. A week later Skobelev occupied the Green Hill to the south of the town, and thus rendered the investment of the doomed fortress closer still.

Osman's Desperate Resolve.

Indeed, matters were becoming desperate. In the middle of November it was necessary to put the beleaguered soldiers on half rations, and even this had to be reduced. By November 27th Osman came to the conclusion that his supplies would not last much more than a fortnight. There was no forage for the animals, no medicine or bandages for the sick and wounded; the men's clothing was in rags; there was barely sufficient food for cooking; and the cold was intense. Osman heard of no preparations for his relief; therefore, on December 1st, he summoned a council of war, at which it was determined that an attempt should be made to break through the lines of investment. The only side open to him was the west. In this direction he might hope to reach the Isker in one march, and then occupy Sofia and come into touch with the relieving army which was assembling in the Etropol Balkans. He resolved to move at the end of the first week in December.

Suleiman's Dilatoriness.

Suleiman Pasha, who commanded the relieving force, had earned a great reputation by the rapidity and skill with which he had transferred his forces from Montenegro to Roumelia. But the command of the armies of the quadrilateral demanded qualities which he did not possess. His subordinates intrigued against each other and against him, and he was obliged to employ a large portion of his army in garrison duty. It was, therefore, some time before he could organise an attacking force such as could deliver a rapid and decisive blow against the enemy. He had an army of 14,000 men at Rustchuk, a field army of 40,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 111 guns, about 15,000 men at Eski-

Djuma, 5,000 men at Osman Bazar, and about 30,000 men in other garrisons. He spent the whole of October and the greater part of November in comparative inactivity; but towards the end of the latter month he was positively ordered to relieve Osman Pasha. He determined to attack the left flank of the Tsarevitch, who commanded the Russian forces, and destroy the bridge across the Danube which the Russians had constructed and which kept up their communications with Roumania. The attack entirely failed, the Turks losing some 1,200 men, the Russians about 700. Although Suleiman could have disposed of 75,000 men, yet he only employed 25,000 for the attack, and the rest of his army was scarcely used at all. His operations showed no improvement in arrangement and cohesion.

Suleiman's Vain Effort.

Having failed in his attempt to attack the left of the Tsarevitch, Suleiman now turned his attention to his right, and for this purpose collected about 30,000 men. He seized Elena and Slataritza and prepared to attack Tirnova; had he succeeded in capturing this position, the Russians would probably have been compelled to abandon the siege of Plevna. But he failed at the critical moment, and the opportunity was lost. The Russians regained the places they had lost, and the expedition collapsed. The capture of Elena, however, was a masterly proceeding, and if Suleiman had persevered in his efforts on December 5th he would have been able to seize Tirnova.

Mehemet Ali's Attempt to Relieve Plevna.

Another attempt to relieve Plevna was made by assembling a force at Sofia under Mehemet Ali. He had returned to Constantinople after handing his army over to Suleiman, as we have seen, and was then directed to organise an army for the relief of Osman. He got together about 30,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 36 guns, his reserve being placed under the orders of an Englishman, Valentine Baker, who had adhered closely to his fortunes. But his army had great elements of weakness; his arrangements for supply and transport were very defective, and there was little concentration or solidarity in the force under his command.

Gourko's Activity.

In the meantime Gourko had been very active. He recognised that he could not achieve success by occupying a purely defensive position, but that he must drive the Turks into western Bulgaria, south of the Balkans, and, if possible, secure the passes through them. Mehemet knew that he was not strong enough to meet Gourko in the open field, and contented himself with occupying the Balkan provinces for defence, making no serious effort to oppose the Russian advance in those districts which

commanded the issues from Sofia into western Bulgaria. This showed that he had no immediate intention of relieving Osman, and that he must confine himself to covering Sofia. Gourko, however, pressed on, seized the northern end of the passes which led to Sofia, and held them, while Mehemet Ali was recalled to Constantinople to prepare for the defence of the capital.

Fall of Plevna.

We must now return to Osman. As we have already said, he had decided to begin his sorties on the night of December 9th, a night on which the Turkish works were covered with a thick fog, which enabled him to evacuate his position unobserved by the Russians. He had gradually slackened his fire during the three previous days, and entirely suspended it during the fourth, in order that the suspicions of the Russians might not be roused by any sudden cessation of the cannonade. His first division had crossed the Vid at 5 a.m. on December 10th, but the convoy which followed it consisted of 1,000 vehicles and 3,000 pack animals, and before half of it had got over, the Russians opened fire on the crowded and encumbered bridge, and the presence of 150 Mohammedan families with their goods and chattels added to the confusion. The Turks found themselves exposed to a heavy artillery fire, both from the front and from enfilading batteries, so that the first division could not remain where it was, and the second division had not begun to cross the Vid. Osman determined, therefore, to attack the Russian front, from which the artillery fire proceeded. The attack, however, being delivered across the open against a strongly entrenched position, failed, and Osman himself was wounded. The position of the first division grew desperate, and the second division did not appear. Shortly after noon the major part of the Turkish force found itself hemmed in between the Goritza and the Vid; and Osman, finding further resistance useless, surrendered unconditionally with his whole army. This disaster was produced by the fatal decision of the Sultan not to permit the evacuation of Plevna in October. Osman had done his work well, and if in August there had been a Turkish general able to take advantage of the situation, the defeat of the Russian armies would have been assured. Osman, by his march from Widin, had nearly ruined the power of the Tsar, but the opportunity was lost. Osman's heroic defence had lasted six months, to the admiration of the world, and when the Tsar rode into the conquered city on the following day, at the side of his brother Nicholas—who had said to Osman, after the surrender, "It is one of the most splendid military events in history"—he returned

his sword to the wounded hero and assigned him Charchov as a place of imprisonment.

The Turks Scattered.

The fate of Plevna practically brought the whole campaign to an end. By the capture of Osman's army the whole of Bulgaria north of the Balkans and west of the Kara Lom, with the exception of Widin, was cleared of the Turks, the Russians being in possession of the principal passes across the Balkans, excepting their southern ends. It was decided to proceed with a winter campaign. Gourko's force was raised to 80,000 men, and Radetzky's to 70,000 at the Shipka Pass. On January 4th, 1878, Sofia was occupied by the Russians without opposition; and on January 9th, by Skobelev's advance over the Shipka Pass, the Turks were surrounded and 30,000 men surrendered. Suleiman was preparing to oppose Gourko's advance between Philippopolis and Sofia when he heard of the surrender of Shipka. He retired upon Adrianople, but, finding that he could not reach that city before Radetzky, took refuge in Macedonia, leaving a rearguard under the command of Fuad Pasha. Fuad detained Gourko for three days near Philippopolis, but was finally driven into the mountains. The remains of Suleiman's army were collected on the coast and taken to Constantinople by sea. The Russians occupied Adrianople on January 22nd, without opposition, and on the last day of the month an armistice was signed which led to the Treaty of San Stefano.

Turkey's Appeal to Britain.

In the middle of December Servia began to join in the war, and attacked Nish and Pirot in the south and Widin in the east. The Greeks were forced to defend their frontiers against the wild Tcherkesses, whom the Turks were unable to restrain. The latter were reduced to the last extremity, and there was a chance at last of their meeting with a fit punishment for their prolonged career of crime, but they addressed a circular to the Powers asking for intervention. Abdul Hamid wrote a personal appeal to Queen Victoria, which, to the disgrace of Great Britain, met with a favourable response. British traditional policy had always been to oppose Russia and support Turkey, a policy which is now considered to have been a serious error. It was imagined that the aggrandisement of Russia implied danger to India, whereas wise statesmen ought to have seen that by depriving Russia of her natural growth towards the Mediterranean, and forcing her to Eastern conquest, instead of recognising her as the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire, they were compelling her to adopt a system of expansion which threatened to pass the barrier of the Himalaya.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

British and Austrian Jealousy of Russia.

GREAT BRITAIN and Austria had been waiting at the doors of the congress house in the village of San Stefano in order to destroy the treaty between Russia and the Porte so soon as it was concluded. Jealousy and vindictiveness had been roused by the victories of Russia, and the two Powers had no doubt that the conditions of peace would be such as to excuse their passions and raise them to a higher pitch. Sincere, therefore, was the surprise at the moderation of the terms proposed; but Great Britain, at least, refused to be pacified, and the warlike spirit she had so laboriously evoked had got beyond her control. A council of the Crown had met in Vienna on February 24th, at which Andrassy had asked for a credit of 60,000,000 gulden, which was granted by the delegates on March 21st. This was rather with the view of lending emphasis to the policy of Austria than as a war loan. Indeed, the Minister announced that, in his opinion, the outstanding questions could be settled without war; he had no objections to the proposals about Bosnia and Herzegovina, but felt that he could not permit the creation of a large Bulgaria. Indeed, Ignatiev, the author of the treaty, took pains to spare the susceptibilities of Austria by giving her a means of control on the west similar to that which Russia was reserving for herself on the east.

Britain's Attitude.

But the attitude of Great Britain was very different. As we have already said, she clung closely to the arrangements of Paris in 1856, and demanded that the whole of the treaty should be submitted to the arbitrament of Europe. The Ministry obtained from Parliament a credit of £6,000,000, preparations for war were pursued with vigour, the reserves were called out, and the unusual step was taken of summoning Indian troops for active service in Europe, a measure of very doubtful legality. Lord Stanley was placed at the War Office, and Gathorne Hardy took the seals of the India Office, which had been left vacant by the transference of Lord Salisbury to the Foreign Office.

A circular note of the new Foreign Secretary, dated April 1st, 1878, explained Great Britain's position. He said that it had

been recognised by the European Powers, including Russia, in the London Protocol of 1871, that no Power should set itself free from the obligation of a treaty, or alter its terms, without the consent of the other signatory Powers after a mutual exchange of views. The Treaty of San Stefano affected all the nations of south-eastern Europe; the creation of a large Bulgaria called into existence a powerful Slavonic State, under the auspices and control of Russia, on the shores of the Black Sea, and gave it the possession of a port on the Ægean, which would secure to it a powerful influence, both political and commercial, over both waters. It was so composed that it would contain a considerable number of Greeks, and the first rulers of the new State would be appointed by Russian influence and be supported by a Russian army. The separation of Constantinople from the Greek, Albanian and Slavic provinces, which still belonged to Turkey, would cause great difficulties of administration, and threaten a condition of anarchy. The taking away of Bessarabia from Roumania, the extension of Bulgaria to the shores of the Black Sea, which were chiefly inhabited by Russians and Greeks, and the acquisition of the harbour of Batoum would make Russia the predominant Power in these regions. Her influence would be further extended by the possession of the Armenian fortresses, and the trade which at that time existed between Trebizond and Persia would be seriously hindered by the prohibitive policy of Russia. The circular attacked other conditions of the treaty, especially the war indemnity to be paid by Turkey, declared that the general effect of the settlement was injurious to the peace of Europe, and demanded the serious attention of the Powers. Great Britain would have no objection to take part in a congress in which the whole matter could be discussed.

A Discreditable Event.

This manifesto, based upon ignorance and prejudice, is a discreditable event in British history. As we have said, the map of the Balkan Peninsula distributed to members of Parliament was of a mendacious character. Reference to authoritative sources, such as Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, would have shown that the Bulgarians were the predominant Power in the peninsula and that the Greeks had no claim to consideration. Salisbury knew little or nothing about Bulgarian history, or the conditions on which alone a stable government could be erected. This circular rested on the mischievous attitude assumed by Beaconsfield at the outset of his Ministry, when he was in dire need of a policy. Salisbury admitted afterwards that he was wrong; but it is a poor reparation for a disastrous error to say some years

afterwards that you "put your money on the wrong horse." Salisbury's dispatch was replied to by Gortshakov on April 9th, in a document of moderate temper, full of sound argument and accurate knowledge, which was not listened to by the Jingo party.

Indian Troops at Malta.

At the end of April and the beginning of May, 7,000 Indian troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery and sappers, were shipped from Bombay to Malta, and on May 13th the Queen held a review at Aldershot, and the world was given to understand that Great Britain could dispose of 70,000 European troops. Russia made some counter-preparations on her side, but it was doubtful whether she was in a condition to maintain a war against Great Britain, which would probably not have to fight alone. The command of her army was given to Todleben, who had returned from St. Petersburg, and Imershinsky was made Chief of the Staff.

Russian Preparations.

The condition of the Russian army in the Balkans was very bad; the soldiers were corrupted by sickness, drunkenness and lack of discipline; the earthworks were neglected; and effective measures were needed to remedy these evils. The Russians received reinforcements, as well as the artillery which had been left behind in Roumania. Efforts were made to create a fleet by the purchase of ships in America, which might harass British commerce, and steps, which afterwards produced disastrous consequences, were taken to weaken the British Empire in India.

Epidemic of Typhus.

The state of things in the Balkan Peninsula got worse and worse. Risings against the Turks took place in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Crete, the Rhodope Mountains and Bosnia. The prisoners taken at Plevna had produced an outbreak of typhus in Roumania and Russia. In St. Petersburg, in March, there were no fewer than 3,747 cases of this disease. The malady even affected the doctors, of whom about 100 died, and nearly 400 were attacked by the poison. The Russian Governor of Adrianople was carried off by the plague. In May there were 70,000 men in hospital suffering from typhus and other diseases. A medical report stated that, from April 1st, 1877, to October 1st, 1878, whereas only 3,900 men of the Caucasian army had perished in the field, 9,871 had died of disease. Things in Constantinople were no better, the mosques and other public buildings being crowded with fugitives.

Bismarck and the Conference.

Bismarck was lying ill at his country house at Friedrichsruhe when the proposal for a congress of the Great Powers reached him in the spring of 1878. He did not, however, refuse to engage in it, partly from the desire that Germany should bear an honourable part in the conclusion of peace, partly from his

personal regard for Alexander II., and partly from an awakening of the old friendship between Germany and Russia, and declared that he was willing to undertake the office of mediator if asked to do so by Great Britain and Austria. On May 7th Skobelev, who was Russian Ambassador at London, and was very anxious for peace, travelled to St. Petersburg, visiting Bismarck both on the outward and the homeward journey. He returned to London on May 21st and signed, with Salisbury, an agreement on May 30th, which settled most of the points in dispute between the two countries. The points which it contained had reference to the extent of the new Bulgaria, to its division into two parts, one north, one south of the Balkans, one to be under the rule of a prince, the other under a Christian governor, appointed with the consent of the Powers for a period of five or ten years, with a large administrative independence, the Turkish troops being withdrawn from this province. Other subjects connected with Russian influence in Asia were touched upon in this lengthy document, which showed that the two contending Powers were able to come together without being absolutely of the same mind.

Cyprus as a British Possession.

At the same time it was announced that Cyprus had been ceded to Great Britain by the Porte, Turkey remaining the suzerain Power and a tribute being paid to her. It was intended that this tribute should represent the profit which the Turkish Government made out of the island, but it now stands at an unreasonable amount, and the Cypriotes complain with reason of the sacrifices they have to make to produce a large sum which does not benefit them in the slightest degree. The fixing of this tribute was settled at Constantinople by a commission, of which Sir Robert Biddulph, afterwards Governor of Cyprus, was a prominent member. The amount was fixed at £96,000, and included a large revenue derived from the Turkish Government through the sale of salt. But as soon as the convention was concluded the Turks prohibited the importation of salt from Cyprus at any of their ports, so that the island was encumbered with unsaleable salt. Another reason for fixing this tribute at so high a figure was that Great Britain had guaranteed the interest of a loan contracted by Turkey in the Crimean War, and the British Government thought that this was a convenient way of finding the money, so that Cyprus not only pays tribute, but suffers for the faults of her rulers. It is not easy to see why Lord Beaconsfield thought it worth while to acquire Cyprus. There may have been some idea of setting to Turkey the example of a well-governed community close to her own shores, but when,

in 1910, forty corpses of murdered Armenians were thrown up by the sea on the southern coast of the island, some of them those of little girls with their throats cut, it was too abominably evident that the example had been of little value. A more probable explanation is to be found in the romantic temper of Lord Beaconsfield and the recollections of his early travels in the East.

Bismarck as the "Honest Broker."

On June 4th, 1878, a defensive alliance was signed between Sir Henry Layard and Safvet Pasha, providing that Great Britain should engage to assist Turkey in the event of any illegal aggressions on the part of Russia, and that the Sultan in return should promise to introduce reforms in the administration of the provinces with regard to Christians and the other inhabitants. A curious condition was added that if, at any time, Russia should surrender Kars and the other conquests which she had made in Armenia, Great Britain should restore Cyprus to its former owners. Bismarck was now in a position to accept the official invitation to the congress, which was to open at Berlin on June 13th. He did this in a manner to conciliate all antagonisms, describing himself as an "honest broker," and, while not neglecting the interest of his own country, he gained golden opinions by the skilful manner in which he averted impending war. This momentous congress was composed as follows: Germany was represented by Bismarck, Bülow, and the German Ambassador in Paris, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst; Andrassy, Karolyi and Haymerle stood for Austria; of the representatives of France, Waddington was the most important; Great Britain had Beaconsfield, Salisbury and Odo Russell; Italy, Corti and De Launay; Russia, Gortshakov, Skobelev and Ombril; Turkey, Karatheodori Pasha, Mehemet Ali and Sedulah Bey. Bismarck was unanimously chosen president.

The Congress and Bulgaria.

The first sitting of the congress was devoted to the affairs of Bulgaria. They were settled, not without considerable difficulty, by compromises arranged outside of the congress room. At the fourth sitting Salisbury proposed that the Balkans should be the southern boundary of the new province, and that the province south of the Balkans should bear the name of Eastern Roumelia; but the important concession was made that the sanjak of Sofia, which lay south of the Balkans, should be given to Bulgaria for strategical reasons, in exchange for Varna, which remained in the hands of the Turks. Eastern Roumelia was to remain under the direct political and military control of the Sultan. Bulgaria was to be formed into an autonomous but tributary State, with a Christian government and a national militia, its frontiers fixed

on the spot by a European Commission. The Prince was to be elected by the people and confirmed by the Porte with the consent of the Powers, but no member of the reigning families of the great Powers was eligible. Preparations for the election were to be made by an assembly of notables at Tirnova. There was to be complete religious toleration and equality with regard to the exercise of political and other rights. Until the election of the Prince, the government was to be placed in the hands of a Russian Commission, assisted by a Turkish commissary and the consuls of the Powers, but this state of things was only to last nine months. The Turkish army was to leave the new principality within a year, all fortresses in existence were to be razed, and no new ones were to be erected.

Eastern Roumelia Settlement.

Eastern Roumelia was to possess administrative autonomy, but to remain under the political and military control of the Sultan. The Sultan might construct fortresses for the defence of the Province, order was to be preserved by an international gendarmerie and a local militia, the officers to be appointed by the Sultan, but no Bashi-Bazouks or Tcherkesses were to be admitted to the frontier garrisons, nor were troops to be billeted on the inhabitants. The Governor had the right of summoning Turkish soldiers to his assistance if necessary, but for giving consent to this measure the Porte was answerable to the Powers. The Governor was nominated by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers, for five years. Until matters were definitely settled in the two provinces, they might be occupied by a Russian garrison, consisting of six divisions of infantry and two of cavalry; but the whole number was not to exceed 50,000 men, the cost of their maintenance being borne by the country they occupied.

Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The settlement of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia occupied the congress from June 17th to June 26th, but other questions remained for discussion which concerned Bosnia, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, the Danube, the Straits, and the war indemnity. The question of Bosnia and Herzegovina was taken in hand at the eighth sitting, and was a matter in which Austria was particularly interested. It originated in disturbances which had arisen in these countries, and the ill-feeling between Christians and Mohammedans was by no means allayed. Turkey was powerless to restore order; at least 200,000 inhabitants had left the country, and Austria had spent in the last three years at least 2,000,000 gulden in their maintenance. Lord Salisbury proposed that the occupation and government of Bosnia and

Herzegovina should be entrusted to Austria. This was supported by Bismarck, but strongly opposed by Karatheodori Pasha, upon which Bismarck emphatically reminded the representatives of Turkey that the congress had not met to preserve the integrity of the Turkish frontier, but to safeguard the future peace of Europe. The only alternative to the conclusions of the congress was the Treaty of San Stefano, and Eastern Roumelia was far better worth having than Bosnia. The Turks yielded, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were secured to Austria, with the exception of the sanjak of Novi Bazar, which was retained by Turkey.

Servian Independence.

Servia became independent, under the conditions of absolute religious equality, responsibility for portion of the Turkish debt, and an extension of territory which increased the population by 506,934 inhabitants.

The Danube.

The traveller arriving at Orsova after a night journey from Buda Pest finds himself in a new world. In front are the hills of Servia, to his left the Carpathians of Roumania, while the noble Danube is divided by the little Turkish island which diplomacy has been obliged to leave in the hands of that Power. Up the stream is the defile of Kazan, with the proud inscription of Trajan and the remains of his road, and down the stream is the passage of the Iron Gate, now free from rocks and available for traffic, one of the most beneficent acts of the Treaty of Berlin; but the current of the Danube is still so strong that the steamer which threads its rapids in three minutes on its downward course takes twenty minutes to accomplish the ascent. A little way below are the remains of Trajan's bridge. The day may come when this exulting and abounding river may bear upon its waters a similar traffic to that which makes the Rhine so interesting to the thoughtful traveller, though it may also have become less attractive to the artist.

Greece and Roumania.

Two representatives of Greece, Delyannis and Rangabé, were admitted to the ninth sitting, at which they proposed the annexation of Crete and a rectification of their northern frontier. After some discussion the representatives of Roumania were allowed to attend the tenth meeting of the congress, held on July 1st. The burning question was the cession of Bessarabia to Russia. Greece was not treated so well, and the frontier disputes between herself and Turkey were not settled till 1881, when she received a slight readjustment of her northern frontiers. Crete belongs by every right to Greece, and would have been annexed to her territory when her kingdom was constituted had it not been for the prejudice and obstinacy of Wellington; but it was left in

the hands of the Porte, with the usual promise of reform, readily given because never meant to be kept.

Montenegro was declared independent under the condition of absolute religious equality. She received an accession of territory, which contained about 50,000 inhabitants and included the important harbour of Antivari, which was a necessity to her existence. Dulcigno was given to Turkey, Spizza to Dalmatia. Montenegro obtained the right to navigate the shores of the Adriatic, but might not keep ships of war or have a war flag. Antivari and, indeed, all Roumanian waters were closed to warships of all nations. The martial policing of Montenegro was to be exercised by Austria, and Austrian consuls were to protect Roumanian commerce. Montenegro took upon herself responsibility for a certain amount of the Montenegrin debt.

Montenegro Declared Independent.

July 6th was occupied by a very important session, in which the relations of Russia to her Asiatic conquests were discussed. Here Russia and Great Britain found themselves in direct opposition, Russia claiming accessions of territory as part payment of the war indemnity, Great Britain, with her antiquated, narrow-minded policy, doing her best to retain all she could in the demoralising and corrupting hands of Turkey. Bismarck had great difficulties in keeping the peace, and it is said that Beaconsfield had a special train waiting for him in the station, ready to depart for England if matters did not turn out in accordance with his wishes. Happily the controversies were arranged, and Gortshakov gave utterance to his views on the arrangement in language which it is worth while to reproduce.

Differences at the Congress.

"Thanks," he remarked, "to the spirit of conciliation and reciprocal concessions, of which I can conscientiously claim a large part for Russia, the work of the congress has moved to its end, that of a peace which is in the interests of the whole of Europe, and which will be worthy of the eminent men assembled at Berlin. Two days' sitting has been devoted to a question, the solution of which has been found to be an equitable arrangement, removed from petty passions, which will crown the work which we have in hand. We make the concession of Erzerum, of Bayazid and of the valley of Alaskand, those two last points covering the passage of caravans and the principal commercial route into Persia. I am also authorised to declare that my illustrious master is disposed, in his Sovereign power, to declare Batoum a free port, a concession to the material interests of all commercial nations, and especially of Great Britain, which has the largest commerce in the world. In conclusion, I must express the hope

Gortshakov on the Settlements.

that, in the sitting of to-day, we shall have made an immense step towards the exalted object of our meeting."

Mutual Concessions.

This statement of the Russian representative was received with applause, begun by Bismarck and continued by Salisbury. It was then officially announced that the Porte surrendered to Russia in Asia the territories of Arabashan, Kars and Batoum, with its harbours, while the Tsar's offer to make Batoum a free commercial port was gratefully accepted.

The Final Sitting.

On July 23rd the twentieth and last sitting of the congress was held. Andrassy solemnly thanked Bismarck for the untiring energy with which he had conducted the business of the congress, and expressed the hope that its work might be lasting, and that the friendly relations between the Powers might strengthen and confirm the general feeling of friendship which existed between the Governments that had taken part in it.

A Curious Story of a Map.

The effect of the Treaty of Berlin has certainly not tended to increase the influence of Russia in the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgaria has proved rather a barrier to Russian progress than a door, while Roumania has flourished under a German Prince. There is no reason to believe that the Treaty of San Stefano, had it been duly sanctioned, would have been any more favourable to Russian ambition, whereas, in many respects, it would have been a better and more durable arrangement than the Treaty of Berlin. Still, the occasion was very dramatic, for the meeting of such remarkable personages as Beaconsfield and Bismarck lent distinction to any assembly. It was said by some that Beaconsfield was the most remarkable figure at the congress, because he had the force of Great Britain at his back. A strange story is also told about the concessions made by Russia. It is alleged that Gortshakov had brought with him from St. Petersburg a map on which was carefully marked the utmost territory which Russia would ask for, and the least which she would accept, and that when the British plenipotentiaries asked for a map to give them information about countries with which they were very little acquainted, this map was lent to them by Gortshakov. Their task, therefore, became easy, as they had nothing to do but ask for what they knew the Russians were willing to surrender.

"Peace with Honour."

Beaconsfield and Salisbury returned to London on July 16th, when the Treaty of Berlin was laid before Parliament. They were received with tumultuous rejoicings, and Beaconsfield made a speech to the crowd, telling them that he brought back "peace with honour," a somewhat exaggerated statement of the case. In his speech in the House of Lords he apologised for having

ceded Sofia, which was south of the Balkans, to Bulgaria, but asserted that between Sofia and the valley of the Maritza lay the watershed of the Ikhtiman Pass, and that this was entirely in the possession of Eastern Roumelia. He ought to have known that the Ikhtiman Pass was no barrier at all to anyone attacking Adrianople from Sofia, and that not only was the pass itself given to Bulgaria by the treaty, but that the town of Ikhtiman was never evacuated by Bulgarian soldiers. He went on to speak of Greece as an interesting country with a future, which could afford to wait. With such levity and lack of knowledge were such momentous interests treated that letters in the public press drawing attention to misstatements passed entirely without notice.

Gladstone on the Treaty.

Gladstone's criticism of this treaty was pronounced on July 30th. He pointed out that Servia, Montenegro and Roumania, which made war upon Turkey in reliance upon Russia, were rewarded with independence and an increase of territory, while Greece, which kept quiet and trusted Great Britain, received nothing. The action of the congress, which was to deal with the Treaty of San Stefano as a whole, was invalidated by the agreement with Russia and the Anglo-Turkish Convention which preceded it. The convention was an abuse of the prerogative of the Crown, made behind the back of Parliament. By it Great Britain had rendered herself responsible for Turkish policy, Turkish judicature, and Turkish finance, and for the corruption which paralysed them.

Beaconsfield's Lost Opportunity.

But this weighty indictment did not prevent the two Ministers from being the heroes of the hour, from receiving the freedom of the City of London, and from paying a tribute to the character of the Sultan, who had imposed a charge of £2,500,000 upon the nation as the cost of a policy which is now universally repudiated. With all his claims to be the champion of Imperialism, Beaconsfield threw away at Berlin the chance of acquiring Egypt, which was offered to him by Bismarck, not as plunder of the Turks, but in the best interests of Europe. The Minister refused it on the ground that it would violate the principle of the integrity of the Turkish Empire. There is no stronger condemnation of his policy than the condition of Egypt under British rule at the present time. To pass from Syria to Egypt is to pass from barbarism to civilisation. The foundations of civilisation are the security of life and property, but under Turkish rule it is dangerous to walk alone at night in the streets of Beyrout, Haifa or Jaffa, and to exhibit any signs of wealth is a direct incentive to its being taken

forcibly from you. In Cairo and Alexandria an English lady may go anywhere without being molested, and the magnificent palaces of pashas which fill the streets testify to the security with which wealth may be acquired and displayed.

Failure of the Treaty.

If we look back over the years that have passed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin we see that it has not settled the question which calls for settlement now as it did then, and which can only be solved by the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It has not secured the peace of the Balkan Peninsula nor the proper treatment of the Christians whom it left under Turkish rule. It has been violated by almost every Power that signed it, among others by Turkey, Russia, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Two wars have followed it, neither of which need have taken place had the Treaty of San Stefano been adopted. Its effect has not been wholly bad, because some portions of the earth's surface, such as Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria are better off than before; but this was due to Russian self-sacrifice rather than to British diplomacy. The whole story of the treaty enforces the melancholy reflection that the world, after all, is governed with very little wisdom.

CHAPTER V

DISRAELI'S MINISTRY—1874-80

IN the second Ministry of Disraeli the Conservatives found themselves in office, but not in power. Probably they had been returned because the country felt that it needed rest after a long period of legislative activity; all political energy is followed by an interval of repose, if not of reaction. The leaders of commerce, who had been on the Liberal side since the time of Lord Liverpool, were becoming Conservative from fear of the support given by the Liberals to trade unions and the working man. Beaconsfield was looked upon by the solid mercantile interests as their protector against adventurous innovation—a strange fate to befall a Jew, the Young Englander of the 'forties and the author of brilliant novels.

Conservatism and Commerce.

The Queen's commands to form a Ministry were given to Disraeli on February 18th, 1874, and he had no difficulty in doing so. Lord Cairns, a dignified and even majestic lawyer, who was something also of a statesman, was made Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Richmond, a respected peer of moderate ability, was President of the Council and leader of the House of Lords; Lord Derby was Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Salisbury took the India Office; Lord Carnarvon, a distinguished scholar and man of letters, watched over the Colonies; Sir Stafford Northcote, who had been trained in the school of Gladstone, became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Gathorne Hardy was Secretary of War; and Lord John Manners, afterwards Duke of Rutland, who had been, with Disraeli, one of the leaders of the Young England party, was made Postmaster-General. The Home Office was given to Richard Assheton Cross, an excellent man of business, who looked after the Queen's money affairs with singular tact and judgment; and William Henry Smith, the creator of the railway bookstall business, famous for good sense and integrity, was made Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

Disraeli's Cabinet.

This powerful Ministry was confronted with a weak Opposition, who were dissatisfied with themselves. The Nonconformists, who were the great support of the Liberal Party, disliked the Education Act, and the trade unions desired the repeal of

Lord Aberdeen's Act against conspiracy. Many Liberals could not forgive Gladstone for his sudden dissolution of Parliament, which took them by surprise, when they thought that they ought to have been consulted, and cost many of them their seats. If he had such faith in the virtues of his promised budget, he ought, the dissentients urged, to have had the courage to produce it. Gladstone was also himself weary of discussions, which he had so much difficulty in controlling, and wished to resign the leadership of his party, but offered to retain the post for a year, on the condition that he should attend the House only when it suited his convenience, and this arrangement was accepted. The consequence was that the session of 1874 passed quietly. Brand was re-elected Speaker, and the only measure mentioned in the Queen's Speech was one to amend the Licensing Act of 1872.

Stafford Northcote's Budget.

Much interest was felt among Gladstone's friends as to what Stafford Northcote would do with the budget. Gladstone's splendid finance gave the incoming Government a surplus of £6,000,000, and the new Chancellor took the opportunity of taking a penny off the income tax and abolishing the duty on sugar. Gladstone had promised, if returned to power, to abolish the income tax altogether. Northcote reduced it to twopence, a sum which Gladstone always affirmed was not worth collecting; but of course, in the circumstances, to abolish it altogether was impossible.

Butt and Home Rule.

Home Rule for Ireland, which was to occupy a foremost place in British politics for many years to come, now began to make its appearance. Isaac Butt, who brought forward an annual motion in its favour, was now given two nights to debate the subject, and was found to have fifty-eight Irish members—more than half the members for Ireland—on his side, a significant fact as a prelude to the time when the Irish demand for Home Rule would become almost unanimous. A Church Patronage Bill for Scotland, to abolish private patronage for livings in that country, was passed, notwithstanding Gladstone's opposition. The powers of the Endowed Schools Committee, from which England might have expected an organised system of secondary education, were transferred to the Charity Commissioners, certainly a retrograde step, as it slackened the spirit of reform; but other provisions of a sectarian character were happily averted.

Gladstone's Retirement.

The Public Worship Regulation Act, which established a new court for dealing with refractory clergymen, was an attempt to arrest the advance of Ritualism. It was vigorously opposed by Gladstone, who was a strong High Churchman. Freedom, he

urged, was better than discipline; leaden uniformity was spiritual death. Parliament should never forget the services of the clergy in an age which was, beyond all others, luxurious, selfish and worldly. He proposed an alternative to the measure, but he met with no support. This, however, was his last conflict, and in the first weeks of 1875 he retired from the leadership of the Liberal Party, against the wishes of his wife and of the majority of his friends. He desired, he said, to place a quiet interval between Parliament and the grave. But who was to be his successor? The choice lay between Lord Hartington and Forster. Hartington was chosen, and thus began a career, continued as Duke of Devonshire, of devoted and unremitting work. Besides other reasons for choosing him, it was felt that he would more easily make room for Gladstone if he should be willing to return.

The Plimsoll Mark.

In 1875 the leader of the Opposition had an easy task, as the new Government were not friends of energetic legislation. The budget presented no novelties beyond the establishment of a sinking fund, the object of which was to reduce the National Debt by £200,000,000 in thirty years. But Tory extravagance and Beaconsfield's adventurous policy soon rendered this illusory. The Home Secretary did something to secure English tenants in the holding of their land, to improve the dwellings of artisans and the relations of employers and workmen. A notable step was made for the security of navigation by the establishment of the Plimsoll mark, now so prominently shown on all ships, indicating the depth beyond which a ship must not be loaded. It was carried by the vehemence of its author, Samuel Plimsoll, who, standing in the middle of the floor of the House, denounced the ship-knackers, who, by a nefarious system of over-insurance, made fortunes out of drowned men.

Colonial Policy.

Activity was also displayed by the Colonial Office. Fiji was occupied, to save it from the rapacious immorality of unprincipled beach-combers, and, in the case of the Kafir chief, Langalibalele, who had been treated with undue severity by the Natal Government, Lord Carnarvon showed that he could brave opinion in the exercise of humanity and public spirit. He attempted the federation of South Africa, which has been carried out in our own day. South Africa then consisted of three British colonies—Cape Colony, Natal, and Griqualand West—with two Dutch Republics on its frontiers—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Carnarvon wished to include these in his scheme, for unless they were included federation would be a vain dream. But his tact was not equal to his enthusiasm. He proposed a confer-

ence at Cape Town, but excited opposition by stating the names of the delegates who were to attend it. He chose the historian Froude, who was more indiscreet and less cautious than the Minister who sent him. He made a worse blunder by attempting to remove the seat of the conference from Cape Town to London. The disastrous award of MacMahon gave Delagoa Bay to Portugal, although it was the natural outlet of the Transvaal to the sea.

Purchase of Suez Canal Shares.

On November 26th, 1875, the Prime Minister executed by a masterstroke one of the most fortunate and most sensational pieces of business which have ever occurred in British history. He bought, for the price of £4,000,000, the shares in the Suez Canal which had belonged to the Khedive of Egypt. The idea was suggested by the astuteness of Mr. Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but it was Disraeli who recognised the importance of it and had the courage to carry it out. The state of Turkey, the suzerain Power of Egypt, was desperate. In October she had confessed her inability to pay more than ten shillings in the pound, and the British Government had refused to assist those who had lost their money on bad security. The Khedive, Ismail Pasha, spent on his own pleasures the money which came to him from the oppression of his subjects, and was driven to sell the shares which had been assigned him in the French company which opened the Canal; for, although the canal was more largely used by Great Britain than by any other nation, and the closing of it would bar the way to India, yet she had no voice in its management. It was, therefore, exceptionally fortunate that the British Government was enabled to gain the position which it might have held from the first if only the sanction of Lord Palmerston had allowed it, while the possession of a Prime Minister gifted with imagination enabled us to take advantage of the deal.

A Successful Enterprise.

It is significant to reflect that the Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, were opposed to the purchase. The Chancellor said in the House that he had rather the Khedive had kept the shares, that the Government had acted in self-defence, and that he did not object to the canal being mainly under French control. Even Gladstone made a feeble attack upon the measure. But the good sense and patriotism of the English people supported the Minister. Disraeli was able to say both with force and truth that if Gladstone had been in office the shares would have been purchased by France. The success of the enterprise far exceeded the hopes of its promoters, and the possession of the shares has brought many

millions into the British Exchequer and strengthened the hold upon the gate of India. The purchase of the shares made it desirable to inquire more fully into the financial condition of Egypt, and Stephen Cave, an able financier, was sent out to report. He said that Egypt was suffering from the ignorance, dishonesty, waste and extravagance of the East, such as had already brought Turkey to the verge of ruin, and also from the expense caused by the hasty and ill-considered endeavours to adopt the civilisation of the West. The report led to the sending out of a joint commission, French and British, and the placing of Egyptian revenue under two Controllers-General, one British and the other French, which did not prove to be a success.

Empire of India.

At the beginning of 1876 Disraeli was at the height of his power. In the winter the Prince of Wales had made a tour through India, and this fact, coupled with other considerations, induced the Prime Minister to introduce into Parliament a Royal Titles Bill, which granted to the Queen the right to assume by proclamation any new title which she might think fit to adopt. It was generally known that the object of the measure was to give the Queen the title of Empress of India. The proposition excited a good deal of ridicule, but the proposal really emanated from the serious and not the theatrical side of Disraeli's nature, and it is conceivable that a grandiose title may have an advantage in the governance of the country to which it refers.

Disraeli and Imperialism.

Disraeli is generally credited with having introduced the spirit of Imperialism into British politics, and the belief that he did so accounts for his extraordinary popularity, which has followed him after his decease. There are two opinions on the matter. Some think that he possessed powerful convictions on the position which ought to be held by the British monarchy; others that he was an opportunist, and that, coming into office unexpectedly and without a cry, he clutched at the first idea which presented itself, and took up the line of opposing Russia and exalting the predominant power of Great Britain in all parts of the world. The latter opinion, which is held by persons who knew him well, seems the more probable. He had nothing but contempt for the British Constitution, which he was never tired of comparing with that of Venice, with its phantom Doge, its subservient people, and its predominant aristocracy. He cared too little for certain features of the body politic to attempt to reform the abuses that had grown up in them, and he knew that if they were reformed it would not be in the direction of which he would approve. His object was to maintain the

supremacy of the Tory Party, of which he was the faithful servant, and he was ready to employ any means to that end.

Disraeli and Queen Victoria.

At the same time, he determined to treat the Queen in a different manner from that which Gladstone had adopted. Gladstone, although personally devoted to the monarchy and to the noble woman who held the throne, was unfortunate in the manner he assumed to the Queen, who, as we have already said, complained that he addressed her as if she were a public meeting. He opposed her visits to Scotland and absence from the centre of affairs at the time of political crisis. A man well acquainted with the correspondence which passed upon this topic describes it as one in which the Minister had gone as far as a subject could, and the Queen farther than a Sovereign ought. Gladstone was too proud and too clumsy to conciliate the Queen's humble friends, who exercised great influence over her and for whom she felt a deep affection. Disraeli, on the other hand, did not hesitate to conciliate them.

Nothing is more noticeable than the change which came over the Queen's feelings towards this remarkable man. The Prince Consort did not like him, and the Queen shared his judgment. In the early days of their association Disraeli gave the Queen a magnificently bound collection of his works, with a fulsome inscription. The Queen, instead of keeping them in her own apartments, sent them to her public library, where it was not likely she would ever see them again. But in later years Disraeli became one of her most trusted friends, and at the end of her life she hung over the two contiguous doors which led to her private apartments in Windsor Castle the portraits of Salisbury and Beaconsfield. The Queen undoubtedly liked the new title. She always signed herself "Victoria R. and I.," and in India, at the banquets of the Viceroy and other great officers, the toast of the King-Emperor is drunk with enthusiasm and is followed by the strains of the National Anthem. Lord Lytton, a man of exuberant ability and vivid imagination, was sent to India to inaugurate the new Imperial policy, and the proclamation of the Queen-Empress took place under his auspices at Delhi, on January 1st, 1877.

Earl of Beaconsfield.

We have already given an account of the events in the East which culminated in the Treaty of Berlin. Disraeli's last speech in the House of Commons was made on the subject on August 11th, 1876, when he said that the nation's duty at that critical moment was to uphold the Empire of Great Britain, by which he apparently meant the Empire of Turkey. Next day the papers announced that he had been created Earl of Beaconsfield. In

this position he emphasised more strongly than before his opposition to Russia and his intention to adopt an Imperial policy. At the Lord Mayor's banquet, on November 9th, he made a speech in the Guildhall which shook the confidence of the world, much as the speech of Napoleon III., to which we have already referred, had done on January 1st, 1859. What, it was asked, did this ill-omened oration portend? The Emperor of Russia had consented to a congress, the object of which was peace, but these attacks drove him into war.

First Appearance of Parnell.

The session of 1877 witnessed some measures of beneficent but rather feeble legislation, and the first appearance of Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Irish landlord, born of an American mother. He was educated by a private tutor in England, and had made himself conspicuous in early life by an ambition to set the fashion in personal attire. As a passionate Home Ruler, he determined to adopt a more aggressive and more militant attitude than that of Butt, and diligently studied the rules of the House, with the view of obstructing the operation of the British Parliament if he could not obtain for Ireland a Parliament of her own. He was assisted by Mr. J. G. Biggar, a vigorous but uncouth man, who was little understood and who was fond of stating that his great ambition in life was to be an English clergyman. Parnell began by obstructing the business of Supply by dilatory motions, although he had only a few colleagues to support him. He succeeded in getting suspended from the service of the House, but the evil went on unchecked.

Annexation of the Transvaal.

If the advent of Parnell heralded the troubles of Home Rule, the annexation of the Transvaal in April, 1877, was a step towards the South African War. The Dutch farmers who wished to escape from the control of British government had formed the Republic of the Transvaal in 1852, and, by proclamation, this was now annexed to the British Empire by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. It was true that the finances of the country were in a desperate condition, that the mineral wealth concealed in the hills was entirely unknown, that the inhabitants were not able to hold their own against the attacks of the surrounding natives. Burgers, the President, advised the Boers to submit to the British Government, as the Republican Constitution had broken down and their taxes could not be collected. The Transvaal Parliament did not agree with him, and two delegates, one of whom was Paul Kruger, were sent to England to show cause against the annexation. But the Government insisted, and the Liberal Party did not oppose, although some courageous statesmen, such

as Leonard Courtney and Henry Fawcett, did their best to prevent it.

Universities Commission. Another measure of importance belonging to this year was the appointment of a commission to investigate the affairs of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. University commissions are neither very popular nor very useful. It is much better that the Universities should reform themselves than that they should be tampered with from outside by persons who understand very little about the matter. The commission now established did a certain amount of good, but not so much as was anticipated. Some clerical restrictions were abolished, fellows were allowed to marry, and a certain amount of money was given by the colleges to the University. The intention had been to transfer the greater part of teaching from the colleges to the University and establish a large scheme for the endowment of research. But this proved an entire failure. It has been found that in every department, even in Natural Science, the colleges do much better work than the University. A further step was taken to give the franchise to agricultural labourers, which was eventually effected by the Reform Bill of 1880. George Trevelyan's annual resolution on this subject was this year supported by Lord Hartington as leader of the Opposition, but the motion was, nevertheless, defeated, Lowe and Goschen being opposed to the measure. The year 1878 was taken up with the Treaty of Berlin and with the Zulu and Afghan troubles, which will be treated of later.

The Afghan Negotiations. We will now take a summary view of Beaconsfield's Imperial policy. Lord Northbrook had resigned the office of Viceroy because he could not agree with the proposal to ask the Amir of Afghanistan to receive a British Resident at Cabul; but Lord Lytton, who succeeded him, did not mind whether he offended the Amir or not. Russia had made large advances in Central Asia during the last four years, and Gladstone was inclined to enter into direct negotiations with the Tsar in order to avoid difficulties for the future. Beaconsfield preferred to use British influence with the Afghans in order to counteract Russian influence with the Turkomans. Lytton, therefore, sent Shere Ali, the Amir, a letter announcing his appointment as Viceroy and the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress of India; he also asked the Amir to receive a British Agent, Sir Lewis Pelly, and discuss with him matters that might be in dispute. The Amir replied that he preferred to send to India a confidential agent of his own. Lytton considered this answer disrespectful, and refused to receive Shere Ali's messenger, and intimated that if the Amir did not receive

Sir Lewis Pelly, his country would be treated as a State which had virtually isolated itself from the alliance of the British Government. This was almost equivalent to a threat of war, and was strongly objected to by members of the Indian Council. The Amir replied that, in his opinion, no Englishman would be safe at Cabul, and that if he received a British he must also receive a Russian agent, but that he wanted neither. On December 8th Quetta was occupied, which gave the Indian Government control of the Bolan Pass into Afghanistan. This frightened the Amir still more, and a letter of Lytton's, dated March 3rd, 1877, which told him that he could no longer depend upon the support of the British Government, turned him into an active foe.

A "Scientific Frontier."

Whilst these things were happening Bombay and Madras were oppressed by a cruel famine, which taxed all the resources of the Administration. In the spring of 1878 the movement of Indian troops to Malta was met by the dispatch of a Russian mission to Cabul. Lytton expected war with Russia, and thought that this would be a favourable opportunity for disintegrating Afghanistan, though, by restraining the vernacular Press in India, he deprived himself of the best means of ascertaining public opinion in that country. The object of the Russian envoy at Cabul was to embroil the Amir with Great Britain. In this he completely succeeded, Lytton walking into the trap with apparent readiness. He argued for the rectification of the north-western boundaries—a "scientific frontier," as it was called in those days —consisting of the range of the Hindu Kush and its spurs, with such outposts as might be necessary to secure the passes. This was strongly opposed by Henry Fawcett and all who were best acquainted with India. Amongst these was Lord Lawrence, who wrote a number of weighty letters to *The Times* deprecating a forward policy. Even the Cabinet hesitated and, when Lytton proposed that Shere Ali should be dethroned and his government broken up, refused to support the Viceroy.

Gladstone and the Afghan War.

On November 9th, however, at the Guildhall, in London, Beaconsfield denounced these cautious waverings as the "hair-brained chatter of irresponsible frivolity," and defended the scientific frontier as the voice of security and truth. In the meantime war had broken out and was powerfully denounced by Gladstone. The war found many supporters in the Upper House, including six bishops; but in the House of Commons the policy that provoked it was pulverised by Gladstone and Hartington. The latter said: "It is we, and we alone, who drive the Afghans

into the arms of Russia; whatever else may be done, the present Viceroy of India should be recalled. We have seen him imitating at Delhi the fallen state of the Mogul Empire; we see him fidgeting about the harmless eccentricities of the Indian Press; we now see him addressing the envoy of a puzzled and frightened sovereign in terms which seem to be borrowed partly from a lawyer's letter, partly from a tale in the *Arabian Nights*." Stafford Northcote, who replied, felt no enthusiasm for the cause he was defending. But Jingoism was rampant and the voice of truth and reason was hushed for a time. All this contention was carried on with a falling exchequer. The state of trade was deplorable, and the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank for £6,000,000 had paralysed enterprise in Scotland. Taxes had been raised, wages reduced, and the splendour of Imperialism coruscated against a background of gloom.

Bartle Frere and Cetewayo.

A cartoon in *Punch* respecting the heavy burden which John Bull had to bear represented a naked Zulu jumping on the tail of the patient British lion with the words, "Just room enough for me." Sir Bartle Frere was to South Africa what Lytton was to India. He had formed the opinion that the power of Cetewayo, the King of the Zulus, who was establishing a strong military government, ought to be crushed, and sent him, even against the opinion of the Colonial Office, an ultimatum threatening war. The results of this disastrous war will be related in another chapter.

Tory Financial Difficulties.

In 1879 the expenses of Imperialist adventure had not only squandered the magnificent surplus which had been accumulated by the genius of Gladstone, but had caused deep and disastrous depression. Stafford Northcote was afraid to impose more taxes, but preferred to live upon his capital by contracting loans. The Zulu War cost £4,500,000, and depression extended to agriculture for the first time since the repeal of the Corn Laws. Remonstrance went so far that the Government appointed a Royal Commission, with a Cabinet Minister at its head, to investigate the condition of farm labourers, the law and practice of agricultural tenure, the importation of agricultural produce, and the state of agricultural knowledge, Ireland being included in the inquiry. Troubles also arose in Egypt. In February, 1879, the Khedive dismissed Nubar Pasha, the Minister of the Dual Control, and put in his place Shereef Pasha with a native Ministry. This was too much for the bond-holders. In June Ismail was deposed and Tewfik, his son, was put in his place. The Dual Control was established with even greater authority, and the British

representative appointed was Major Baring, who afterwards, as Lord Cromer, was to make for himself an honoured name.

Foundation of the Land League.

When the autumn of 1879 approached Parliament was nearly six years old, and a General Election could not long be delayed. Both parties began to arm for the fray, and combative oratory was transferred from St. Stephen's to the platforms. To meet the growing agricultural depression, a Farmers' Alliance was formed, the object of which was to protect tenant farmers against loss of their capital and give them security in their holdings and prevent their interests from suffering from the undue preservation of game. This led to a discussion on the policy of small holdings, which were supported by Hartington and attacked by Beaconsfield. The condition of Ireland was even worse than that of England, as it suffered from a bad harvest, the failure of the potato crop, and damage done to the peat by rain. Pauperism increased, saving was impossible, railway traffic diminished, and many farmers became bankrupt. The result was the foundation of the Land League by Michael Davitt and Parnell. It was not unlawful in its objects, which were to protect the tenants from unjust rent; but it was likely for the present to employ means which violated the law. The farmers were advised to pay no more rent than they thought advisable. Davitt said that rent for land, in any circumstances, whether times were prosperous or bad, was nothing more or less than an unjust and immoral tax on the industry of the people; and Daly, the proprietor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, spoke strongly against eviction. For the bitterness of their opinions Davitt and Daly were arrested by the Government, but no further steps were taken.

Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign.

The most prominent place in the Parliamentary struggle was taken by Gladstone in Midlothian, where he was contending against the eldest son of the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Dalkeith. The invitation had come, in the beginning of 1879, from Lord Rosebery and William Adam, the Liberal Whip, with the approval of Lord Granville and Lord Wolverton. The Liberals were overjoyed at the constituency being contested by the man whom they regarded as the greatest living Scotsman, and Adam predicted a majority of 200. Gladstone left Liverpool for Edinburgh to open the campaign on November 24th. The journey was a triumphal procession, the like of which had never been seen before. On this bleak winter day the whole countryside was roused. Wherever the train stopped, thousands flocked to greet the statesman, and even at wayside spots hundreds assembled to catch a glimpse of the express as it hurried past. Addresses were pre-

sented at Carlisle, Hawick and Galashiels. Edinburgh was reached after a nine hours' journey; the streets were crowded by a joyous multitude, and Lord Rosebery conducted his guest to Dalmeny. Gladstone wrote in his diary that he had never gone through a more extraordinary day.

Gladstone's Arraignment of Toryism.

Similar enthusiasm accompanied the speeches themselves. People came from the Hebrides to hear the orator, and the applications for seats were nearly ten times as many as the rooms would hold. The weather was bitter, the hills being covered with snow; but this could not chill enthusiasm. In this wonderful series of speeches, which lasted more than a week, Gladstone traversed the whole field of Tory government, attacking it at every point. He showed how an ample surplus had been converted into a disastrous deficit; how there had been a lack of beneficent legislation; how national honour had been compromised by the breach of public law; how in foreign politics the country had earned the enmity of Russia and yet had not prevented the increase of the Tsar's power; how Great Britain's friendship and support of Turkey, given to her with great sacrifices, had not prevented her ruin; how blood had been shed to no purpose in Zululand; how freedom had been destroyed in the Transvaal; how confusion had been caused in Afghanistan; and how India had been left in a worse condition than that in which the present Government had found it. He laid down the great principles which the country ought to follow—the passing of just laws, the fostering of economy, the preservation of peace, the cultivation of European union and friendship, the avoidance of entangling engagements, the devotion to freedom, and the acknowledgment of the equal rights of all nations.

"Remember," he said at one meeting, "that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan, among the winter snows, is as inviolable in the sight of Almighty God as can be your own. Remember that He who has created you a human being in the same flesh and blood has bound you by the law of mutual love; that mutual love is not limited by the shores of this island, is not limited by the boundaries of Christian civilisation, that it has power over the whole surface of the earth and embraces the meanest as well as the greatest in its unmeasured scope." Never since the days of Edmund Burke had the case of Liberalism and the plea for the restoration of a Liberal Government been placed so powerfully and so convincingly before the tribunal of the nation. The effects of this campaign were not immediately

apparent. The London Press was hostile, and the by-elections were indecisive. But at the end of November a great victory was won at Sheffield, which was a harbinger of hope and confidence. The battle of oratory continued during 1880, beginning at the close of the Christmas holidays, as a dissolution was imminent and no member knew when he might have to meet his constituents. Parliament met on February 4th, and it became necessary to legislate at once for the relief of Irish distress, which was very acute. To supplement private charitable efforts the Government authorised the construction of public works to be paid for out of the Irish Church Fund. A provision restraining eviction on the relieved estates was unfortunately struck out by the Lords.

Home Rule Denounced.

The month of March had now arrived, and Ministers announced that as soon as the budget had been introduced and the necessary votes taken Parliament would be dissolved. The budget had to deal with a deficit of £3,000,000, which was provided for by the suspension of the sinking fund. The Prime Minister addressed the country by means of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the danger of Home Rule, a political doctrine which had hitherto received very slight support from British politicians and none from the country. Beaconsfield denounced it as being, in its ultimate results, scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine, and summoned all men of light and leading to resist disintegration of the United Kingdom. This was the only topic treated of, but Imperialism received some recognition in the assurance that peace rests on the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of Great Britain in the councils of Europe. Lord Hartington replied on March 11th in an address to the electors of North-East Lancashire. He denounced Home Rule as impracticable and mischievous, but repudiated Beaconsfield's expressions as extravagant and overstrained, and urged the adoption of equal laws as a remedy for Irish discontent. Leading Liberals rejected Home Rule as part of their platform, and the only English Home Ruler appears to have been Joseph Cowen, of Newcastle, who, however, supported Beaconsfield warmly in his foreign policy. The result was that the question of Home Rule did not form part of the controversy in the election.

Gladstone's Second Midlothian Campaign.

Gladstone's address was very powerful. It repudiated the assertion that the Liberal policy aimed at repeal of the Union with Ireland and the abandonment of the colonies. He said that the enemies of the Union were those who maintained in Ireland

an alien Church, unjust land laws, and a franchise inferior to that of the sister countries. The colonies, he maintained, were united by the principles of Free Trade with the rest of the world, of popular and responsible government, and of confederation where it was possible to carry it out, and by the promise to defend them in case of need with all the strength of the Empire. On March 16th he set out for another campaign in Midlothian, accompanied by similar manifestations of a royal progress to those which he had before experienced. He received addresses at Grantham, York and Newark, and was greeted at Edinburgh with as much enthusiasm as ever. When he arrived at Dalmeny he set himself to work with unbounded energy and, indeed, spoke every day for a whole fortnight. Hartington made even more speeches than Gladstone, and conducted in Lancashire a close duel with Cross, by no means a contemptible antagonist. A main proposal of the Liberals was to extend the franchise in the counties, and it was to fight this issue that the Eighty Club, which afterwards became such a powerful institution, was founded. Joseph Chamberlain, then an ardent Radical, established the caucus system at Birmingham, administered by the able hands of Schnadhorst, and this contributed largely to the success of the election.

Liberal Triumph.

Parliament was dissolved on March 24th, and the first elections took place on March 30th; it was at once evident that the Liberals would have a majority. On the first day they had a net gain of fifteen seats in sixty-nine constituencies, and by the end of the fourth day a net gain of fifty seats was announced, and the Ministerial majority had disappeared. Gladstone was elected both for Midlothian and for Leeds, and when he preferred the former, his youngest son, Herbert, was returned for Leeds without a contest, and thus began a distinguished and successful political career. The result of the elections was a great surprise to both parties, but it spoke with no uncertain voice. The new Parliament contained 347 Liberals as against 351 Tories in the old. The Conservative Opposition was now 240, whereas the Liberal Opposition in the late House had been 250. The numbers of the Home Rule party had risen from 50 to 65. Beaconsfield heard the result of the elections at Hatfield, where he was staying alone in the absence of Lord Salisbury. He had expected a very different result, but he viewed the ruin of his Government and the end of his career with unshaken serenity and magnanimity. Gladstone wrote: "The downfall of Beaconsfield is like the vanishing of some vast, magnificent castle in an Italian romance.

We may be well content to thank God in silence. But the outlook is tremendous. The gradual unravelling of the tangled knots of the foreign and Indian policy will indeed be a task for skilled and strong hands if they can be found, and there can hardly be found such as the case requires."

The Queen Reproves Gladstone.

Beaconsfield determined not to meet the new Parliament, and only delayed his resignation until the Queen returned from the Continent. The last meeting of the outgoing Cabinet was held on April 21st. On the following day the Queen sent for Hartington, and urged him to form a Government, expressing confidence in his moderation, which is perhaps the main reason why she chose him in preference to Gladstone and Granville. Hartington replied that no Cabinet could be formed without Gladstone, and that no post could be offered him except that of First Minister, an obvious proposition which the Queen, however, appeared to doubt, asking him to ascertain if this were really the case. Of course, it was found to be the case, and, after another interview with Granville and Hartington, the Queen sent for Gladstone. In the interview which followed, the Queen asked some questions about suggested Ministers, and ended by saying, "I must be frank with you, Mr. Gladstone, and must firmly say that there have been some little things which caused me concern."

Gladstone was free to admit that he had used a mode of speech and language different in some degree from what he would have used had he been the leader of a party or a candidate for office; that in office he would use every effort to diminish her cares, or, at any rate, not to aggravate them; but that, considering his years, he could only look forward to a short period of active exertion and a personal retirement at a comparatively early date. She answered that, with regard to the freedom of language, he would have to bear the consequences, to which Gladstone assented. He then kissed hands and the interview ended.

CHAPTER VI

THE ZULU WAR

The Zulus. THE land of the Zulus, lying between the Transvaal and the Indian Ocean, is a most interesting portion of South Africa, and the Zulus are a very attractive people. Their language closely resembles Kafir, but is more musical and more refined. It is spoken by many English men and women, and is used for religious purposes by many missionaries. The war, the incidents of which we now have to relate, sprang out of the endless conflict between barbarous and civilised races which is always going on—and from the forward policy of which we have already given some account.

A competent historian tells us that the Emashlabatini country was originally occupied by a small tribe called the Abanguni, that of its more ancient kings little is known, except that they seem to have been of peaceful habits, making no wars and breeding cattle, and that the name of one of them was Zulu. The tribe was comprised of several families or clans, each having its own chieftain. The first king of whom any particulars are known was Senzagacone, son of Ufaina, who had a son Chaka, who at the death of his father was made king with great rejoicings.

Chaka's Autocracy. Chaka's authority was disputed by some of the other tribes and needed many wars to support it, but he eventually became chief potentate, levying tribute from the tribes around him. He then endeavoured to extend his authority, especially over the Pondos, so that he claimed to rule over the entire country from the sea to Pondoland. He then proceeded to consolidate his position. The petty kings under his power became tributary chieftains, and if any did not pay his tribute an impi was sent to eat him up. He also established a standing army, military service being made compulsory, the army becoming the King's army instead of the army of the tribes. Women were also compelled to marry into regiments at the King's command, and the regiments were not allowed to marry until they were entitled to wear head rings, and this did not occur until the men had

reached forty years of age. He also defeated the Swazis and compelled them to pay tribute. Chaka was a great administrator, like Charles the Great on a small scale, comparable to those heroes whom we are taught to admire in the dawn of European history. But one day, while his army was absent on a military expedition, Dingaan and four more of the King's brothers fell treacherously upon Chaka and killed him. He is said to have been contemplating a journey to England about the time of his death.

Cetewayo's Kingship.

Dingaan began his reign by killing all his brothers except Panda; but he soon came into conflict with the Boers, who sent Pieter Retief to chastise him. Retief was killed on February 5th, 1838. Dingaan then invaded Natal and waged war with considerable success; but Panda, recollecting the fate which had befallen the rest of his family, joined the Boers, and with them invaded Zululand and defeated Dingaan, who was slain by the Swazis. Upon this Panda became king, and ceded to the Boers the territory of Natal as far as the Tugela. He had many sons, the best known of whom were Cetewayo and Umbulazi, but Cetewayo defeated Umbulazi and killed him. Cetewayo, being accepted as King of the Zulus after Panda's death in October, 1872, asked the British Government to accept him. Shepstone, the British envoy, publicly crowned him, saying to the Zulus, "He is your King. You have recognised him as such, and I will now do so also in the name of the Queen of England. If you kill him we shall surely require his blood of you." Cetewayo reigned well, but it could be hardly expected of him that he should be entirely devoid of cruelty.

Friction Between Boers and Zulus.

Questions of frontier were bound to arise between the Zulus and the Boers. Moreover, the young men of the army wanted to "wash their spears" and to attack the Boers with that object, but the British Government refused to allow it. It was only natural that the people of Natal should be afraid of the military nation of the Zulus on their borders, and should dread a possible invasion of their colony, though, in fact, a certain section of the colonists eagerly desired war. They disliked the neighbourhood of black people, whom they could neither tax nor force to work; if the power of this native race were broken, they would get a hut tax out of them, and the presence of British troops would, in a variety of ways, also be very lucrative. Besides, the white young men were just as anxious to try their rifles as the Zulus to "wash their spears." Some even of the missionaries clamoured for war, and said that only the utter destruction of the Zulus

could secure peace in South Africa, and that in making war they would have the approbation of their God, their Queen, and their conscience.

British Demands on Cetewayo.

For many years there had been a dispute between the Zulus and the Boers upon a question of boundary. The claims of both parties were examined by the British Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, and the result was communicated to Cetewayo's envoys at the Lower Tugela Drift on December 11th, 1878. The award was favourable to the Zulus, but with it was delivered an ultimatum involving the destruction of the whole system of Zulu government. They were not only asked to pay 600 head of cattle for supposed offences, but to undertake to observe certain promises which it was asserted Cetewayo had given at his coronation—to disband the Zulu army; to discontinue the Zulu military system; to allow men to marry when they pleased; to readmit missionaries and their converts, who had been expelled in 1877 for disloyalty; to allow a British Agent to reside in Zululand, so that all cases in which Europeans were engaged should be heard in public; and to expel no one from the country except with the commissioner's approval. It was stated that if these demands were not agreed to before the end of the year, that is, within twenty days, the British army would invade the country on the first day of the New Year and enforce them at the point of the bayonet — a term afterwards extended to January 11th.

Preparations for War.

It is quite clear that the King could not accept these demands, which were of a most humiliating and most destructive character, without consulting his Indunas, and that the cattle could not be collected for delivery within the time specified; but Sir Bartle Frere had made up his mind that the existence of the Zulu State was inconsistent with British rule in South Africa, and that it must be crushed at all hazards. Cetewayo did not desire war, and wished to live in peace with neighbours who had been kind and friendly. He had contemplated nothing but self-defence and, by the exercise of patience and moderation, matters might have been peacefully arranged without the loss of men, money and honour. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Secretary for the Colonies, expressed a hope that, by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise, the very serious danger of a war might be avoided. But the Natal Government set to work to raise a corps of 7,000 natives to fight against their countrymen, and declared that the time had arrived for decisive action, that there would never be so favourable an opportunity for smashing

the Zulu power, and that if it were lost Great Britain would sooner or later be taken at a disadvantage.

The Zulu War an Unnecessary Crime.

At this time Sir Bartle Frere, a proconsul of the greatest eminence, was Governor of Cape Colony, and was responsible for settling such important matters. No historian can deny Frere's high qualities or belittle the value of the services he rendered to the Empire during his administration of Sind and Bombay, and his conduct during the Indian Mutiny. But when sent to the Cape he was advanced in years, and found himself in a most difficult position, which he imperfectly understood, and his training as an Indian official made him less fit to deal with the strange problems before him. He conceived a strong dislike to Cetewayo, and a deep distrust for the methods which had been adopted for welding the Zulus into a powerful nation, and in the steps he took to remedy these evils he went not only beyond what the occasion demanded, but exceeded the powers committed to him by the Government. In the controversy which ensued upon his conduct between himself, on the one side, and the Home Government and Mr. Gladstone on the other, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they were right and that Frere was wrong, and that the Zulu War which he brought about was a serious and unnecessary crime. Hicks Beach wrote, in January, 1879, that the demands with which Cetewayo had been called upon to comply, and Frere's own description of the situation with which he had to deal, had not prepared the Government for the course which Frere was now taking. The Colonial Secretary said that he had impressed upon Frere the importance of using every effort to avoid war, but that Cetewayo would not improbably refuse the terms offered him even at the risk of hostilities, and that Frere ought to have consulted the Home Government before presenting such conditions to the Zulu king.

The War Begins.

War was now inevitable, and it was determined to advance into Zululand with four columns, each complete in itself, with its own artillery, cavalry, and independent leader. The native levies, which should never have been employed, were armed with rifles and clothed in corduroy tunics and breeches with long boots of untanned leather and the now familiar cowboy hat. There were also 1,000 European volunteers and a contingent of mounted Boers, trained horsemen and deadly shots, who were savage against the Zulus and did not realise that the destruction of the natives' liberty was to be a prelude to the subversion of their own.

The first column, under Pearson, was to assemble on the Lower Tugela, garrison Fort Pearson, cross the river, and encamp on

the Zulu side, under the protection of the guns of the fort. The second, under Durnford, composed almost entirely of natives, was to cross the Tugela; the third, under Glyn, was to cross at Rorke's Drift; the fourth, under Evelyn Wood, was to advance to the Blood River. The strength of the Imperial and Colonial troops has been placed at 6,669. The Zulu army was composed of the natives in arms, all males between fifteen and sixty-five being compelled to serve without exemption. It consisted of large regiments, each containing a right and left wing, each wing being divided into companies. The companies were really families or clans, and varied in strength from 10 to 200, each possessing their own kraal or headquarters. At certain intervals, varying from two to five years, a general levy had been held, when all the males who had attained the age of fifteen were formed into regiments and had to undergo a year's probation to mark the change from boyhood to manhood. There were, in all, thirty-three regiments, some married, some unmarried, none being allowed to marry without the King's consent, which they did not receive till they were about forty years of age. The married men had their heads shaved in a Capuchin tonsure, and bore white shields; the unmarried, with unshaven heads, bore coloured shields. It was reckoned that only about twenty-five regiments would be fit for active service, numbering some 40,000. They were fed by three or four days' supply of grain, carried by lads who followed each corps, and by herds of cattle driven with each column.

The Camp at Isandhlwana.

The Tugela was crossed on January 12th, 1879, the day after the expiry of the ultimatum; but the difficulties of advance were found to be great. The long train of wagons was very cumbersome, and the invaders were almost completely ignorant of the country. On January 20th the third column moved from Rorke's Drift to Isandhlwana Hill, the spot selected for a camp. The Lion Hill rises abruptly to the west, representing the head of the crouching animal, and after forming the back extends sharply to the east. At both ends are necks or ridges connecting the hill with smaller elevations; the road from Rorke's Drift passes over the western ridge, and on the north is a deep ravine and watercourse. On the left of the camp was posted the Natal native contingent; in the centre were the Colonial regular infantry and the headquarters camp of Lord Chelmsford, the commander-in-chief; on the right were the guns and mounted corps lining the edge of the road, and behind was the precipitous Lion Hill; so that the camp was placed with its back to the wall.

THE ISANDHLWANA DISASTER

Boer Advice to the British Disregarded.

On January 22nd, at 6 in the morning, a company of Natal natives was despatched to scout towards the left, to search for the enemy. At 9 Durnford came up with a rocket battery and 500 native troops. False intelligence was brought that the Zulus were retiring in all directions. However, about 10 they were found in force on a range of hills about five miles off. Lord Chelmsford had very little acquaintance with South Africa, or with Zulu methods of fighting, and Frere managed that he should meet Kruger and Joubert, who, twenty years later, became so prominent in the Boer War. They impressed upon him the absolute necessity of collecting his wagons in a laager every evening and whenever there was any danger of the approach of the enemy. Chelmsford, however, continued to hold his own opinions; he despised the enemy and clung to English methods. Attaching himself to the third corps, he crossed the Buffalo at Rorke's Drift and encamped at Isandhlwana.

The Zulu Advance.

On the morning of the fatal 22nd the general set out to attack the Zulus. He left Pulleine in command of the camp and sent a message to Durnford to move up from Rorke's Drift. Pulleine had been ordered to draw in his line of defence and his infantry outposts, but to keep his cavalry vedettes still far advanced. After the departure of the advance column at daybreak everything remained quiet in the camp until between 7 and 8 o'clock, when news came that some Zulus were approaching. Pulleine communicated this to Chelmsford, who received the news between 9 and 10. Durnford reached the camp at about 11, and found that some preparations were made and that reports were coming in announcing the retirement of the enemy. Durnford determined to move out and reconnoitre, but about five miles off met a large body of the Zulus, in skirmishing order, who opened fire and advanced very rapidly. Durnford fell back, keeping up a steady fire, for about two miles, and disputing every yard of ground, until he reached a gully, about 800 yards in front of the camp, where he made a stand. He held the gully most heroically and is supposed to have killed 1,000 Zulus.

The Camp Overwhelmed.

Firing was not heard in the camp till mid-day, and soon afterwards the Zulus swept down upon it in overwhelming numbers. They completely surrounded the 24th Regiment; the retreat by the Rorke's Drift road was blocked; the soldiers ran away down a ravine, and the Zulus mingled with them, striking at them with their assegais as they ran. At last the Buffalo was reached, about five miles below Rorke's Drift, and here a number of the fugitives were shot or carried away by the stream and drowned.

Saving the Colours of the 24th.

The ground was rugged, broken up with small streams of water and strewn with boulders, but was such as a Zulu could traverse more quickly than a horse. The river, which ran fast, was deep and without a ford, sharp rocks alternating with deep water. Not half of those who escaped from the camp succeeded in crossing it. Here occurred the brilliant action of Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill which still lives in history and art. Seeing that all was lost, they attempted to escape on horseback with the colours of the 24th Regiment. Coghill got safely across the Buffalo, but Melvill was shot just as he was reaching the farther bank. Coghill turned back to help his comrade, and suffered the same fate. Their bodies were found close to each other, surrounded by dead Zulus, and the colours which they had sacrificed their lives to defend were discovered in the bed of the river, saved from dishonour.

Durnford's Last Fight.

When the attack ceased, Durnford rallied the white troopers on the right of the camp, and with them and the Basutos forced the Zulu left, keeping open the road across the Nek, by which retreat was still possible. Durnford held his position until all hope of retrieving the day was gone. He and his companions left their horses to cover the retreat of their comrades and died to a man at their posts. Durnford's body was afterwards discovered in a patch of long grass near the right flank of the enemy, surrounded by the corpses of the brave men who had fought it out with him to the bitter end. Durnford was a remarkable man; he strongly disapproved of the whole policy of the Colonial Government towards the natives, and, while the best-abused man in the colony, was adored by the Zulus. Indeed, he inspired them with such love and devotion that they sold their lives at his side. Bulwer described him as a soldier of soldiers, with his whole heart in his profession, keen, active-minded, and indefatigable, unsparing of himself, brave and utterly fearless, honourable, loyal, of great gentleness and goodness of heart. There perished at Isandhlwana twenty-six British officers and 600 men, the loss of the Colonials not being less.

Chelmsford's Happy Ignorance.

In the meantime Chelmsford was perfectly happy, having no fear for the safety of the camp, continuing his operations against the supposed main body of the Zulus. At 2 o'clock he was selecting a fit spot for a camp, when he heard from a native horseman of the attack on Pulleine and the heavy firing of big guns. He surveyed the camp from the summit of a hill, and everything seemed quiet. The sun shone on the white tents; there were no signs of firing, and it was not until some time later

that he was informed that the camp was in the possession of the enemy. He sent Glyn and his force towards the camp; but, in spite of all his exertions, he could not reach it before dark. He found it an entire wreck, the ground being strewn with corpses, broken tents, dead horses, oxen, and other signs of complete destruction. His men, most of whom were without ammunition and had not eaten anything for forty-eight hours, were obliged to bivouac amongst the relics of the slaughter, and were entirely unable to withstand the Zulus if they attacked. Next morning the British retreated to Rorke's Drift.

The Position at Rorke's Drift.

In this place a deed of heroic daring had taken place which illuminates the sad history and will live for ever in the annals of valour. Lieutenant Chard, with a sergeant and six men, was guarding the pontoon bridge over the Tugela at this point, and Lieutenant Bromhead had command over the commissariat depot with a company of the 24th. They heard of the disaster at Isandhlwana and of the advance of the Zulus about 3 in the afternoon, and, joining together, loopholed and barricaded the storehouse and hospital, and connected the two with "works" of mealie-bags. At 3.30 about 100 natives of Durnford's Horse arrived, but eventually deserted and galloped off to Helpmakaar. As they could not defend all their buildings with their small numbers, they made an inner entrenchment of biscuit-boxes, the wall being two boxes high. Suddenly they were attacked by 600 Zulus, who, braving their fire, came within fifty yards of the biscuit boxes. Then the larger number of them swung to the left, round the hospital, and rushed upon the wall of mealie bags. Others held a ridge of rocks overlooking the British position, and kept up a constant fire at the distance of 100 yards; others occupied a garden in a hollow on the road and the bush beyond.

The Gallant Defence.

At last the fire from the ridge of rocks compelled the defenders to retire behind the inner defence of biscuit boxes. Presently the hospital was set on fire and the garrison defended the building room by room, bringing out all the sick who could be moved before they retired. Five patients, however, had to be left. They now made a redoubt of the lines of mealie bags, thus obtaining a second line of fire, and in this way defended themselves until darkness fell. The attacks continued throughout the night, until at 4 in the morning of January 23rd the enemy retired over the hill. The defenders then examined the ground, collected the arms of the dead Zulus, and strengthened the position as far as they could. At 7 a large body of Zulus were seen to approach, but an hour later the British troops began to appear, the enemy

fell back, and the post of Rorke's Drift was saved. The defence had been conducted by eight officers and about 131 men of lower rank against a force of nearly 4,000 Zulus, of whom 370 lay dead around the spot. Chard and Bromhead—one belonging to the Royal Engineers and the other to the 24th Regiment—received the thanks of Parliament for their services, and were promoted to the rank of major.

The Lesson of Isandhlwana.

Such is the story of Isandhlwana. The British underrated the power of the Zulus, overrated the courage of their native allies, neglected the most obvious precautions, and allowed masses of the enemy, who had no plan of their own, to blunder into the British camp and cause terrible disaster. But the chief lesson to be derived from what happened was that the war should never have been undertaken at all.

Defence of Ekowe.

The next point of interest is Ekowe, a position of great natural beauty, 2,000 feet above the sea-level, commanding a view of Port Durnford, the sea being about twenty miles distant as the crow flies. The buildings on this site consisted of three structures of brick and a small church, which was afterwards turned into a hospital. Pearson, who commanded the first division, had entrenched himself here, intending to make it a place of support to the invading army, as it was about seventy miles distant from Cetewayo's kraal at Ulundi, which was the main point of attack. Here Pearson heard the news of Isandhlwana, and determined to remain where he was, being confident he could hold out for at least two months. He laboured hard to make a very strong fort, and had an excellent supply of water. His force had not much to eat, two pounds of freshly-killed beef (very tough), two commissariat biscuits as hard as flint, a little coffee, tea and sugar, one spoonful of lime juice, and a small quantity of preserved vegetables being the daily ration per man. They had no lack of ammunition and the troops led an orderly and strenuous life, part of their time being spent in raiding for the destruction of kraals. At the same time Pearson's force was wholly isolated and surrounded by the enemy, so that it became necessary to release it.

Relief of Ekowe.

The advance for this purpose began on March 27th, the first division consisting of 3,720 infantry and 350 cavalry, commanded by Lowe, and the second of 2,060 infantry and 196 cavalry, commanded by Pemberton, the whole forming an aggregate of 6,320 men. The column was made as light as possible, no tents being taken, and each man being allowed only a blanket and waterproof sheet, while the wagons and pack animals were

reduced to the smallest proportions. It was a great help that sun-signalling was possible between Pearson and Chelmsford. A battle took place on April 2nd in which the Zulus were defeated, after fighting with conspicuous bravery. They wore crests of leopard skins and feathers, the tails of wild oxen dangled from their necks, and they carried white and coloured shields. They approached with a sort of measured dance, but at about three hundred yards the flame burst forth from the shelter-pit, and a number of the fearless enemy fell. But, nothing daunted, the main body again advanced and boldly faced the murderous fire. At last a charge of cavalry decided the fate of the conflict. The British loss was small, only two officers and four privates being killed, and three officers and thirty-four privates wounded, whereas the Zulus must have lost nearly a thousand men—a number which pains one to chronicle and which seriously detracts from the glory of the exploit. At length, on April 3rd, Pearson and Chelmsford met, and a rousing British cheer celebrated the event. Pearson had been beleaguered for seventy days, the monotony of which had been relieved by lawn tennis, bowls, ninepins and quoits, together with concerts and theatrical performances.

Reinforcements for the Cape.

With the relief of Ekowe, the first period of the Zulu War came to an end. There was no danger of an invasion of Natal, but it was thought necessary to capture Cetewayo. Large reinforcements arrived from England, comprising 9,000 troops and 2,000 horses, the cavalry being the most wanted and the most important. With the force arrived the Prince Imperial of France, a noble and chivalrous youth, destined to perish in a quarrel not his own, in a moment of surprise and treachery. A new plan of campaign was formed, by which the principal forces operating, one from Utrecht and the other from Durban, were to make an attack upon the King's kraal at Ulundi.

The Field of Isandhlwana.

About the middle of May the task, too long delayed, of burying the dead at Isandhlwana was undertaken. The work was a very sad one. At the same time, there was nothing of the horrors of a recent battlefield. Silence reigned in the solitude; grass had grown luxuriantly round the wagons and shrouded the dead, who had been lying there for four months. Rider and horse, officer and private, man and boy, their parchment-looking skins half eaten by the carrion crows and half covering the bleaching bones, formed a gruesome sight. Many of the bodies were recognised; Durnford was found in a patch of grass, surrounded by those who had fallen near him, and was

buried with deep respect in a donga, close to the spot where he fell. The dead were roughly buried, excepting the men of the 24th Regiment, who were left to be interred by their comrades. Fifty-five wagons were brought away by the horses and mules, and a quantity of stores was stowed in them. The staff which had borne the colours of the 24th was also recovered, and the men returned to the camp with due precautions for their safety.

Cetewayo's Efforts for Peace.

During the whole of this time Cetewayo was continuously asking for peace, professing not to understand the object of the war. As early as March 3rd he sent a message to Bishop Schneider, saying that he had taken care of the deserted mission stations, not allowing them to be damaged, thinking that the missionaries might return to them; but in some cases they had come back and converted them into forts, whereupon his people had destroyed them, which he could not complain of, seeing the use which had been made of them. He also said that he had never desired war, that he had never refused the terms proposed to him, that he had collected the 600 head of cattle which were asked for, that the attack upon Isandhlwana was not made by his orders, and that his Induna was in disgrace for it, and that he wished negotiations to be resumed, with a view to a permanent settlement. He also sent back the book given to him by the Government at the time of his accession, and asked that it might be shown to him in what respect he had transgressed its provisions. It was impossible for him to open communications, because his messengers were fired upon and in some cases detained. In one case the Natal papers reported that when a small party bearing a white flag approached the British station the flag was fired at to test its sincerity. Unfortunately, Cetewayo's efforts to make peace were never encouraged, and the opinion was held that his messengers were spies.

The War Continued.

At the same time the Home Government was expressing its desire that the war should terminate at the earliest moment consistent with the honour of the British arms and the settlement of the Zulu question. But when war is once begun the officers conducting it are generally reluctant to make peace until the enemy has been entirely crushed. In May it was reported that the King was suing for peace. He said, "White men have made me King, and I am their son. Do they kill the man in the afternoon whom they have made King in the morning? What have I done? I want peace; I ask for peace." Lord Chelmsford, however, was of opinion that Cetewayo must

be deposed, and that peace must be signed at Ulundi, in the presence of the British force.

The Prince Imperial's Position

On Sunday, June 1st, occurred the episode in which the Prince Imperial lost his life. It is so important in itself and so characteristic of the conduct of the war that a detailed account should be given of it. The Prince had arrived in Natal early in April. He acted at first as extra aide-de-camp to Chelmsford, but afterwards became attached to Colonel Harrison, of the Engineers. Harrison was requested to find him some work, and he was asked to collect information about the distribution of troops and similar objects. He then accompanied Harrison on a skirmishing expedition into Zululand, undertaken with the object of ascertaining which route the invading forces should take. They were thus occupied from May 13th to 17th, camping by night with their horses saddled and bridled, marching at dawn, and driving the Zulu scouts before them. The Prince was then sent back, but on May 18th received permission to return and begin a new reconnaissance. Harrison was now informed that he was to consider the Prince Imperial as attached to the quartermaster's staff for duty, but that it was not put into orders because the Prince did not belong to the army. He did not live with Harrison, and only saw him when he came for work or orders, which was very frequently. On May 24th the Prince was ordered to prepare the plan of a divisional camp; but that evening Harrison was rebuked by Chelmsford for having allowed the Prince to go out of the lines without an escort, and gave orders that this should not be done in future, and the Prince received orders to this effect in writing. He was then required to make a map of the country, from the reports received, and this he did very well.

The Fatal Reconnaissance.

As the month advanced, reconnaissances were extended into the country and no enemy was seen. On May 31st the Prince was told that the army was to march on the following day, and that he might go out and report on the roads and the camps for the purpose. Lieutenant Carey, who was Harrison's subordinate officer, expressed a desire to go with the Prince, as he wished to verify a sketch previously made, and Harrison said to him, "All right, you can look after the Prince"; but at the same time he was told that the Prince was to be allowed to do the work of making a report upon the road and fixing a site for the camp. Carey and the Prince were to set out with an escort of six Europeans, a friendly Zulu, and six Basutos; but the Basutos, who were invaluable as scouts, never arrived.

Precautions Neglected.

The party set out along a valley running north-east and gradually narrowing. They reached the watershed in about an hour, and were overtaken by Harrison, who ordered them to wait till the Basutos came up. The Prince said, "Oh! we are quite strong enough," and they pushed on to the river. They proceeded for four miles along a deep, sandy ravine, with precipitous sides, and came to an open space from which a path led to a deserted kraal about two miles away. They went on about two miles farther, but then off-saddled. It was a very dangerous place—a kraal, surrounded by tall grass. Remains of cooking showed that the kraal had been recently occupied, and dogs came out and barked at the intruders. No precautions were taken; the horses were knee-haltered and turned out to graze, coffee was prepared, and no search was made in the surrounding grass.

Death of the Prince.

Yet all this time a party of thirty or forty Zulus were watching the doomed men, waiting for the moment to attack. They crept up through the rank vegetation till their presence was detected by the Zulu who accompanied the British. He gave the alarm, the horses were collected, and the men prepared to mount. Suddenly a volley was fired from the river, the horses were seized with terror and broke away, and a private was shot dead. The Prince's horse — a grey, sixteen hands high, very difficult to control—became wild with fear. The escort galloped away, each anxious to save his own life, and the Prince was left alone. He made desperate attempts to mount, by means of his holster flap, but the leather broke, and he fell beneath his horse, which trampled on him. His body was afterwards found, pierced with eighteen assegai wounds, stripped, with nothing but the amulet which his mother had given him hanging round his neck The body was conveyed to England and buried beside his father's at Chislehurst.

Wolseley Supersedes Chelmsford.

About the middle of June news arrived in South Africa that Chelmsford had been superseded, Sir Garnet Wolseley having been recalled from Cyprus and made Governor of South Africa, High Commissioner of Natal and the Transvaal, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in South Africa. However, till his arrival operations were continued which lasted till the end of the month. On July 27th some natives arrived from Cetewayo bringing 150 of the oxen captured at Isandhlwana, a pair of elephant's tusks, and a letter written by a Dutch dealer, who was with the King. The letter said that the King could not comply with the whole of Chelmsford's demands, as the arms taken at Isandhlwana had

not all come in, and that he had no power as King to disband his regiments. He asked the English, on receipt of what they had asked for, to retire from the country. To this Chelmsford replied that he must advance to the Umvolosi, that he would remain there quietly till noon on July 3rd, when, if certain conditions were complied with, proposals for peace would be entertained, Apparently no reply was received to this ultimatum.

Battle of Ulundi.

Wolseley landed at Durban on June 28th, and Chelmsford acquainted him with what he had done. The final battle of Ulundi was fought on July 4th. Chelmsford had under his command a force of a little over 5,000 men. Redvers Buller, who led the attack, fought with his men in two ranks. The first were mounted, ready to attack any weak point in the enemy's line; the second dismounted, using their saddles as a rest for their rifles. When the front rank were exhausted they retired, and the second then took their places, each thus in turn relieving the other. At last the Zulus advanced with a grand front attack, showing great courage. One who was present tells us that their wild yells and unearthly war-cries were heard through the bang and rattle of the musketry fire. Drury-Lowe charged with his lancers, who, in their furious onslaught, pressed through the wall of human flesh, but the Zulus fought on stubbornly, stabbing at the horses' bellies and trying to drag the men from their saddles. Lord William Beresford pursued the flying Zulus with his dragoons. At last the enemy's force was broken and the Battle of Ulundi was won, and was celebrated at the time as a great victory for British arms. The Zulus numbered at least 23,000, of whom over 1,500 were lost. The British loss was very small, about a dozen killed and eighty wounded. The King's five great kraals had been destroyed.

Wolseley Assumes Command.

For some reason the Battle of Ulundi was not followed up. The Zulu army had been thoroughly broken and dispersed, and nothing could have prevented Chelmsford from destroying the King's stronghold and securing a complete victory. Instead of this, he retired and resigned his command; but it cannot be said whether this was due to the action of Wolseley or not. There is no doubt that Wolseley had been sent out to finish the war as speedily as possible. Accordingly, he crossed the Tugela on July 6th, reached the headquarters of the first division near Port Durnford next day, set to work to reduce expenses, dispensed with the services of the Naval Brigade, stopped reinforcements of every description, and gave up the idea of an invasion of Swaziland.

Search for Cetewayo.

It only remained to find Cetewayo, who was said to be somewhere to the north of the Black Umvolosi, with a small number of adherents; and a force of cavalry was sent from Ulundi for this purpose. They endeavoured in vain to induce his people to betray him, but his folk clung to him with the utmost devotion, as the Highlanders clung with loyalty to the fugitive Prince Charlie. The chase was most adventurous and most picturesque. The men had to live on what they found in the kraals—sour milk, cakes of Indian corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and native beer. Their road led through a thickly-wooded forest, with strange trees, like an artificial park. In some places they came to treeless plains and flats broken by bamboos and massive jungles which seemed almost impenetrable; but in others they met with better cultivated land, with large fields of maize. Now they found tamarinds, which gave them a pleasant shade; now tracts of long, stiff grass, which came up to their saddle-flaps and tickled the horses; now an open steppe, with a distant view of the hills in front; now a thick wood, where the foliage was so dense that they could scarcely see the steps of those in front; now they gazed at the valleys and rivers below from an elevation of 2,000 feet.

The King Surrenders.

From August 19th to August 27th their long marches were incessant. At last they came to a kraal which the King had left early in the morning; mats, blankets, and a snuff-box were recognised as belonging to him. Marching all night, they came at daybreak within four miles of the kraal in which they were told that the King was lying. They knew that he was footsore and very weary. By and by his hut was surrounded, and the native friendlies said to the King's men, "The white man is here; you are caught!"

Major Marter, who commanded the detachment, rode up and called on Cetewayo to surrender.

The King replied, "Enter into my hut; I am your prisoner."

This Marter declined to do, and the King came forth with a dignity which could not have been surpassed, and when a dragoon tried to lay hands on him, he said to the soldier, "Do not touch me. I surrender to your chief."

When Lord Gifford, who had commanded the expedition, came upon the scene, the King said that he surrendered to him, and not to Marter; and then, as an eyewitness tells us, with head erect and regal, though savage, dignity, and the mien of a Roman Emperor, he marched between the lines of the 60th Rifles to

the tent prepared for him, the men presenting arms as he passed.

Thus ended the Zulu War. Cetewayo was taken as prisoner to Cape Town; and the Zulu country, so well governed by a single man, was split up into thirteen districts, each governed by its own chief.

CHAPTER VII

THE PACIFICATION OF AFGHANISTAN

Mayo's Viceroyalty.

AT the risk of repetition, we must give an account of Great Britain's dealings with India under the Beaconsfield Government, on which we have already touched in the chapter devoted to the general survey of his Ministry. The suppression of the Mutiny marked an epoch in the relations of Great Britain to her Indian dependency. The conquest of India within natural frontiers was at an end. The native States were at peace, their limits defined, their dynasties were established, and their existence was guaranteed. In 1869 Sir John Lawrence was succeeded as Viceroy by the Earl of Mayo, appointed by Disraeli just before his Government came to an end. The appointment was far from popular, and Gladstone was urged to cancel it; but the proposed Viceroy proved a success. On his arrival in India he found the Afghan question still unsolved, the dispute about the frontier being difficult to determine. From Baluchistan to Chitral there is a debatable zone of tribal territory, occupied by restless warriors, who owed a very imperfect submission to their nominal suzerain, the Amir of Afghanistan; and it was hard to decide where the limit of British rule should be drawn, especially in view of the advance of Russia in Central Asia. Various plans had been formed of a very divergent character, some authorities holding that the frontier of the British Empire should be withdrawn to the Indus; others that the intermediate zone should be conquered; some that Afghanistan should be partitioned, or the country conquered between the Oxus and the Indus; but, as a fact, Great Britain had stopped at the base of the mountains, had left the tribes independent, and had regarded Afghanistan as an inviolable buffer State.

Shere Ali's Reign.

A new epoch began with the death of Dost Mohammed in 1863, an event which was followed by an internecine war between his sons. Shere Ali held the throne for two years, and was then driven from Cabul and Candahar by his elder brother Afzal. Afzal died and, as his eldest son, Abdurrahman, gave up the claim to the succession, the throne passed to another brother, Azim. In 1868 Shere Ali, starting from Herat, gained possession of all

the dominions of Dost Mohammed, and ruled them for ten years. The policy of Great Britain, at this time, was to recognise the *de facto* ruler, whoever he might happen to be. Lawrence, therefore, recognised Shere Ali, as soon as he had consolidated his power, and made him a present of arms and money. Lord Mayo met Shere Ali in conference at Amballa in March, 1869; but when the Amir made proposals for a closer alliance the Viceroy was compelled by the Home Government to refuse them, much to Shere Ali's disappointment. He took back with him no treaty, but only a promise of moral support, whatever that might mean. In 1869 an agreement had been made with Russia that the Oxus should be accepted as a boundary of Shere Ali's dominions to the north, and that Russia should respect the integrity of his country so long as he promised not to interfere with Bokhara.

Shere Ali's Appeal to Britain.

In 1872 Lord Mayo, while visiting the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands, was assassinated by a fanatic, and was succeeded by Lord Northbrook. The latter's relations with the Amir were not so good as those of his predecessor. Russia was making rapid advances in Central Asia, and Shere Ali was alarmed at them, especially at the conquest of Khiva in June, 1873. The Amir was deeply anxious for an alliance with Great Britain to protect him against Russia. But the Liberal Government, afraid of entanglements, gave him nothing but vague promises. Yet the opportunity of making friends with the Amir ought not to have been allowed to pass. Shere Ali was bitterly disappointed, and sought with Russia the friendship which Great Britain had denied him. Consequently, when Disraeli became Prime Minister, the Government, with a dread of the advance of Russia, suspected Shere Ali of friendly feelings towards their enemy, and desired the Viceroy to press upon him the admission of a British Resident into his country, to be stationed first at Herat and afterwards at Cabul. The Viceroy and his whole Council protested against the proposal, on the ground that this change of policy would produce a disastrous effect in the mind of the Amir. In 1868 and 1873 Shere Ali had entreated the British Government to make a close alliance with him, in order to protect him against Russia, and he had been assured there was no need for apprehension. It would be inconsistent and unwise to force upon him the alliance which had been emphatically rejected, together with a condition which he had always regarded as impossible. Unable to convince the Home Government of the soundness of his views, and unwilling to commit himself to their adventurous

policy, Lord Northbrook magnanimously resigned his office, and Lord Lytton was appointed in his place.

Lytton and Shere Ali.

Lytton proved himself the willing instrument of the new Imperial policy, which, if he did not originate, at all events he executed. He acceded to the demands which Shere Ali had put forward in 1873, but the latter was stubborn in refusing the acceptance of a Resident. The Amir pointed out, with truth, that he would be unable to protect a British Resident against the fanaticism of his subjects, and urged that if he admitted a representative from Great Britain he must also admit one from Russia. Lytton apparently believed that Shere Ali was intriguing with Russia, and such ultimately became the case, although up to May, 1877, all letters from Russia were opened in the presence of the native who represented the British Government at Cabul, and communicated to the Viceroy. The occupation of Quetta in 1876 increased the terror of the Amir, and an interview which took place at Peshawar between the representatives of the Viceroy and the Amir produced no result. When the Afghan envoy, Syed Nur Mohammed, whose name should be mentioned with honour, died, Lytton refused to receive his successor, who was already on his way, and broke off communications with Shere Ali, who naturally turned to Russia. It is difficult to defend the vacillating and yet precipitate policy of Great Britain towards Afghanistan during the ten years which followed 1868.

War Declared with Afghanistan.

We have already narrated at length the conduct of the British Government towards Russia. The two nations were on the brink of war, which was only averted by the Congress of Berlin, and Russia naturally endeavoured to create a diversion in India. On June 13th, 1878, the very day on which the Congress of Berlin held its first sitting, a Russian mission, under General Stoletov, began its march from Tashkent to Cabul. Shere Ali endeavoured to arrest its progress; but the Russians threatened him with the rivalry of Abdurrahman, his nephew, who resided in their country, so that he was compelled to submit, and possibly even signed a treaty with the Russian Government. This news decided Lytton upon vigorous action, and he announced his intention of sending Sir Neville Chamberlain to Cabul. Stoletov, on hearing of this, left Cabul, and, on September 30th, Major Cavagnari, who commanded the advance guard of Chamberlain's mission, was stopped at the fort of Ali Musjid, refused an entrance to the Khyber Pass, and eventually war was declared on November 21st, 1878. Shere Ali deserves our pity; he had done his best to avert the dangers

which threatened his country, and the death of his younger son, Abdullah Jan, had nearly disordered his mind.

The Treaty of Gundamuk.

Afghanistan was invaded by three columns—Sir Samuel Browne marched from the Khyber to Jelalabad; Sir Frederick Roberts executed his famous advance through the Kuram Pass, and stormed the heights of Peiwar; and Sir Donald Stewart marched from Quetta to Candahar. Shere Ali fled northwards to Turkestan, leaving his son Yakub Khan to make terms with the invader; and, rejected by the Russian General Kauffmann, died broken-hearted in February, 1879. Lytton would have preferred to dismember the conquered country, but the British Government made with Yakub Khan the Treaty of Gundamuk in May, 1879. By the terms of this treaty the Amir was to follow the orders of the British Government in conducting his foreign relations, to receive a British Resident at Cabul, to place under British control the districts of Kuram, Pishin and Sibi, together with the passes of Khyber and Michni. In return for these concessions the Amir was to be protected, by arms, money and troops, from foreign aggression and to receive an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees.

Murder of Cavagnari.

The chief object of the Treaty of Gundamuk was to secure that a British Resident should be established at the court of the Amir Yakub Khan of Afghanistan, and in accordance with it Sir Louis Cavagnari was received at Cabul as Resident on July 24th, 1879. He had, as escort, a mounted guard of twenty-five sowars, and fifty sepoys of the Guides, the Amir having promised to protect him. Certain regiments arrived from Herat on August 5th and swaggered through the streets of Cabul, declaiming against the admission of the ambassador. Cavagnari was warned of the coming storm, but remained calm, refusing to believe the rumours and, when convinced of their truth, saying, "They can only kill the three or four of us here, and our deaths will be avenged." On September 2nd he sent a message to the Viceroy that all was well; next day he and the whole mission were murdered; not one of them was left. Yakub Khan sat in his palace, vacillating and sullen, but did nothing. Instead of employing the troops which were faithful to him to quell the disorder, he only sent the Commander-in-Chief to remonstrate. It was not till Cavagnari's head was carried through the bazaar by an excited crowd that he began to fear British vengeance.

Roberts in Cabul.

The news reached Sir Frederick Roberts at Simla at midnight on September 4th, and he secured the Shutargardan Pass and determined to move 6,000 men upon Cabul as soon as possible.

be settled what Great Britain was to do with Afghanistan now that she had got it, and who could be set up as ruler, with any chance of being able to hold his own. Abdurrahman Khan, who occurred to some as a likely man, had been living since 1868 in exile beyond the Oxus, under Russian protection. Roberts now heard that he was at Kanduz, on his way to Badakhshan. A fortnight later Sir Donald Stewart was informed by the Prince's mother, who lived at Candahar, that his cousin, Ayub Khan, having asked him to march with him against the British, her son had replied that he would have nothing to do with the family of Shere Ali, that he had no intention of opposing the British, that he could not leave Russian territory without the permission of the Russians, or come to Cabul without an invitation from the British; but that, if he received such an invitation, he would obey it at once. Lytton felt very sanguine about Abdurrahman, and desired to place him on the throne of Cabul. By the end of March it was known that Abdurrahman had made himself master of Afghan Turkestan, and overtures were made to him. He answered them in a guarded manner, saying that he wished to be friends with the British, but that he was under great obligations to the Russians. In the meantime, Roberts held a durbar on April 13th, at which it was declared that Yakub Khan would not be allowed to return, that there was no intention of annexing the country, that the British would withdraw as soon as a suitable ruler had been found, and that Candahar would not again be united to Cabul.

Abdurrahman Proclaimed Amir.

Sir Donald Stewart had left Candahar on March 30th, had gained a victory at Ahmed Khel on April 19th, and reached Cabul on May 5th. On the same day Roberts heard that Beaconsfield had ceased to be Prime Minister, his place having been taken by Gladstone, that Lytton had resigned the Viceroyalty, that Lord Ripon was to be his successor, and that Hartington was Secretary of State for India. Ripon's instructions were to effect a peaceable settlement with Afghanistan, the Liberal Cabinet being determined as far as possible to return to the state of things which existed before 1876. On July 22nd Abdurrahman was formally proclaimed Amir, with the understanding that he was to have no foreign relations with any other State except Great Britain. He was to be defended against outside aggression so long as he observed this condition, and he was not required to admit a British Resident. It was not, however, intended that he should succeed to all the dominions of Shere Ali, for Candahar was to be ruled by an independent

prince, and Herat was to remain for the time in the possession of Ayub Khan, a son of Shere Ali.

Roberts' Promise.

Immediately after the durbar orders were issued for the retirement of the troops. Some time later Roberts started off to ride to the Khyber Pass; but, obeying a sudden presentiment, determined to return to Cabul, and on the way was met by Sir Donald Stewart, who told him that Ayub Khan had almost annihilated a British brigade at Maiwand on July 27th and was besieging General Primrose in Candahar. Roberts was deeply affected by the news. It was impossible to say how far what had happened would affect the arrangements with Abdurrahman or what the attitude of the tribesmen would be; but it was certain that his first duty was to send assistance to Candahar from Cabul. He was strongly in favour of this course, although the Government first thought that the advance should be made from Quetta. He promised that he would reach Candahar within the month, and Lord Ripon assented to this proposal. The force under him consisted of about 10,000 men of all ranks and 18 guns, comprising three brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, and three batteries of mountain artillery. The army had to take with them 8,000 animals, and had great difficulty in providing food and fuel. Sometimes the soldiers could only cook with tiny roots of southern-wood, which had to be dug out and collected after a long day's march before the men could eat their dinner.

The Wonderful March on Candahar.

Roberts began the memorable march on Monday, August 6th. As a rule, the army rose at 2.45 in the morning and by 4 everything was ready for the day's start. A halt of ten minutes was called at every hour, and at 8 twenty minutes was allowed for breakfast. The column changed its face every day, the front brigade becoming the rearguard, which had the most arduous duty, in preventing the followers from lagging behind, which meant certain death. Towards the end of the march the followers were so weary and footsore that they laid themselves down in ravines, making up their minds to die and, when discovered, entreating to be left where they were. But such care was taken that only twenty were lost, besides four native soldiers. The temperature varied from freezing-point to 110° F., and was very trying, and the force suffered from sandstorms as well as want of water. The Zambak Kotal, 8,000 feet high, had to be crossed on August 12th, and by August 15th the army reached Ghazni. At Charden they learned that Candahar was closely invested, but had supplies for two months and forage for fifteen days, and on August 21st they opened heliograph communication with the

town. On August 23rd the army rested for a day, having made a continuous march of 275 miles. On August 31st Roberts—still weak from the fever which had attacked him—rode into Candahar, 313 miles from Cabul. He had covered the whole distance in twenty days. The garrison turned out and gave the relieving force a hearty welcome, very grateful for rendering their assistance so quickly. They were in a state of deep depression, and had not even hoisted the Union Jack until succour was close at hand. The decisive battle took place on September 1st, and Ayub Khan was completely defeated. Roberts was so exhausted that he with difficulty found strength to announce his victory to the Queen; but he woke on the following morning to realise that the march had ended. Candahar had been saved, Ayub Khan's army was routed and dispersed, and southern Afghanistan was freed from further disturbance.

Surrender of Candahar.

The evacuation of the country proceeded, the British troops being withdrawn through the Bolan and Khyber passes. The policy of placing Candahar under an independent ruler proved a failure and he was allowed to resign. Candahar was evacuated in 1881, although a great clamour against its surrender was made by the so-called Imperial party, of which Gladstone was believed to be a bitter antagonist. In point of fact, the evacuation proved to be a most salutary measure. Nothing bound the Amir so closely to the British alliance as the possession of a place he had always ardently coveted. It is true that it was not obtained without a struggle, because Ayub Khan, advancing from Herat, occupied and held the city for a few months; but he was defeated by Abdurrahman, who thus became master both of Candahar and Herat, and in 1883 his subsidy was increased to eight lakhs. In this manner the dominions of Dost Mohammed were at last consolidated under a capable ruler, who was firmly convinced of his divine right to hold them and also understood that, while it was the interest of Russia to dismember his country, it was the interest of Great Britain to preserve it intact. He thus fulfilled his part as an outpost in defence of the northern frontier of India.

Afghan Boundary Commission.

Ripon was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Dufferin, and in 1884 the occupation of Merv by Russian troops once more raised the question of a definite boundary between Afghanistan and Russian territory in Asia. The chief difficulty arose with regard to Penjdeh, which had been occupied by the Afghans; but in March, 1885, they were attacked and driven out by the Russians. War between Russia and Great Britain, however, was avoided by the statesmanlike good sense of Abdurrahman and the diplomacy of

Dufferin. The Amir was determined at all costs to prevent a war between the two Powers which enclosed his frontier, well knowing that it would be a fatal calamity. He was ready to abandon Penjdeh if he were allowed to hold Zulfikar. An Afghan Boundary Commission was appointed which worked hard to arrive at a conclusion during the years 1885 and 1886, and their conclusions were supplemented and ratified by an agreement signed at St. Petersburg in 1887. A frontier line was marked out between the Heri Rud and the Oxus, beyond which Russia was not to advance towards India, and there was prospect of peace for the future.

The "Forward Policy."

From this time Abdurrahman remained consistently faithful to Great Britain; but his personal relations with successive Viceroys naturally varied with their character and their policies. Lord Lansdowne, who succeeded Dufferin, was not so intimate with the Amir as his predecessor had been, and there had come about a gradual change in British frontier policy. Between the two countries lay a belt of territory occupied by semi-savage tribes which it was the duty of the Indian Government to keep in order, although it was impossible to foresee anything to prevent their depredations, while it was easy for the Amir to foment disturbances if he desired to do so. A school of administrators arose in India who were in favour of a forward policy, of the rectification of the frontier, the extension of railways, and the reduction of these semi-independent clans to order. The Amir viewed approach to his frontiers with jealousy, and desired that the tribes under his religious headship should be left alone. Abdurrahman also cherished grievances against Great Britain for acts of aggression in the Pamirs, and was alarmed at the approach of the British railway to the neighbourhood of Candahar. However, satisfactory arrangements were made in 1893, when it was agreed that the Afghan frontier, both as regarded Great Britain and Russia, should be settled as soon as possible. The Amir's yearly subsidy was raised from £80,000 to £120,000, and he was promised further supplies of arms and ammunition. Up to the time of his death, in 1901, the friendliness of his relations with the British Government remained unbroken.

Lord Curzon as Viceroy.

The difficult question of Indian frontier policy had to be settled by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who succeeded Lord Elgin as Viceroy in 1899. Having made a special study of the frontier question before he assumed office, he held a position intermediate between the two schools, the forwards and their opponents. He did not, on the one hand, believe in extending the British

dominion until it touched the Afghan frontier; nor, on the other, was he in favour of evacuating Chitral, Quetta, and the points already reached. He held that in the restless districts the place of British troops should be taken by tribal levies, trained and commanded by British officers. The tribes were assured that no interference would be permitted either with their religion or their independence, but they were given to understand that strict order must be kept on the borderland. Advantage was taken of their mutual jealousies and suspicions, and they were set to watch each other, instead of looking for an opportunity to attack their common enemy. A concentration of force and an increase of garrison were effected within the British lines, the traffic in arms and ammunition was suppressed so far as possible, and strategic railways were pushed forward. This wise policy brought about an era of peace on the north-western frontier, thus testifying to the success with which it had combined the advantages of economy, efficiency and respect for tribal independence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRAGEDY OF KHARTUM

TEWFIK PASHA had been placed on the throne of Egypt in 1879 by the joint action of Great Britain and France. He entered upon his office with a high reputation for integrity and accessibility to Western ideas. His habits were simple, thus contrasting in a striking manner with those of his predecessor, Ismail. His first act on succeeding to the Khediviate was to reduce the Civil List from £360,000 to £200,000 a year. The Porte issued a firman confirming Tewfik in all the privileges enjoyed by his father. Cherif Pasha was ordered to resign, and Riaz Pasha, who was reported to be the most Liberal of Egyptian statesmen, and had been one of the creators of the system of Dual Control, was placed at the head of the Government. It seemed that an era of peace and tranquillity had settled over the land. In 1880 a law of liquidation was passed which appeared to place the financial affairs of Egypt on a satisfactory footing, and other reforms were begun. But the East is the land of surprises, and it is difficult for Western rulers to understand or to divine what is passing in the Eastern mind.

The Khedive's Reforms.

There was, indeed, some cause for discontent. The law of liquidation, passed to secure the interests of foreign bondholders, prevented the Khedive and his ministers from devoting the revenue of their country to the development of Egypt, and the Dual Control involved the employment and maintenance of more than 1,300 persons at the cost of nearly £400,000. A cry arose of "Egypt for the Egyptians!" and in 1881 signs of trouble began to show themselves. Under Ismail Egypt had not been free from military pronunciamientos and the interference of the army in the government was to be expected. On February 1st a quarrel broke out between the Circassian and Egyptian officers, the latter complaining that the Circassians were treated with undue favour, the Minister of War being himself a Circassian. Three of the Egyptian colonels having been placed under arrest, the regiment commanded by one of them marched to the military prison, broke open the doors, and released their chief. The soldiers clamoured for his reinstatement and the dismissal of the Minister of War.

"Egypt for the Egyptians!"

The Khedive took counsel of his masters, the French and British consuls-general, but it was found that the troops in Cairo were not strong enough to put down the mutineers, and that a black regiment was marching to join the latter. Their demands were acceded to, the Minister of War was dismissed, and the soldiers returned with shouts of "Long live the Khedive!"

The Rise of Arabi.

Military discontent continued, however, and a colonel in the army, known as Ahmed Arabi, "the Egyptian," but better perhaps as Arabi Bey, put himself at the head of the movement. Some believed that he was an enthusiastic patriot, eager to free his country from a foreign yoke, and this view was probably correct; but he could not make himself champion of the national cause without becoming a mutinous soldier, and as that he had to be regarded. He would certainly have deposed the Khedive if he had found an opportunity of doing so. The tone of Arabi's party in addressing Tewfik grew increasingly disrespectful, and early in September the Khedive ordered that the 4th Regiment, of which Arabi was colonel, should be transferred from Cairo to Alexandria.

Arabi's Demands.

To resist this a meeting was held by Arabi and his partisans on September 7th, at which it was determined to make a demonstration for the purpose of intimidating the Khedive and compelling the resignation of Ministers. On Friday, September 9th, the Minister of War received a letter at 1 in the afternoon, signed "Arabi Bey," in which he was informed that at 3 the army would assemble in the square before the Abdin Palace at Cairo, and demand the dismissal of Riaz Pasha and his colleagues, the summoning of the Chamber of Notables, and the increase of the army by 18,000 men. Tewfik, who was at the palace of Ismailieh, asked the advice of Sir Auckland Colvin, one of the comptrollers of finance, and Mr. Cookson, the consul-general, and, in accordance with their views, went first to the Abdin barracks, where he summoned the 1st Regiment of the Guard, and then to the citadel, where he found another loyal regiment, being received by both with acclamation. Had he marched with these two regiments to Abdin Square, all would have been well, but instead he drove to Abassieh, where Arabi's regiment was posted, with the view of intercepting him. On arriving there he found that Arabi had marched off half an hour before with eighteen pieces of artillery, and on returning to Abdin Square he saw that it was held by 4,000 troops, with cavalry in the centre and guns pointed at his windows. The two regiments in whom he had relied had joined the mutineers, and he had to enter the

palace by the back door. Stimulated by Cookson, he went into the square, but showed little vigour or determination, and the result was that Riaz Pasha, who would have hanged Arabi at once, was forced to retire. Cherif Pasha was reinstated, the Chamber of Notables was summoned, and the mutinous Arabi was created a pasha.

Arabi and the Sultan.

It was time for the Dual Control to interfere, but nothing was done at the moment. Tewfik telegraphed to the Porte for 10,000 men to put down the revolt; but Arabi believed that he had the support of the Sultan. Cherif Pasha refused to accept office unless the mutinous regiments were dismissed from Cairo; but Arabi's party refused to allow this, and demanded the right to appoint the Minister of War, an increase of the army, and a constitution. Discovering, however, that they were not supported by the Notables, the officers agreed to leave Cairo for a time, to adjourn the questions of the increase of the army and the constitution, and to allow Cherif Pasha to choose his own Ministers. But although peace was apparently restored it was evident that Tewfik's power had been seriously weakened.

Arabi's Manifesto.

In the first week of January, 1882, Arabi returned to Cairo, and was appointed Under-Secretary in Cherif's Ministry. A manifesto, which appears to have been drawn up by him, was published in *The Times*, demanding the abolition of the Dual Control, the dismissal of European officials, and the adoption of the principle of Egypt for the Egyptians. This movement was resisted by the Powers. The Notables claimed the right of regulating the budget, to which the comptrollers objected, and Cherif Pasha resigned, his place being taken by Mahmud Samy, while Arabi was appointed Minister for War. The Notables became an important part of the Government. Gambetta, the Prime Minister of France, was eager for intervention, and supported the sending of a joint Note to the Khedive assuring him of the support of the Western Powers; but France was not strong enough to support a statesman of Gambetta's energy, and he fell from power, Freycinet, a man of very different stamp, taking his place. Tewfik was helpless and Arabi became the most powerful man in Egypt.

The Khedive Ignored.

The party of revolution impudently ignored the authority of the Khedive, and even went so far as to summon the Chamber without consulting him. The French and British Governments were so much alarmed for the safety of Europeans that they each sent an ironclad to Alexandria. The Nationalist Government promised to protect the lives of foreigners, but intimated that

they only recognised the authority of the Porte and not that of Tewfik. France and Great Britain now moved their whole fleets from Suda Bay in Crete to Alexandria, declaring that they would use such means as they might think necessary to maintain order and the authority of the Khedive. This terrified the Ministers, and they hastened to the Ismailieh Palace and made their submission to Tewfik. But they were strongly opposed to more vigorous measures. Arabi was ordered to retire from Egypt for a year, but he refused to go, and the whole Ministry resigned. Cherif Pasha was asked to undertake the work of government, but he refused. The military party became more arrogant than ever, and informed the Khedive that they would not listen to the remonstrance of the Powers and rejected all authority except that of the Porte. Indeed, on May 27th, Arabi stimulated a demonstration with the object of warning Tewfik that, unless the portfolio of the War Office were returned to him, the Khedive's life would be in danger.

Arabi's Defiance.

When the combined fleets arrived at Alexandria, Arabi, the only person in the country whose authority was respected, gave orders to put the harbour in a condition of defence, and earthworks were thrown up and batteries erected. This caused great uneasiness and, on May 30th, Mr. Cookson, the British consul-general, sent to Lord Granville a memorandum, signed by the principal merchants, stating the dangerous condition of affairs. Arabi proceeded to increase the defences; and the Porte sent a commissioner, Dervish Pasha, to examine the situation, but no one, apparently, paid the slightest attention to him. Arabi treated the Khedive, the Sultan, and the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, with equal contempt.

Arabi Controls the Government.

At last, on June 11th, a riot broke out. Mr. Cookson was dragged out of his carriage, the Greek consul-general was attacked, and a French consular dragoman and several French and British subjects were killed. The loss of life was estimated at from fifty to 200. The representatives of the Powers at Cairo appealed to Dervish Pasha to ensure the security of Europeans throughout Egypt, but he declined to undertake the responsibility, as he had no troops. They had, accordingly, no alternative but to apply to Arabi, who undertook the duty, the Khedive and Dervish Pasha associating themselves with him.

France Declines to Interfere.

What was to be done? Gladstone and Granville would have been false to their promises and antecedents if they had not used their best efforts to keep clear of Egyptian entanglements; but they could not continue to recognise Arabi as the ruler of Egypt.

They endeavoured to act in concert with France, but the Government of that country was not in a position to take vigorous measures, and the only French statesman who could have done so had recently fallen from power. The task was therefore left to Great Britain alone, and the stress of circumstances imposed upon this country a duty which had been continually offered to her, which she had persistently rejected, but which she was now forced to accept.

Admiral Seymour's Ultimatum.

On July 10th Sir Beauchamp Seymour sent an ultimatum to Arabi, demanding not only that the work on the forts should be discontinued, but that they should be placed in British hands. By this time nearly all the European inhabitants had taken refuge on the foreign ships. As no message was received from Arabi at nightfall on July 10th the British ships left the inner harbour and took up their position for the bombardment of the forts, and the French ships sailed away to Port Said. France deliberately left Great Britain master of the field.

The Bombardment.

Thirteen British vessels were present, and at 7 in the morning of July 11th the first shot was fired by the *Alexandra*, and the conflict became general. One of the forts was blown up at 8.30 and at 11.30 the guns of another were silenced. Fort Pharos, at the extremity of the beautiful bay, which preserves the undying memory of Cleopatra, and perhaps enshrines her embalmed remains, held out till 4, and the order to cease fire was not given till 5.30. The British loss was five killed and twenty-seven wounded. As the forts were not formally surrendered, the bombardment was resumed on the following morning. The Egyptians hoisted a white flag, but said to those who replied to it that they could not surrender the forts without the authority of the Khedive. A truce was agreed to, but at the expiration of it the *Inflexible* opened fire.

Chaos in Alexandria.

It was then found that the entire line of fortifications had been evacuated by Arabi and his troops under cover of the white flag. But, by accident or design, the prisons had been thrown open and the city was filled with abandoned criminals, who committed every outrage. During two days, July 12th and 13th, the city was given up to every kind of horror. Property was destroyed and many people were killed, chiefly Greeks and Levantines. On July 14th Seymour deemed it absolutely necessary to send a force of bluejackets and marines ashore to quell the riots. The work was executed promptly and efficiently. Plunderers caught red-handed were shot, and malefactors were sent to the prisons from which they had escaped, to await their

trial. Within twenty-four hours order had been restored. The Khedive had been confined in the small palace which lies at the end of the Ramleh, the beautiful sandy stretch which extends six miles from Alexandria and ends with the Victoria College. He was now released and, placing himself under British protection, was conveyed to the Palace of Ras-el-tin, in the vicinity of the harbour. Alexandria was now in the hands of the British, but Cairo was still in the power of the insurgent military chiefs; and Arabi, having withdrawn all his troops from the former city, was prepared to defend himself in the desert.

The Powers and Britain.

It may be supposed that this action of the British Government was not consented to by Gladstone without great pain—a feeling intensified by the fact that John Bright felt constrained to retire from the Ministry. At the same time it met with the approval of Europe. Germany and Austria were cordial and respectful; France was only desirous of obtaining some equivalent for the decline of her power in Egypt; Italy was pleased that British association with France had become less close; and Russia was thinking chiefly of her interests in the Black Sea. Freycinet would have fought for the Canal, but France would not support him; the terror of what Bismarck might attempt paralysed her energies. Indeed, on July 29th, the French Chamber turned Freycinet out of office by a large majority rather than sanction intervention even for the protection of the Suez Canal.

Gladstone Defence.

Let us now hear what Gladstone said in defence of his action: "It had come to pass that in Egypt everything was governed by military violence; every legitimate authority—the Khedive, the Sultan, the Notables, and the best men of the country—had been put down. A situation of force had been created which could only be met by force, and everything had been done to make that force the force of a united Europe acting in the interests of civilisation. The British fleet at Alexandria found itself threatened by the armament of fortifications. Demands of surrender having been met by fraud and falsehood, there was no alternative but to destroy them. The pillage of the released convicts which followed was done by the wickedness of Arabi. These were the causes of our action, which has not been met with a word of disapproval, great or small, from any source having the slightest authority. It brought again to light the benignness of British rule, and advanced the Egyptian question towards a permanent and peaceful solution." Gladstone came to the conclusion that in this work he had been a labourer in the cause of peace.

The Military Expedition.

It now became necessary for the British Government, having gone so far, to take stronger measures. A vote of credit of £2,300,000 was obtained from Parliament on July 27th, and three days later the first battalion of an expeditionary force sailed for Egypt. Originally numbering 1,010 officers and 21,000 men, the force was afterwards increased, first to 33,000, and later, by the addition of Indian troops to the number of 7,200, to 40,560. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had command of the expedition, having been delayed by an attack of fever, did not reach Alexandria till August 16th. Finding that Alexandria was full of spies, he had recourse to stratagem to conceal his operations. He gave out that he was going to Abukir to silence the forts and land the troops, and on August 18th the whole fleet of warships and transports sailed apparently for that place. But next day the public heard that Port Said had been the objective, that it was occupied by the first division of the Guards, and that the fleet was blockading the land. This was done with such ease that the duty of taking possession of the offices of the Suez Canal Company on behalf of the British fleet and army was entrusted to a single midshipman.

The Insurgents Defeated.

It was a great advantage that the waterway of the canal was available for the advance. Ismailia was seized without delay, a Highland Brigade which had arrived from India occupying Shaluf and the Freshwater Canal. On August 22nd the first division disembarked at Ismailia, and on August 24th a strong body of the enemy was found posted at Tel-el-Mahuta, about two miles from Ismailia. They were some 10,000 strong and were defended by twelve Krupp guns; but two British pieces of artillery served to dislodge them. By the end of the day the insurgents were entirely defeated, and retreated. After another combat by the Freshwater Canal the belligerents rested for a time.

The Stand at Tel-el-Kebir.

Arabi had taken up a position at a place called Tel-el-Kebir, or the "Large Mound," a place distant about thirty miles by railway from Ismailia and a little farther than that from Cairo across the desert. This he fortified whilst Wolseley was waiting for the reinforcements from England and India; but on September 9th Sir Garnet advanced from Ismailia towards the enemy's fortifications. Arabi's position was very strong. It was four miles in length, and consisted of a double line of earthworks, interrupted at intervals by redoubts, mounted with guns which could fire both in front and on the flank. This fortress was manned by 20,000 Egyptian troops, while the force opposed to them did not exceed 13,000.

Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.

Wolseley determined on a night attack as best suited to his purpose, and on September 12th, after dark, the camp was broken up and the British army advanced. After a short halt, an hour past midnight, the march was resumed, and the attacking force arrived within 500 yards of the entrenchments before they were perceived by the enemy. Suddenly a shot was fired by the Egyptians and a sheet of flame burst from the whole position. The first line was carried by the Infantry Brigade at the point of the bayonet, the second and stronger line offering little difficulty. The redoubts were scaled, the gunners bayoneted at their guns, and in less than twenty minutes the whole of the right of the Egyptian line was broken and taken. The attack was equally successful against their left. Indeed, the Egyptian army was in danger of being enclosed, as in a net, by the two divisions of the attacking force. The cavalry completed the rout, and Arabi's soldiers fled far and wide across the desert, hotly chased by General Drury-Lowe and Sir Baker Russell. The flat of the sword was used more than the point, and a smart smack of the cold steel on the cheek or the hinder parts was sufficient to effect complete collapse.

Capture of Cairo.

Wolseley then, with the audacity of genius, dispatched 300 cavalry and mounted infantry under Drury-Lowe across the desert, the small force, after a trying march of thirty-nine miles through heavy sand and beneath a torrid sun, reaching Cairo on the evening of September 14th. The invaders were admitted into the city without resistance, and Arabi was taken prisoner in his own house. Thus Cairo was taken by a brilliant *coup de main*, the enterprise of Napoleon and his French in Egypt paling before the exploit of Wolseley and his British troops. The Indian contingent, under General Macpherson, pushed forward from the battlefield of Tel-el-Kebir and occupied Zagazig.

With the fall of Cairo and the capture of Arabi the national movement collapsed, and Wolseley was soon able to send home the bulk of the British troops, retaining only a force of about 10,000 men. Wolseley's brilliant achievement has scarcely ever been surpassed in British military history. The country showed its gratitude by giving him the thanks of Parliament, a grant of £30,000, and a peerage with the title of Lord Wolseley of Cairo.

Great Britain's Task.

What was to be done with Egypt, which had now suddenly and unexpectedly fallen into British hands? Some wished to re-establish the Dual Control, which had proved a complete failure and was the cause of all the troubles. Others desired Great

Britain to withdraw altogether and leave the country to the Khedive, and this opinion was held by no less a veteran than Leonard Courtney, then Secretary to the Treasury. Great Britain made the serious mistake, which she is now expiating, of not assuming boldly the responsibility which circumstances had laid upon her, and of which she could not divest herself. The assumption of the government of Egypt, if not its actual possession, would have been treated by Europe as a relief, and would have received the approbation of all reasonable men. But British statesmen were haunted by dislike of Imperialism, which had certainly been discredited by the disastrous adventures of Beaconsfield, and had not learnt that British rule in the East means the establishment of civilisation in place of barbarism. Lord Dufferin, sent out to arrange matters, arrived at Cairo in the first week of November, 1882, and within a fortnight of his arrival a Note was delivered from the Egyptian Government to the Governments of London and Paris, asking that the Dual Control should terminate. In fact, it had already come to an end at Alexandria and Tel-el-Kebir. France objected to the loss of her influence, which she had emphatically refused to make an effort to preserve, and perhaps too much heed was paid to her susceptibilities.

Neutralisation of the Canal.

Great Britain, however, was determined that the canal should be safeguarded, its destruction having formed part of Arabi's insane plan for the liberation of his country. In January, 1883, Lord Granville, a perfectly delightful personality, but a dawdling and timid Minister, addressed to the Powers a circular dispatch of unwonted firmness and decision, saying that the British Government considered that the free and unimpeded navigation of the canal at all times, and its protection from destruction or damage by act of war, were matters of importance to all nations, and proposing that it should be free for the ships of all nations, in any circumstances, and that it should never be affected by military operations. There was considerable delay before this suggestion was put into a regular form; but two years later, Waddington, the French Foreign Minister, suggested that an International Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the six Great Powers and Turkey, should be convened, and this was done. The discussions really turned on the different views of France and Great Britain, Britain wishing to internationalise the canal completely, being anxious to preserve the independence and territorial rights of Egypt, with which her interests were closely connected. The treaty embodying

these conclusions was not signed till October, 1886, and in the end the canal was not wholly internationalised, but, in the language of Lord Granville, "clothed with that neutrality which attaches by international law to the territorial waters of a neutral State, in which a right of universal passage for belligerent vessels exists, but no right to commit an act of hostility." How this artificial fabric would stand the strain of war remains to be seen.

Clouds in the Sudan.

Peace was established in Cairo and Alexandria; but on the upper waters of the Nile, in the south of the Sudan, a storm was arising. At the beginning of November, at the time of Dufferin's arrival, news reached Cairo that a Mahdi, or prophet, had arisen in those regions and was preparing to march against Khartum with a formidable force. Already it was seen that Great Britain had committed a grave error in not establishing a protectorate in Egypt. Neglect to do this created a situation which has always been, and still is, difficult. Lord Cromer tells us that no British Ministry since the occupation began has held any other language with regard to Egypt save that of declaring that Great Britain's presence there is merely a temporary expedient, and that she will withdraw as soon as Egypt is fit to govern itself. When will a country admit that it is not fit to govern itself? Every advance made by Egypt in security and civilisation is regarded by her as an indication of her capacity for self-government.

Gladstone's Hesitancy.

These considerations agitated Gladstone and Granville in the year 1884, and the historian must take some account of them. Gladstone admitted in the spring of this year that he was principally animated by three considerations—respect for public law, the just claims of the Khedive, and the reluctance to increase the responsibilities of England. These were mere phantoms. It was not likely that France would undertake a war against us, when she had refused her support both to the vigorous Gambetta and the cautious Freycinet. All the other European countries would have supported us. The fault of Gladstone's mind was that he applied his faculty of psychological and ethical analysis to every question equally, and never allowed himself to follow an instinct more powerful and more just than any course which could be arrived at by an elaborate process of ratiocination. Instinct induced Beaconsfield to purchase the canal shares; instinct should have led Gladstone to establish an English Protectorate in Egypt in 1882. As it was, circumstances proved too strong for him. We were forced by them to annex a territory larger than Egypt and to govern it on principles which

secured us a far greater liberty of action than we have ever been able to use in Egypt itself.

The Disaster to Hicks Pasha.

A Mahdi is a hermit, an inspired prophet, honest or dishonest, or a mixture of the two, as the case may be, and not infrequently arises among some Eastern peoples. Such a Mahdi, a native of Dongola, appeared in the Sudan, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1882, his mission being to confound the wicked, the hypocrites, and the unbelievers, and turn the world to the true faith in the One God and His prophet. He was assisted by a powerful friend, afterwards known as the Khalifa. The Sudan belonged to Egypt, having been captured by Mehmed in 1829, and the Equatorial Provinces were added to it by Sir Samuel Baker in 1870. The Sudan had always been badly ruled from Cairo, but that was no reason for abandoning it, and whoever reigned at Cairo was responsible for its proper administration. In the spring of 1883 General Hicks, belonging to the Staff of the Egyptian army, was dispatched by the Khedive from Khartum for the recovery of regions which had revolted under the Mahdi's influence. He succeeded in clearing Sennar of rebels and protecting Khartum; but, against the advice of Dufferin, Malet and Stewart, he continued his operations in Darfur and Kordofan, which the British advisers of the Khedive at Cairo were anxious to abandon. When Gladstone was asked to restrain Hicks from further advance, he said that it was not within the responsibility of Great Britain. However, Hicks' rashness brought with it signal punishment, for on November 5th, 1883, the whole of his force was cut to pieces and the victorious Dervishes were free to march upon Khartum.

Gladstone Advises Abandonment.

The British authorities at Khartum declared that the Egyptian Government could not hold it against an attack, and that, unless some other force came to the rescue, the Sudan must be abandoned. Gladstone refused to employ British or Indian troops for the purpose, but would have allowed the Turks to act at their own expense. He therefore advised the Khedive to abandon all territory south of Assuan or Wady Halfa, and Evelyn Baring agreed with him. Baring was instructed to inform the Egyptian Government that the Sudan would be abandoned. Upon this Cherif Pasha resigned, Riaz Pasha declined to take his place, and Nubar Pasha was with difficulty persuaded to accept office.

Gordon Called in.

When the evacuation of the Sudan was determined upon, it was assumed that this would carry with it the duty of extricating the Egyptian garrisons, which occupied posts in the several provinces, lest they should be massacred by the Mahdi's forces.

But it is doubtful whether this conclusion was correct, for in the cases where opportunity afforded, the garrisons were not massacred, but joined the Mahdi. When, however, it was declared that British honour rendered deliverance necessary, means had to be devised for carrying out the operation effectively. In December, 1883, the Cabinet conceived the idea that General Gordon might be the man for the purpose, and there was much to justify this opinion. After gaining a great reputation and the title of "Chinese Gordon" for suppressing the Taiping Rebellion in 1869, he was appointed by the Egyptian Government, in 1874, Governor of the Equatorial Provinces of Central Africa. He resigned this office in 1876, but in 1877 was created Governor-General of the Sudan, Darfur, the Equatorial Provinces, and the coast of the Red Sea. He held this position till 1879, having succeeded in establishing comparative order. The work he had done did not survive his departure, but it was reasonable to assume that what he had done once he might do again. The authorities in Egypt were reluctant to agree to his appointment, but under pressure from home at last yielded, provided he would pledge himself to carry out the work of evacuation. Gladstone somewhat reluctantly gave his consent on January 16th, 1884, and the die was cast.

Gordon Agrees to Go to Khartum.

Gordon was at this time in Brussels, conferring with the King of the Belgians about a proposed mission to the Congo, which afterwards produced remarkable results. On receiving a telegram from Wolseley summoning him to England, he started at once and arrived in London at 6 in the evening of January 16th, when he had a long interview with the general who had summoned him. On January 18th Hartington, who was Secretary for War, Granville, Northbrook, and Sir Charles Dilke, who was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, met at the War Office in Pall Mall. Wolseley brought Gordon and left him in the ante-room. After a conversation with the Ministers, he came out and said to Gordon, "Government are determined to evacuate the Sudan, for they will not guarantee its future government. Will you go out and do it?" Gordon said that he would, and Wolseley told him to go into the room.

Gordon says: "I went in and saw them. They said, 'Did Wolseley tell you our orders?' I said, 'Yes; you will not guarantee future government of the Sudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now.' They said, 'Yes,' and it was over, and I left at 8 p.m. for Paris." Such is Gordon's own account, written in 1884. It is graphic, but probably does not give a full narrative

of what passed. At the station Granville bought Gordon's ticket, Wolseley carried his bag, and the Duke of Cambridge held open the carriage door. Next day one of the four Ministers said, "We were proud of ourselves yesterday; are you sure that we did not commit an act of gigantic folly?" It is clear that in sending Gordon Wolseley was the moving spirit.

Morley's Appreciation of Gordon.

Lord Morley has given an excellent account of Gordon's character. "Gordon," he writes, "was a hero of heroes. He was a soldier of infinite personal courage and daring, of striking military energy, initiative and resource; a high, pure and single character, dwelling much in the region of the unseen. But, as all who knew him admit, and as his own records testify, notwithstanding an undercurrent of shrewd common sense, he was the creature, almost the sport, of impulse: his impressions and purposes changed almost with the speed of lightning; anger often mastered him; he went often by intuitions and inspirations rather than by cool inference from carefully-surveyed fact; with many variations of mood, he mixed an inexhaustible faith in his own rapid prepossessions while they lasted. Everybody now discerns that to send a soldier of this temperament on a piece of business that was not only difficult and dangerous, but profoundly obscure, was little better than to call in a wizard with his magic."

Gordon and the Mahdi.

Gordon left England with the intention of going to Suakin; but the plan was changed, and he proceeded to Cairo to confer with Baring, and then went on to Khartum. He left Cairo on January 26th, and reached Khartum on February 18th. His first idea had been that he could pacify the Sudan by restoring the old rulers of the different provinces; but on his arrival he found that, with one exception, they had all disappeared, and his plan of action had to be reconstructed. On February 28th he wrote to Baring, "If Egypt is to be quiet, Mahdi must be smashed up. Remember that once Khartum belongs to Mahdi, to leave it will be far more difficult. I repeat that evacuation is possible; but you will feel the effect in Egypt, and will be forced to enter into a far more serious affair to guard Egypt." Gordon clearly saw what afterwards became obvious, that with the Mahdi at Khartum the whole situation in Egypt became uncertain.

Investment of Khartum.

Immediately after his arrival at Khartum, Gordon sent a message to Baring proposing that, upon his withdrawal from the city, Zobeir Pasha should be named as his successor in the Governorship of the Sudan. He should be made a K.C.M.G. and have presents made to him. Zobeir had been a noted slave-dealer and had acquired Darfur for Egypt. He was a great

soldier and the ablest leader in the Sudan. He is described by Wingate as a far-seeing, thoughtful man, of iron will, a born ruler of men. Gordon had been responsible for the shooting of Zobeir's son, and this would naturally have produced a death feud between them; but they met at Cairo, and although Zobeir reproached Gordon with having killed his son, they were apparently not bitter enemies. Baring and Stewart supported Gordon's request for Zobeir, and Nubar was favourable to it, but it was strongly opposed by the religious and anti-slavery societies in England. Gordon said that if Zobeir was not sent there would be no chance of getting the garrisons away. Gladstone came round to Gordon's opinion, and the Queen supported it, but it became certain that the opposition in Parliament would be too strong, and therefore he was not sent—a fatal and irreparable mistake. Gordon was from this time gradually surrounded by the Mahdists until all chance of escape had vanished. From the end of March it was probable that no road of retreat was open, and when Berber fell, on May 26th, the investment became complete. As the troops could not be depended upon, Gordon was obliged to remain on the defensive behind his earthworks, but he succeeded, nevertheless, in sending down 2,600 persons in safety to Assuan.

Gordon's Peril.

During the remaining months of 1884 the question of the relief of Gordon was debated. Popular opinion was strongly in favour of it, and it occupied the attention of the Cabinet during the whole of May and June. At last Hartington declined to be responsible for the War Department unless a decision were reached, and before Parliament was prorogued a pledge was given that an expedition should be sent, and the money necessary for it was voted. But long weeks were consumed in the discussion as to the best route to be adopted, whether the relief force should be sent up the Nile or from Suakin to Berber. Wolseley, who was to command the expedition, strongly advocated the Nile route, and a Departmental Committee, after careful deliberation, reported in favour of it on July 29th, so that he was able to leave London for Cairo on September 1st. Ten days later Gordon sent Colonel Stewart, his second in command, down the Nile in the *Abbas* steamer to convey news to Lower Egypt, but the steamer was treacherously run aground and the party murdered. All their papers were captured, among which were some which gave full details of the stores and food in the city up to September 9th, with the exact strength of the garrison. It was thus possible

for the enemy to calculate exactly how long Gordon could hold out, and the siege was therefore more closely pressed.

An Unwieldy Column.

Kitchener recommended that the expedition should consist of a small and handy column, but it gradually grew to an unwieldy body of 10,000 men. In consequence, it moved very slowly, and on October 21st was still at Wady Halfa, struggling with difficulties of transport and the lack of coal. On November 12th the Dervishes made a strong attack upon Omdurman, on the other side of the Nile, opposite to Khartoum. Gordon was suffering much from want of food, and actual starvation set in; rats and mice, the leather of boots, the straps and plaited strips of native bedsteads, the flower of the mimosa, the inner fibre of the palm tree being all eagerly consumed. The enemy were pressing the attack night and day, and the relief seemed as far off as ever.

Battle of Abu Klea.

On December 14th, which marks the last entry in Gordon's diary, the leading troops had just reached Korti, the point where the caravan route crosses to Metammeh. A halt of sixteen days was made here, and the march was not resumed until December 30th. Even then the advance was very slow. The column was short of baggage animals and was obliged to move in detachments, sending the camels back to Korti to fetch up more men and stores. The column did not reach Gakdul until January 12th, and the camels were so exhausted that another rest of three days was necessary. After Gakdul they met with severe resistance, and on January 17th was fought the battle of Abu Klea, in which Sir Herbert Stewart was mortally wounded and was replaced by Sir Charles Wilson. On January 19th a battle took place at Metammeh, but on the evening of the same day the Nile was reached at Gubat, only 100 miles distant from Khartum.

The Last News of Gordon.

Here, on January 21st, four steamers arrived from Gordon and, to the great delight of the expedition, brought tidings of him. Every consideration urged immediate departure, and it is probable that if the steamers had started at once the sight of the red coats would have driven the Mahdi's army into Kordofan and Khartum would have been saved. But three days were unaccountably wasted, partly in exchanging the Egyptian troops for Sudanese, and partly in making reconnaissances, and it was not until January 24th that Sir Charles Wilson started with steamers, containing a detachment of the Sussex Regiment, for the beleaguered city. At midday on January 28th, the steamers, having cleared the cataract which lies between Gubat and Khartum, reached the island of Forti, from which Khartum can

be discerned. Alas! no flag was flying from the roof of the palace. Half an hour later the city was in full view, and they were received by the fire of artillery and musketry. Khartum had fallen. In the Dervishes' final assault, only made on January 26th, Gordon boldly met his fate on the steps of the palace which he had so long defended. He was killed by a revolver shot, and his head was cut off and thrown at the feet of Slatin Pasha.

Public Indignation.

The news of the fall of Khartum was received in Great Britain on February 5th, and caused an outbreak of universal indignation. Gladstone, who was staying at Holker with Hartington, hurried to London. The Queen sent an angry telegram, not written in cipher, blaming her Ministers for what had happened. Votes of censure were moved in both Houses; that in the House of Lords was carried by 181 votes to 81, but in the Commons the Government escaped defeat by a majority of 14. Resignation was thought of, but Gladstone was opposed to it. Some feeble attempts were made to repair the disaster. A mixed British and Indian force, with a contingent of Colonials from New South Wales, advanced from Suakin and began to lay down a railway from that point to Berber. But the pressure on the Afghan frontier caused unexpected difficulties; and in April, in spite of the strong opposition of the Queen, the Sudan was finally deserted. Its eventual recovery will be related in another place.

All the circumstances connected with the loss of Khartum were undoubtedly most discreditable, and exhibited a culpable feebleness in every part of the Administration. Between the end of March and the beginning of August the Government showed constant vacillation, military operations dawdled on through August and September, and this incompetence lasted until the fatal delay at Gubat, which sealed the fate of the hero. The death of Gordon remains an indelible stain on the Liberal Government of 1880.

CHAPTER IX

INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSVAAL

Bradlaugh and the Oath.

WE must now relate the events which led to the resignation of Gladstone's Ministry in 1885. Charles Bradlaugh became prominent, and we must give some account of him. He was a man of high character and rigid sternness, but held opinions which shocked the conscience of the people, partly on religion and partly on questions of sexual morality. Being elected to Parliament in 1880 as junior member for Northampton, he claimed to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath, as he had been already allowed to do in courts of justice. The matter was referred to a Select Committee, which decided against Bradlaugh by a majority of one. He then agreed to take the oath, but this he was not allowed to do. A second committee decided he could not take the oath, but might affirm at his own risk. Then, on June 29th, a motion was carried that he could neither affirm nor take the oath. Bradlaugh came to take the oath, but was ordered to withdraw, and, refusing to do so, was committed to the Clock Tower. On July 1st Gladstone proposed that any member might affirm without taking the oath, subject to his liability by statute. This was carried by a large majority, and Bradlaugh took his seat, ending for the time a most discreditable scandal.

In March, 1881, the Court of Appeal decided that Bradlaugh, not being a Quaker, had forfeited his seat by voting without taking the oath. He was re-elected for Northampton, but on attempting to take his seat was excluded from the precincts of the House, and, afterwards, on endeavouring to force his way through the doors, was dragged by policemen into Palace Yard. Being re-elected in 1882 and denied the oath as before, he administered the oath to himself and took his seat. For this he was expelled the House, but by an absurd compromise was allowed to sit below the bar. In 1883 the House of Lords decided that he was not liable for the enormous debt of £45,000, which he was supposed to have incurred for having voted without having been sworn; but before this award Ministers had introduced a Bill which allowed members to choose between affirmation or oath.

In spite of the eloquent advocacy of Gladstone, the Bill was defeated by the majority of three. In 1884 Bradlaugh again administered the oath to himself, voted in three discussions, resigned his seat, and was re-elected by a larger majority than ever. However, the Court of Appeal decided that Bradlaugh had not taken the oath and, having no religious belief, was incapable of taking an oath, so that the sore continued unclosed; but at the meeting of the new Parliament in 1886 the Speaker declared that he would not allow any objection to a newly-elected member taking the oath, so that Bradlaugh sat and voted till his death in 1891. He died universally respected, and three days before his death the House of Commons expunged from its journals the resolutions passed against him eleven years before.

Dynamite Outrages.

At this time London was startled by an apparent conspiracy to destroy it by dynamite, attempts to produce wreckage by explosion taking place at four railway stations—Victoria, Paddington, Charing Cross and Ludgate Hill. Two men were sentenced to penal servitude respectively for life and twenty years; but this did not stop the evil, for in January, 1885, an explosion occurred in the banqueting-room in the Tower and a piece of dynamite under the Treasury Bench blew up Mr. Gladstone's usual seat. Another packet was placed under the steps of the crypt of Westminster Hall, but was prevented from doing damage by the courageous promptitude of Constable Cole. Though none of the Irish members had anything to do with these crimes, they inevitably discredited the Nationalist cause.

Mr. Chamberlain —Radical.

The year 1882 was critical in the history of Great Britain, and the divisions of opinion which agitated the public mind were reflected in the Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain, then President of the Board of Trade, began to give trouble as a Radical. He attacked the House of Lords and described England as the paradise of the rich but the purgatory of the poor. He was in favour of compulsory allotments, small proprietors, a large tax on property, and free education. The Queen remonstrated with the Prime Minister on his leniency, but he replied that these proposals did not raise any definite point on which he was entitled to interfere. Chamberlain went on to say worse things and to advocate the abolition of plural voting, the payment of members, and manhood suffrage, drawing up, in fact, a valuable programme for a future Radical Ministry, which, however, by the irony of fate, he was condemned violently to oppose when these reforms came within the range of practical politics.

THE PHŒNIX PARK MURDERS

The Phœnix Park Tragedy.

Lord Spencer was at this time Viceroy of Ireland, where his administration had been a conspicuous success. Shortly after his appointment Forster resigned the office of Chief Secretary, and was succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Spencer and Cavendish entered Dublin together, on Saturday, May 6th, the day on which Michael Davitt was released from prison at Portland, and the work of conciliation seemed to have begun in earnest. Returning from the Castle to Phœnix Park, Spencer rode with a small escort, and Cavendish walked across the Park with the Under-Secretary, Burke. Four men, who, on April 19th, had only been prevented by accident from assassinating Forster, were now waiting for Burke, whom they stabbed to death near the Viceregal Lodge; Cavendish, of whom they had never heard, went to his assistance, and he also was killed. The miscreants then drove away and disappeared. Englishmen who were alive at this time will never forget the gloom which fell upon the country on that terrible 7th of May. No one felt the blow more than Parnell. He went to Gladstone and offered to retire from Parliament, but Gladstone dissuaded him. Forster chivalrously offered to take the place of Cavendish, but that could not be accepted. The office was given to George Trevelyan, who nobly did his duty, though suffering severely from the strain. It had previously been determined by the Cabinet to introduce a Coercion Bill of a mild character, which, although making the law more stringent, did not authorise the imprisonment of any man without a trial. But the murder of Burke and Cavendish led to its being made more severe, by the addition of clauses which were never employed, but which irritated Irishmen.

The "Invincibles."

Lord Spencer devoted his energies to the discovery of the Phœnix Park murderers, and seventeen men were arrested in January, 1883. Three of these were identified as having been in Phœnix Park on May 6th, and Kavanagh, a car-driver, declared that he had driven four of the arrested men to the Park, and that one of them, James Carey, had given the signal for the murder by waving a white handkerchief, and that after the deed he had driven the assassins away. Carey turned Queen's evidence. He said that the crime was arranged by a body known as the Invincibles, under the orders of "Number One," a man called Tynan. Carey said that he was himself responsible for what had happened in Phœnix Park, and that the original plan had been to murder Earl Cowper, Forster and Burke, but that the first had escaped and Cavendish was slain because he defended his

companion. By this evidence five men were hanged, and three were sent into penal servitude for life. The Invincibles detested Parnell, and had nothing to do with the Land League. Carey was sent to the Cape to save his life, but was shot before he reached his destination by a former comrade, named O'Donnell, who was tried and executed for the crime.

Forster's Attack on Parnell.

In this way Spencer had put down political assassinations in Ireland without resorting to the exceptional measures of the Crimes Act. But the Irish trouble was not over. In February, 1883, Forster made a violent attack on Parnell, not accusing him of murder, but of presiding over an organisation which encouraged outrage. This speech showed clearly that, although Parnell and the Land League had had nothing to do with the Phœnix Park murders, its members had stood passively by while landlords were shot and while tenants who had offended the League were dragged from their homes to be slain in the presence of their families. The speech was unanswerable. Parnell did not reply till the next day, when he did not rebut the assertions, but only said that he was not responsible to England, but to Ireland, and that the House had no jurisdiction in the matter. He did not refute the charges, because it was impossible to do so.

Majuba Hill.

The Government was gradually becoming weaker, and one of the issues used most persistently against it was that of the retrocession of the Transvaal after the Battle of Majuba. It is necessary to explain this. In May, 1880, in pursuance of the policy of reviving the Imperialism of Beaconsfield, it was decided by the Cabinet not to relinquish the Queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal, but to give the country self-government as part of a South African federation. This was a bitter disappointment to Kruger and Joubert, who, relying on the Midlothian speeches, had expected entire independence. Bright and Chamberlain were in favour of independence—although Chamberlain was, at a later period, to be the author of the Boer War—and Gladstone was inclined to agree with them; but Lord Kimberley was strong on the other side. The Dutch farmers took up arms, and on December 16th, 1880, the Boer Republic was proclaimed at Heidelberg and the British garrisons were invested. On January 28th, 1881, the Battle of Laing's Nek was favourable to the Boers, but Sir George Colley, the Governor of Natal, occupied Majuba Hill, four miles within the frontier of Natal, in the hope of making Laing's Nek untenable. He reached the summit unobserved, and believed his position to be impreg-

nable; but next day, February 27th, the Boers climbed the mountain and opened fire on Colley. He was shot through the head, about 90 others fell, and 60 prisoners were taken, although the force of the Boers was less than 200 strong. Roberts was sent out to succeed Colley, who had been ordered by the Cabinet to tell Kruger that, if he would cease from further resistance, a commission would be appointed to settle the terms in dispute. This message was dispatched on February 21st, a reply being demanded in forty-eight hours. As Colley did not receive it, Majuba Hill was occupied as described on February 26th; but, in point of fact, the letter did not reach Kruger till February 28th, the day after the disaster. Kruger replied on March 7th that he accepted the terms offered. Some distinguished officers thought that Colley's death ought to be avenged; but the Cabinet determined to go on with the negotiations, as the Boers had acted in perfect good faith. The Convention of Pretoria was signed in August, and Roberts was recalled from Cape Town twenty-four hours after his arrival. The righteous act of restoring the independence of the Transvaal afterwards formed for a time a favourite subject of attack on the Liberal Government, and the refusal to avenge Majuba was ignorantly declared to be one of the most prominent causes of the second Boer War.

County Enfranchisement.

The great measure of 1884 was the Reform Bill for the enfranchisement of the counties, which was introduced on February 28th. Counties were given the household and the lodger franchise, which had existed in boroughs since 1867, and the number of voters in the United Kingdom was increased from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. The question of the redistribution of seats was left over for another year. The Bill was not directly opposed by the Conservatives, but they moved an amendment that redistribution should precede reform. Ireland was included in the Reform measure, which made Home Rule certain at some time or other.

The Redistribution Bill.

The Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Gladstone thereupon announced an autumn session, when the Bill would again be introduced. Parliament met on October 23rd; but, through the influence of the Queen, a meeting was arranged between the leaders of the two parties, and Salisbury and Northcote went to tea in Downing Street and discussed the question of redistribution. Before the adjournment on December 6th the Franchise Bill had passed the Lords, and the Redistribution Bill had been read a second time in the Commons. Boroughs

having a population of less than 15,000 were merged in the counties; those with less than 50,000 lost one member if they had two; the members for the City of London were reduced from four to two, and thirty-seven members were added to the remainder of London. Towns having more than two members were divided into wards with one member each, and the counties, with the exception of Rutland, were all divided. The number of members in the House was slightly increased. The dissensions between the two Houses, which seemed nearly incurable, had been healed by the interposition of the Sovereign.

Defeat of the Liberal Government.

The Government eventually fell from an attack upon the budget, which was introduced by Childers on April 30th, 1885. A deficit of £15,000,000 had to be met, and the national expenditure had reached the then unparalleled amount of £100,000,000. Childers proposed to raise the income tax from sixpence to eightpence, to increase the succession duties, to impose a heavier duty on spirits and beer, and to suspend the Sinking Fund. It was a budget difficult to attack, but the Opposition knew that Chamberlain and Dilke were opposed to the increase of the duty on beer, and that the landed proprietors would stubbornly resent a larger succession duty unless a more generous subsidy were given to the local governing bodies. An amendment was therefore moved by Sir Michael Hicks Beach that the duty on spirits and beer should not be made higher without a corresponding change in the duty on wine, and that the new succession duty was unjust without a corresponding grant from the Treasury for the relief of land rates. On a division the Government was beaten by twelve votes (264 against 252), and the Cabinet resigned. The defeat was due to a coalition between the Tories and the Irish, the latter opposed to renewal of the Crimes Act in any form, the former to any relaxation of it. It was evident that parties would never resume their normal position until the Irish question was settled. The Cabinet was itself divided on the Irish question as well as on the policy to be pursued in Egypt.

Parnell's Power.

It was time, however, that the Administration should cease to be, but it had done a great work. It had passed the Irish Land Act, had largely increased the franchise, had improved the condition of the farmer, protected him from the ravages of agrarian agitators, obtained for him compensation for improvements; secured the decent burial of Dissenters; protected workmen against accidents; defended the property of married women; improved the law of bankruptcy; and more fully provided for

the purity of elections. Egypt could wait, but Ireland remained to be pacified, and Parnell was a man needing to be dealt with. He was, in truth, the master of the situation. What he had failed to obtain from the Liberals he hoped to win from the Tories, but he was doomed to disappointment.

CHAPTER X

HOME RULE

The Penjdeh Incident.

BEFORE Gladstone resigned office, difficulties with Russia had arisen on the Afghan frontier with regard to Penjdeh. A Joint Commission of British and Russians had been appointed to settle the boundary north of Herat, the two Commissioners being Sir Peter Lumsden for Great Britain and Zelenov for Russia. Lumsden reached the debatable land on November 19th, 1884, but Zelenov was supposed to be ill and did not appear. However, bodies of Russian troops, under the command of Alikhanov, a Russianised Mussulman, advanced south of Sarakhs. The Amir moved to the north to defend his territory, and the two hostile forces met at Penjdeh, which was regarded as indisputably Afghan territory. The Russians refused to retire at the request of the British, but said that they would avoid a conflict with the Afghans.

War Preparations.

There was such danger of hostilities that the Queen approached the Tsar personally in favour of peace. A half-promise was given, but on March 30th, 1885, Komarov attacked the Afghans and routed them. Penjdeh was declared to be annexed to Russia, and Lumsden retired towards Herat. It was impossible to pass over this violent conduct in silence. Dufferin prepared to dispatch 25,000 men to Quetta, in order to occupy Herat before the Russians should arrive there, and an arrangement was made which allowed 50,000 men to cross the frontier if war were declared, while the construction of the railway to Quetta was hastened. On April 21st Gladstone asked for a credit of £11,000,000, £4,000,000 of which were for the Sudan and the rest for special preparations. Port Hamilton, an island in the Pacific, which threatened Vladivostok, was occupied. Negotiations, from which a friendly issue might be expected, were, however, continued; but little progress had been made when the Gladstone Ministry came to an end. They were resumed by Salisbury, and Sir West Ridgeway was appointed in the place of Lumsden. A compromise was made which allowed the Russians the road and the Afghans the command of the pass; but the final treaty which delineated the whole frontier between the Heri Rud and the Oxus was not signed till July, 1887.

LORD SALISBURY'S MINISTRY

A Party Compromise.

Lord Salisbury, on taking office, found himself in a minority of nearly 100 in the House of Commons, and it was impossible for a dissolution to take place before November, when the new Franchise and Redistribution Bills would come into operation. This led to a crisis, which lasted a fortnight, during which period there was practically no Ministry. Salisbury could not take office unless pledges were given not to embarrass his government in Parliament, and Gladstone would only come back if Salisbury failed to form a Ministry. Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's Private Secretary, one of the most devoted and most self-sacrificing servants that the Crown ever possessed, called on Gladstone no fewer than six times on June 22nd. On the following day the Queen was able to tell Salisbury that in her opinion he might trust Gladstone's assurances that the Opposition in majority would have no idea of withholding ways and means, and the crisis, almost unique in British history, came to an end. It remains as an example of the dignity, the patriotism, and the wise spirit of compromise which animated the Sovereign and the leaders of the two contending parties—qualities which tend to make party government a blessing rather than a curse.

Lord Randolph Churchill.

But the foundation of a Tory Ministry was no easy task. As Gladstone had to reckon with Chamberlain, so Salisbury had to reckon with Lord Randolph Churchill, the most prominent member of the Fourth Party, a little group of active Conservatives, which included also Arthur Balfour, Drummond Wolff and John Gorst. Lord Randolph had an extraordinary power of speech, which did not consist wholly of invective. He was more of a Liberal than a Tory, or even a Conservative, and might be called a Tory Democrat with original ideas of his own. He believed that the working classes could unite with the Tories in framing a fresh energetic and moral policy for the country. He was in favour of a different treatment of Ireland; but, above all, he wanted new men in office, and spoke contemptuously of the "old gang." Salisbury gave in to him. Stafford Northcote was banished to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Iddesleigh and the unmeaning office of the First Lord of the Treasury. Salisbury became Prime Minister and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Randolph Churchill received the seals of the India Office, and Carnarvon was made Viceroy of Ireland, a pledge that a different attitude towards that country was in contemplation. Cross received the seals of the Home Office, and Hicks Beach led the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

After adjourning for a few days to enable the new members

of the Government who belonged to the House of Commons to be re-elected, the House met for business on July 6th. Little was done except to wind up the session as soon as possible. Carnarvon declared that he did not ask for a renewal of the Coercion Act in Ireland, and Hicks Beach accepted the budget of Childers as far as it was possible to do so. Randolph Churchill made an impressive speech on Indian finance, which showed his capacity for managing important business, and justified the opinion held of him by distinguished Indian officials such as Sir Henry Maine; and on August 14th Parliament was prorogued by commission, on the understanding that it was shortly to be dissolved. Churchill signalised his tenure of the India Office by the annexation of Upper Burma, governed by King Thebaw, who was an impossible sovereign. He gave the order to advance in November, 1885; the conquest was announced as complete on December 1st, and annexation was authorised before the end of the month. He also carried the foundation of the Indian Midland Railway against considerable opposition. There is little doubt that, had health permitted and circumstances been more favourable, the name of Randolph Churchill would stand to-day in the first rank of British statesmen.

Gladstone's Conversion to Home Rule.

It soon became certain that the question of Home Rule for Ireland would be a dominant factor in the new election for Parliament. Gladstone stated in his address that history would combine to disgrace the name of every man who, having it in his power, did not aid in providing and maintaining an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain; and John Morley expressed a confident hope that Gladstone would complete his work in Ireland by giving that country a system of government which would meet her highest claims. At the same time Gladstone desired that the Irish Question should be settled by a Parliament in which the Liberal majority should be so powerful as to be able to act independently of the Irish vote. This was misunderstood by the Irish party, and the consequence was that the Irish vote was cast for the Tories. It is true that Carnarvon was at this time in favour of a kind of Home Rule and was negotiating with Parnell, but it is doubtful how far he could have carried the Cabinet with him. The results of the elections became known in the middle of December. The Liberals returned 334 members, the Conservatives 250, and the Irish Nationalists 86 out of 103. It is clear that if the Liberals were joined by the Irish Nationalists they would have a very large majority, but if the contrary were the case the Tories might sometimes have a

majority of two or three votes. It became known that Gladstone was being gradually converted to Home Rule as a remedy for Irish grievances. He had been studying the question for many years, but in accordance with the habit of his mind he would have thought it wrong to advocate it publicly unless he was sure that the Irish people were in favour of it. The present election left no doubt on that score.

Chamberlain's Unauthorised Programme.

Joseph Chamberlain, whose name now comes prominently forward, had made his reputation as mayor of Birmingham, where he had established a model of municipal government, besides amassing a fortune by the scientific manufacture of screws. First elected to Parliament in 1876, he proved himself to be one of the keenest and most formidable debaters in the House. He had a clear, incisive voice, great self-control, and readiness of repartee. He was thought to be a first-class fighting Radical, whose object was to overthrow the altar and the throne. He was an enthusiastic Home Ruler, and when he opposed Home Rule in Birmingham in 1892 many of those whom he attacked said that they had first learnt Home Rule from him. He was now ambitious of leading the Liberal Party in succession to Gladstone, whose age, he thought, would soon drive him into retirement from the stage of politics. He therefore issued what was known as the Unauthorised Liberal Programme, demanding, under the name of "ransom," the sacrifices from the rich many of which afterwards became law—free education, improved dwellings for the poor at moderate rents, the abolition of indirect taxation, the restoration of enclosed land to the people, disestablishment of the Church, a graduated income tax, and an increased burden on landowners; in fact, the whole Radical programme as we know it in these modern days.

"Three Acres and a Cow."

Parliament was opened by the Queen on January 21st, 1886, but it was evident that the Government would be defeated on the Address. The amendment which effected this was proposed by Jesse Collings, a staunch friend and faithful henchman of Chamberlain, and proposed the policy of giving small allotments and small holdings to agricultural labourers—afterwards commonly known as "Three acres and a cow," although he was not the inventor of the phrase. This amendment, supported by Gladstone, Joseph Arch and Chamberlain, but opposed by Hartington and Goschen, was carried by a majority of 329 votes to 250, and Salisbury immediately went out of office. In Gladstone's new Government Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Childers Home Secretary, Rosebery Secretary for

Foreign Affairs, Granville for the Colonies, Kimberley for India, Lord Aberdeen was made Viceroy of Ireland with John Morley as Chief Secretary, and Chamberlain was appointed President of the Board of Trade. Hartington's name did not appear on the list, and it was known that he differed from Gladstone on the policy of Home Rule.

Gladstone Introduces the Home Rule Bill.

On April 8th, 1886, Gladstone moved in the House of Commons for leave to introduce the Bill which was eventually known as the Home Rule Bill. The excitement was beyond all description. Although the House was opened at the unusually early hour of 6 in the morning, some members arrived as early as 5, and stood ready to rush in as soon as the doors were open. The Chamber was so crammed that chairs were placed across the floor from the bar to the table. Gladstone rose in the House at 4.40 in the afternoon, and spoke for nearly three hours and a half, yet the speech did not appear to anyone too long.

The Bill provided that Ireland should have a Parliament of her own, and that the Irish representation at Westminster should cease—an arrangement which had been accepted by Parnell and his colleagues. They thought that it would be better to allow Irishmen to manage their own affairs apart, without direct communication with Westminster, and that it would be more easy to attract the best intellects of Ireland to a Parliament sitting in Dublin if the attraction of Westminster were out of the way. The new Legislature, as it was called instead of Parliament, was to consist of two Houses or Orders, the Upper formed of Irish Peers and members elected under a high pecuniary qualification, the Lower of the present Irish members and an additional 101 chosen by all Irish constituencies except Trinity College. The Irish judges were to be subject to the Irish Legislature, and the Irish Executive were to control the police. The Legislature would be unable to deal with matters affecting the Crown, with military or naval forces, trade, navigation or coinage, and proposals to establish or endow any religious institution. It would have no power to impose duties on British or foreign goods. Ireland would levy her own taxes and pay to the London Treasury a sum amounting to one-twelfth of the British revenue. The Legislature, as well as the Executive, were to be subject to the Lord Lieutenant, who could hold office independently of British parties. There was great discussion whether the refusal of consent to any Bill was to rest with the Irish or the British Ministry; but the Irish members had no doubt that it would be in the hands of the British Executive, and this opinion was confirmed by Mr. Gladstone.

THE HOME RULE BILL

The Home Rule Bill was accompanied by a Land Bill, introduced a few days afterwards, by which every Irish landlord would have the option of selling his estate to his tenants, at the price of twenty years' purchase, the money being lent by the Treasury under stringent conditions. The Land Bill was not agreeable to the Irish Home Rulers, but was accepted by them as a price for self-government.

Liberal Split.

It was probably a mistake to introduce an elaborate measure like that of Home Rule in the form of a Bill containing so many conditions which would give rise to acrid discussion, and it would have been better to proceed by resolutions; but Gladstone was old and conscious of the shortness of life, and his mind delighted in the task of working out details. It is, therefore, scarcely surprising that the Bill was opposed by some who reckoned themselves as stalwart Liberals. Trevelyan and Chamberlain left the Cabinet. Trevelyan had been Chief Secretary in the troubled times following the murder of Cavendish, and he could not bring himself to consent to leave the Irish police in the hands of the Executive. He voted against the Bill because, in his opinion, it was bad; but he afterwards regretted his action and returned to the Liberal fold.

Chamberlain's Opposition.

The case of Chamberlain was different. He had been a Home Ruler before Gladstone; his friends in Birmingham, who voted against his son Austen in 1892, declared, as we have seen, that whatever they knew about Home Rule they had learnt from him. But he was a man of strong personal ambition, and desired to be leader of the Liberal Party and Liberal Prime Minister, and he was too impatient to wait until Gladstone's vigorous life had run its natural course. He therefore determined to oppose the measure—more, it may be feared, from pique than from political prescience. He might have hoped to be able to turn Gladstone out and fill his place, but he could hardly have foreseen that he was to be the founder of an anti-Liberal party and a prominent member of a Tory Government. He, like Trevelyan, rejected the Land Bill, but had difficulty in finding reasons for voting against Home Rule. He took his standing on the sacredness of federal principles, and the bad policy of excluding Irish members from Parliament, which Bright, on the other hand, regarded as the redeeming feature of the measure. When Gladstone proposed a different arrangement in his second Home Rule Bill, Chamberlain again found reasons for opposing what he had previously advocated. This was the turning-point of his career. Up to this moment the world would have predicted a brilliant and

victorious rise; from this time he pursued a devious course which ended in disaster and failure.

Foundation of the "Unionist" Party.

A large meeting was held in Her Majesty's Opera House to uphold the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Cowper, who had been an Irish Viceroy, presided, and Hartington and Salisbury were found on the same platform. Goschen was one of the prominent speakers, and many lifelong Liberals and even Radicals supported the movement. Churchill gave to the party the name of Unionist, which has remained ever since, although the designation has frequently changed its meaning. The intellect of the country was against Home Rule, chiefly because it took people by surprise and they had not adequately considered the question. They were reluctant to admit that a British Parliament was incompetent to govern Ireland, and the conduct of the Irish had not been such as to command respect.

The Bill Defeated.

The debate on the second reading took place on May 10th, and lasted for nearly a month. Hartington moved the rejection of the Bill. The attitude of Chamberlain was well sketched in Gladstone's concluding speech. Chamberlain had said that a dissolution had no terrors for him. Gladstone rejoined: "I do not wonder at it. He has trimmed his vessel, and he has handled his rudder in such a masterly way that, in whichever direction the winds of heaven may blow they must fill his sails. If an election were favourable to the Bill he would say, 'I declared that I accepted the principles of the Bill'; if public opinion were in favour of a large measure of Home Rule, he would say that he had advocated the principle of federation; if in favour of a smaller, he would declare that he had been in favour of four provincial councils, controlled from London." At 1 o'clock in the morning of June 8th the House divided, and the Bill was defeated by 343 votes to 313. Ninety-three Liberals voted with the "Noes," including Bright, Hartington, Chamberlain, Goschen, Trevelyan and Henry James. Gladstone determined to dissolve Parliament, which was effected on June 26th. The elections began on July 1st, and from the beginning were unfavourable to the Government. In the midst of the polls, just before the counties began to vote, John Bright issued a strong manifesto against Home Rule which had a powerful effect. The final result was the election of 315 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Liberals, and 86 Nationalists. The Cabinet resigned at once. If they had not done this they would have been beaten on the Address, as there was a majority of more than 100 against them.

RANDOLPH CHURCHILL'S RESIGNATION

The Plan of Campaign.

Salisbury succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister; but the Conservatives, although the most numerous party in the House, did not command an absolute majority, and had to depend on the support of the Liberal Unionists. Hartington was offered a place in the Cabinet, but refused it, and continued to sit on the same bench as Gladstone and his former friends, although he persistently voted against them, a most inconvenient and disturbing arrangement. Lord Iddesleigh became Foreign Secretary, Randolph Churchill led the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hicks Beach became Secretary for Ireland, and Henry Matthews, afterwards Lord Llandaff, was Home Secretary. The disorder in Ireland became worse; the rents, although fixed by law, were more than the tenants could pay. Parnell introduced a Bill to relieve the tenants, which was supported by Gladstone, but it was rejected by a large majority, and the consequence was the establishment of the system called the Plan of Campaign, by which the tenants of any Irish estate who considered their rents too high should agree what they would offer to the landlord, and if the landlord refused the offer the money was paid to trustees for the purpose of resisting evictions. This method of procedure was undoubtedly illegal, and was declared by the Irish judges to be a criminal conspiracy; but it worked well and saved many Irish tenants from ruin and starvation. Parnell disapproved of it, but Gladstone did not condemn it, and Spencer was well disposed towards it.

Churchill's Resignation

Then a thunderbolt burst from a clear sky by the sudden resignation of Randolph Churchill. As a Tory Democrat he was anxious to identify his party with progress and reform, and had drawn up a budget which, besides reducing the expenditure on the army and navy, increased the estate duties by £4,500,000, the house duties by £1,500,000, and lowered the tea duty, the tobacco duty, and the income tax. This masterly scheme was opposed by the heads of the departments threatened with reduction, and when the Chancellor made the acceptance of it a condition of his remaining in office the Prime Minister refused to give way and Churchill resigned, Goschen being appointed in his place. Churchill said afterwards that he had forgotten Goschen. By this sudden and inconsiderate step he ruined what promised to be a first-rate political career. This characteristic event led to other changes. Mr. W. H. Smith, who had made a fortune by selling newspapers and establishing railway bookstalls, became leader of the House of Commons, and Salisbury was so taken aback by the Churchill incident that he took the seals of the

Foreign Office himself, without informing Iddesleigh, the actual holder of them, that he had done so. This caused the aged statesman such a shock that he died in Salisbury's presence on January 12th, 1887.

The Round Table Conference.

An attempt was made to patch up the quarrel with the dissident Liberals by a friendly meeting at the house of Sir William Harcourt, at which Herschell, Morley, Chamberlain and Trevelyan sat at a round table and endeavoured to come to an agreement. Gladstone and Hartington held aloof. Chamberlain went so far as to acknowledge the expediency of establishing a Parliament in Dublin and having an Irish executive; but just as the first proceedings of the round table conference were being communicated to Gladstone, an article of Chamberlain's in the *Baptist* produced a breach, and he afterwards declined to have anything more to do with the matter, so the Tory Government in Ireland was left to pursue its own course.

Balfour's "Resolute Government."

When Parliament met in January, 1887, coercion was proposed as a remedy for Irish disorder, and was supported by the Liberal Unionists. The "resolute government," advocated by Salisbury as an alternative to Home Rule, was begun, and Arthur Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, was entrusted with the duty of carrying it out, becoming Irish Secretary in the place of Hicks Beach. Balfour began by bringing in a permanent Coercion Bill of most stringent character. It gave the power of trying in England murders and other serious crimes committed in Ireland; it allowed the Lord Lieutenant to declare an assembly unlawful if he thought it dangerous, and to permit resident magistrates to try cases of conspiracy without juries.

Introduction of the Closure.

In order to secure the passage of this measure, and to prevent obstruction, a new method of parliamentary procedure was introduced by Mr. Smith, which gave the power of closing the debate at any time by the vote of 200 members if the Speaker allowed the motion to be put. This machinery of the "guillotine," as it has been called, has been strengthened since, and used by both parties. It has proved indispensable in the congested condition of business in the House of Commons, but at the moment it was a triumph for the Irish in their attempt to render Parliamentary government for Ireland impossible. The Coercion Bill was strongly opposed by Gladstone. Indeed, the situation was a tragic one for Home Rulers. The country was about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession. London was full of evidences of exuberant loyalty; the whole Empire was asked to concur in honouring the national festival, but a thick pall

of tyrannous government hovered over unhappy Ireland. The contrast was striking, and Gladstone might well ask whether Ireland deserved this exceptional treatment for having been born with a double dose of original sin.

The *Times* Letter.

The division on the second reading of the Coercion Bill was fixed for April 18th, 1887, and on the morning of that day *The Times* published the facsimile of a letter signed, "Yours very truly, Chas. S. Parnell." Any critic of historical sources would have pronounced the authenticity of this document to be extremely doubtful, as the signature, even if genuine, appeared on a different page from the substance of the letter and might have had nothing to do with it. The letter was dated nine days after the murder of Frederick Cavendish. It purported to run as follows:—

> "DEAR SIR,—
>
> "I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that, though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts. You are at liberty to show him this, and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. He can write to the House of Commons.
>
> "Yours very truly,
>
> "CHAS. S. PARNELL."

Coercion Bill Passed.

Parnell, like many others, regarded this letter as so absurd in itself that he did not, perhaps, take sufficient pains to denounce it in the face of the great excitement of public opinion. However, rising in the House after midnight, he stigmatised it as a villainous and barefaced forgery, and declared that he never had heard of the letter, or directed such a letter to be written, or seen such a letter, before he saw it in *The Times*. A society of fair-minded gentlemen should have at once accepted this statement, but the temper of the Tories was at this time not fair-minded, and within two days Salisbury made a speech at Battersea in which he assumed the authenticity of the letter. The Coercion Bill was passed by the end of the month.

Arthur Balfour showed unexpected qualities in the administration of the Crimes Act. He had the reputation of being something of a dilettante, and he undoubtedly cared more for music and philosophy than he did for politics; but he now showed he

could govern in a manner steady, courageous and determined. His health and vigour improved in the conflict, and he developed qualities seldom found save in the first rank of Cabinet Ministers. His chief object was to defeat the Plan of Campaign, and from this he never flinched. He gave orders to the executive officers of the Castle, the resident magistrates, and the Royal Irish Constabulary as to the duty which lay upon them of executing the law in all circumstances and at all costs. He ordered them to employ such force as might be necessary for the purpose, and promised them the fullest support if they did their duty, while, on the other hand, slackness would be severely punished.

Mitchelstown.

A crisis occurred at Mitchelstown on September 9th. A public meeting of several thousand people was held there, at which two English members of Parliament were present and several English ladies. While John Dillon was speaking, some police endeavoured to press through the crowd to make way for a Government reporter, and were driven back with shillelaghs. The constables retreated to their barracks and fired upon the people, killing one man and mortally wounding two others. No proper inquiry into this outrage, which was, on the face of it, murder, was held; and Balfour, three days after the event, said in the House that those who called the meeting were responsible and that the police were blameless. In the following month the coroner's jury found the county inspector and three constables guilty of wilful murder; but in February, 1888, the High Court in Dublin quashed the verdict, so that the question of murder, manslaughter or justifiable homicide was never decided at all.

Balfour's popularity.

Besides this, 200 branches of the National League were suppressed in six counties, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin was prosecuted and committed to prison. William O'Brien, Balfour's chief opponent, was convicted on a similar charge, but, unlike the Lord Mayor, he was deprived of his ordinary clothes and treated as if he had been a malefactor. The struggle in Ireland aroused great interest amongst English Liberals, and many of them went over to Ireland to help in the movement, as they would have helped Garibaldi in Italy. But Balfour was determined to put this down. He threw Wilfrid Blunt, a man of great literary and social distinction, into prison, treating him as an ordinary criminal, for creating a disturbance on Lord Clanricarde's estate, and was bent on carrying out the law ruthlessly and without respect of persons. In this course he gained great esteem and popularity, which was felt even by the Irish whom he attacked. He was not hated as Forster had been, for the Irish

admired chivalry, even when it was turned against themselves. "Prince Arthur," as he was called, became the darling of both countries, and Gladstone's influence was correspondingly diminished. It looked for the moment as if Salisbury's "resolute government" would assert its pre-eminence over the policy of Home Rule.

The Parnell Commission.

In the summer of 1888 the Home Rule controversy entered into a new phase. A year before, about the time of the publishing of the supposed Parnell letters in *The Times*, that journal had also printed a number of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime." They contained charges of an indefinite character against the Irish leader. They used, as Morley says, allusion, suggestion and innuendo to make a crude and hideous mosaic. These articles were afterwards published in book form, and O'Donnell, a former member of the Nationalist party, whose name occurred in them, brought an action for libel against Mr. Walter, the proprietor of *The Times*, claiming as damages £50,000. As O'Donnell would not go into the witness box he lost the action, in the course of which the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, counsel for *The Times*, read a number of letters, purporting to be written by Parnell, showing complicity in and approval of the Phœnix Park murders. Parnell having no legal redress for these libels, took the only course possible. He emphatically denied in the House the authenticity of the letters, and asked for a Select Committee, from which all Irish Members of Parliament should be excluded, to investigate the matter. This reasonable demand was refused, and, instead, the Government offered to bring in a Bill to appoint a Commission, consisting wholly or mainly of judges, to inquire into the allegations and charges made against members of Parliament by *The Times*. This was accepted by Parnell and his friends, but the Government then altered their offer by inserting the words "and other persons" after "members." This changed the Commission from an inquiry into specific charges made against known individuals into a general investigation into the course of Irish politics since the establishment of the Land League.

An Unconstitutional Tribunal.

This Commission consisted of three English judges, Sir James Hannen, a man of the highest character, presiding. It first met on September 17th, 1888, and sat for 120 days, rising for the last time on November 22nd, 1889. It examined more than 450 witnesses; one counsel spoke for five days, another for seven, and a third for nearly twelve. The questions put to witnesses numbered nearly 8,000. The Commission was itself unconsti-

tutional and unfair, for it tried men on a political charge without giving them the benefit of a jury, and left to the judges the decision on the facts.

Origin of the Letters.

The letters which formed the occasion of the Commission were not reached till the fiftieth day—February 14th, 1889. The manager of *The Times*, called to tell his story, said he had purchased three batches of letters for £2,500 from the Secretary of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union. It was not known to whom they were addressed, there were no envelopes with the letters, the signatures corresponded with those admitted to be Parnell's; but the editor's chief reason for believing in their genuineness was that he thought that they were the kind of letters which Parnell would be likely to write.

Pigott's Confession.

After some reluctance on the part of the prosecution, the judges called the secretary of the union, and he said he had received them from a certain Richard Pigott, who was the next witness. This man was notorious in Dublin as "Dick" Pigott, a broken-down hack, living from hand to mouth, and begging from anyone who was likely to believe him. In the autumn of 1885 he had received, from the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, £60 for a pamphlet called "Parnellism Unmasked," and had been paid a guinea a day and travelling expenses to collect evidence against Parnell and his friends. He appeared to make a substantial living, and took trips to New York, Lausanne and Paris. He forged the letters which he pretended to have obtained from Parnellite conspirators, and received £500 for the conspirators and £100 for himself. He said, at a later period, "I have been in difficulties and great distress for want of money for the last twenty years and, in order to find means of support for myself and my large family, I have been guilty of many acts which must for ever disgrace me." In October, 1888, just after the opening of the Commission, he made a full confession to Parnell's solicitor, which he afterwards withdrew.

Collapse of Pigott.

He went into the witness-box on February 21st, 1889, and, under the cross-examination of Sir Charles Russell, who conducted the defence with rare dignity and statesmanship, he completely broke down. It was shown that his customary errors in spelling were precisely similar to those which occurred in the Parnell letters. Correspondence between him and the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, as well as with W. E. Forster, was read. Pigott entirely collapsed, and when the court opened on the following morning he did not appear. After confessing his crime, he went to Spain, thinking that England had no treaty of extradition with

that country. But when the police entered his hotel in Madrid on March 1st with a warrant for his arrest he shot himself.

Parnell's Hour of Triumph.

The report of the commission was presented to Parliament on February 13th, 1890. It was eagerly read and admitted to be an acquittal. The only condemnation expressed was that the Parnellites had denounced crime, yet did not denounce the system which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with a knowledge of its effects. No action was taken by Parliament with regard to the report, but on the first appearance of Parnell in the House after its publication he was greeted by an extraordinary demonstration. The House was crowded when he appeared, and at the sight of him the whole of the Liberals rose to their feet and, standing up, cheered him again and again, while even some Tories joined in the applause. Parnell took it very quietly, but with some embarrassment, and as he sat down said to a friend next to him, " Why did you fellows all stand up ? You almost frightened me." That scene was the zenith of Parnell's parliamentary career.

The Triple Alliance.

We must now give some account of Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. When he took office at the beginning of 1887 Egypt was a burning question. Five years before Great Britain had talked about leaving in six months, but she was still in possession, and likely to remain. In May she proposed a treaty to the Sultan, promising to leave in three years; but this was never ratified, and she had, moreover, signed an agreement with France which effectually neutralised the Suez Canal. Salisbury also attempted to settle the long-standing dispute with France about the Newfoundland fisheries, but his endeavours were frustrated by the rashness of his chosen envoy, Joseph Chamberlain. In the autumn of 1887 a change took place in the international relations of Europe by the formation of a Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, which claimed to be a league of peace. It was inaugurated by Crispi, on a visit to Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe. In Italy dread of France had taken the place of hatred of Austria, and France, in her jealousy of Italy, was inclined to turn to Russia. Salisbury favoured the Triple Alliance, thinking it favourable to European quiet. He also believed that friendship with Italy would be useful in checking the preponderance of France in the Mediterranean.

African Questions.

In Egypt Salisbury made no attempt to reconquer the Sudan, but left it to the Khalifa. He, however, sent an expedition to secure Suakin against attack by the Dervishes. At the same time, he saw that, in order to prevent complications with

Germany, it would be well to make some arrangement for the delimitation of Africa, in which country exploration and annexation had gone on with extreme rapidity. In 1885 Carl Peters, a German explorer, had acquired for the German East Africa Company a large amount of territory which might have been obtained for Great Britain. In 1887 the Royal Niger Company had been formed, and the King of the Belgians had become Sovereign of the Congo State. Bechuanaland had been placed under British protection, and Matabeleland and Mashonaland had been annexed. For the administration of these districts the South Africa Company had been founded, and the Imperial British East Africa Company had been established in the previous year. The head-quarters of this company were at Mombasa, but their principal acquisition was Uganda, on the shores of Victoria Nyanza. A charter was given to the South Africa Company on October 15th, 1889, which eventually brought about unexpected results.

Cession of Heligoland.

In 1890 Germany had acquired a considerable portion of East Africa, and put in a claim to what is called the hinterland or back country of Zanzibar, affirming the doctrine that when a Power has taken possession of a coast line the unoccupied territory behind it cannot be claimed by any other Power. Thereupon Caprivi, who had succeeded Bismarck as Chancellor of the German Empire, set to work to define what were called British and German spheres of influence. By an agreement signed between Great Britain and Germany on July 1st, 1890, a road called the Stevenson Road was recognised as the frontier between the two Empires. Nyassa and Uganda became British, the frontier line being drawn across Victoria Nyanza, and a British protectorate was established over the island of Zanzibar and the adjacent island of Pemba. In return, Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany, a place of great use to us during the Napoleonic wars, but which had ceased to be of much value. A French sphere of influence was also marked out, which included the French Congo on the West Coast, occupied in 1888, and the whole of the Sahara from Algeria to Timbuctoo, a very valuable possession. Portugal received 1,000 square miles on the north of the Zambesi in return for a narrow slip of Manicaland which gave access to the domain of the Chartered Company. The results of these "arrangements" have been on the whole satisfactory, and since their conclusion no disputes have arisen in Africa of any importance with regard to undefined and unoccupied land.

On November 15th, 1890, ten days before the meeting of

GOSCHEN'S BUDGET

Parliament for the autumn session, a case came before the Divorce Court in which Parnell was involved as co-respondent. Parnell was unmarried, had no regular home, and no address except that of the House of Commons. The intrigue with Mrs. O'Shea had gone on for a long time, the suit was undefended, and judgment was bound to go against him. This unfortunate affair ruined for the time being the cause of Home Rule. The Irish Nationalists expressed their unabated confidence in Parnell, but British Liberals refused to support the cause of Home Rule if he continued to be at the head of it. It was hoped that he would resign the leadership of his own accord, but he declined to go. For several days the battle between the two sections of the Irish Party raged within the walls of the House of Commons in Committee Room No. 15. Parnell stood at bay and fought with tremendous energy. As he was chairman of the meeting it was impossible to turn him out. At last the majority of forty-five left the room, and elected Justin MacCarthy as their chairman, though twenty-five continued to follow Parnell's lead. On December 5th Parnell crossed over to Ireland and conducted a hopeless battle with restless vigour and passion, but he found no support, either amongst Catholics or others. He married Mrs. O'Shea on July 7th, but this offended the Catholics, who prohibit all marriages between divorced persons. He was a stricken man, and died at his house at Brighton on October 6th, 1891, at the early age of forty-five. His last words were, " Let my love be conveyed to my colleagues and to the Irish people," and he was buried at Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin on October 11th, amidst manifestations of profound sorrow and respect.

Technical Education

Mr. Goschen's budget for 1890 produced an important result which was entirely unanticipated. He had to deal with a surplus of £3,500,000, which was popularly supposed to be due to the excessive consumption of whisky. He used it to remit taxation, reducing the duty on tea and currants, and diminishing the house duty. With the residue he proposed to create a fund for the purchase and extinction of publicans' licences. This raised a storm among the friends of temperance, the licensing clauses were dropped, and the money was given to the county councils to be spent upon technical education. This laid upon the county authorities, for the first time, the duty of considering how education, other than elementary, could be best provided in the districts which they controlled. The operation of this and other causes is gradually removing from our country the well-merited reproach of being an uneducated people.

Free Education.

In the following year free education was established in the public elementary schools of England and Wales, greatly through the influence of Chamberlain, who, many years before, had been one of the founders of the Birmingham Education League, and had included free education in the Unauthorised Programme to which we alluded on an earlier page. The country was already familiar with the payment for education by the Government. All elementary schools certified by an inspector to be efficient received a contribution from the rates, whereas the so-called voluntary schools, which were generally Church schools, were maintained largely by subscriptions. It was proposed to endow both classes of schools at an estimated cost of 10s. a child, and the Act, originated by the Liberals, was passed by the Tories. It has had an effect little contemplated, and even now little observed and understood. Since 1891 the standard of national culture has been raised in a surprising manner. The democracy, educated in elementary schools, or in higher schools of the elementary type, has developed a knowledge and love of literature, music and art which in some respects places it above that of other nations. Shakespeare has taken his place by the side of the Bible as the chief source of national education, and the culture thus obtained has tended to compensate for the withering blight which devotion to amusement and self-indulgence has cast upon the governing classes.

Gladstone's Fourth Premiership.

The Parliament of 1886 was now nearing its natural end, and was dissolved on June 26th, 1892. It was understood that the contest would turn on the question of Home Rule, although temperance and the disestablishment of the Welsh Church would also be considered. The election was fought with great enthusiasm. Gladstone declined to give a sketch of the Bill which he intended to propose, except that it would provide for the Irish members sitting in Parliament. But the results of the contest were unsatisfactory, as it gave no party a majority of the whole House, and the balance was held by the Irish. Salisbury did not resign until he was defeated on an amendment to the Address by 350 to 310 votes. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time, but he was at the mercy of the Irish. Any Home Rule Bill, moreover, which might be passed by the Commons was certain to be rejected by the House of Lords. He formed a strong Cabinet, Rosebery going to the Foreign Office and Morley becoming again Chief Secretary for Ireland. Asquith, then at the outset of a distinguished career, was given the Home Office, and the Queen, as she gazed

with veiled apprehension at the Minister to whom she was obliged to entrust the seals of office, thought him very young for the post. Bryce, the brilliant Oxford historian, became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Lords Reject Home Rule.

Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill on February 13th, 1893. It was virtually the same as the first, excepting that Irish members were allowed to vote at Westminster on any Imperial question or any question affecting Ireland, their numbers being reduced from 103 to 80. The second reading was passed on April 22nd, by a majority of 43. The Unionists caused great obstruction in Committee, and Balfour declared his intention of voting for any amendment which might improve the Bill and for any which might destroy it. In the discussion the clauses limiting the subjects on which Irish members might vote were dropped, after some very stormy scenes, which culminated at the end of July in disorder unparalleled in Parliament in recent years. The Bill was read for the third time by a majority of 34 and was taken to the Lords on September 1st. Lord Spencer did his best for it, but there could be no doubt as to its fate. The Bill was rejected in a House of unprecedented fullness by 417 votes to 41, the largest division ever taken in the Lords.

Gladstone's Resignation.

Gladstone had previously given a pledge that he would not dissolve if the Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill, so that the session went on, all Liberal legislation being nullified or impeded by the action of the Upper House. This reached such a pitch that Gladstone thought a new election might be favourable to his party, based upon the conduct of the Lords. They had rejected the Home Rule Bill, to which the Commons had given eighty-two days' discussion, and had marred the Parish Councils Bill, which had been debated for forty-one days in the Lower House. Gladstone urged that, for practical purposes, the Lords had destroyed the work of the House of Commons, unexampled as that work was in the time and pains bestowed upon it. But the Cabinet were entirely averse to dissolution, and the only alternative was his own resignation; but Lord Morley tells us that up to the last moment he held that it would have been a right course to dissolve upon the relations between the two Houses. His desire to resign office was intensified by his inability to persuade his colleagues of the necessity of reducing the naval and military Estimates.

Gladstone's last Cabinet Council was held on March 1st, 1894. Morley has given us a touching account of it. "Mr. Gladstone sat, composed and still as marble, and the emotion of the Cabinet

did not gain him for a moment. He followed the 'words of acknowledgment and farewell' in a little speech of four or five minutes, his voice unbroken and serene, the tone low, grave and steady . . . then hardly above a breath and every accent heard, he said, 'God bless you all.' He rose slowly and went out of one door, while his colleagues, with minds oppressed, filed out of the other." He entered in his diary that "it was a very moving scene."

Gladstone's Farewell.

His last speech in the House of Commons, delivered the same afternoon, was a vigorous assault upon the House of Lords. The question, he said, was whether the function of the House of Lords was not merely to modify but to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons. He ended by saying that the present state of things could not continue, and that the issue which was raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people, and a hereditary assembly occupied by many men of virtue, many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, was a controversy which, when once raised, must go forwards to an issue. On his resignation being accepted by the Queen, he wrote to General Ponsonby that he had witnessed in him such a combination of tact and temper, with loyalty, intelligence and truth, as he could not expect to see again.

Rosebery as Premier.

If Gladstone had been consulted about his successor, he would have recommended Lord Spencer; but his advice was not sought, and the Queen on her own responsibility sent for Lord Rosebery, although Sir William Harcourt had superior claims. The new session began on March 12th. Rosebery was not keenly in favour of Home Rule. He agreed with Lord Salisbury in thinking that, before it could be conceded, England, the predominant partner, must be convinced that it was just. The session was mainly occupied with Harcourt's Radical budget, which largely increased the death duties. The difference between real and personal property in this matter was abolished, duty was made payable on the estate as a whole, and it had to be assessed according to its value in the open market, and not on the worth of the estate to the recipient. The rate of duty was graduated from 1 to 8 per cent., according to the value of the estate. By alterations in the income tax the burden of the poorer taxpayers was lightened; while the death duties, under the new scheme, brought to the Exchequer an increase of more than £4,000,000. The Finance Bill was much abused, and only passed the House by a majority of 14, but time proved its

soundness, and no Conservative Government has attempted to repeal it.

The "Cordite" Resolution.

In the session of 1895 efforts were made to redeem the promises given in the general election of 1892, by dealing with the questions of Welsh Disestablishment and temperance reform. The Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which included a large measure of disendowment, was read a second time on April 3rd, by 304 votes to 260, Chamberlain voting in the majority; but, owing to the fall of the Government, did not get beyond the Committee stage. The Local Option Bill, as it was called, did not get beyond a first reading. The defeat of the Government was paltry, but dramatic. Mr. Brodrick moved an amendment to the Estimates, calling attention to the small supply of cordite in the Government magazines, although there was really a larger supply than usual or than was necessary. He had, with great astuteness, collected members of his party for a snap division, and when this was taken it was found that his amendment was carried by 132 votes to 125, the Government being beaten by a majority of 7. There was no need for the Cabinet to resign on such a vote, but they were weary of their position, and were glad to be relieved of it. Lord Rosebery, in a farewell speech, dwelt on the misery of governing with a small and uncertain majority, and, he might have added, with a leader in the Lower House who was thoroughly unsympathetic. He reiterated the attack already made by Gladstone on the House of Lords. Thus ended the Gladstonian regime, and the curtain was about to rise on a new phase of Imperialism, in which Joseph Chamberlain was the chief actor.

CHAPTER XI

OLD CHINA AND NEW JAPAN

Europe Predominant.

IN the sixteenth century the Christian nations of the Aryan stock did not occupy more than a five-and-twentieth part of the surface of the globe, whereas the followers of Mohammed, Buddha and Confucius had spread themselves over nearly one half. During the last three centuries this proportion has notably changed. Armenia, Siberia, South Africa, and the islands of Asia have been conquered by Europeans. This progress, which had been hindered in Central and Southern Asia by the increasing power of the Manchus, received a great impulse in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Europeans now govern, directly or indirectly, three-fourths of the globe; indeed, their only formidable antagonists are the Arabs and the inhabitants of Eastern Asia. The Arabs have less importance, because they are not a seafaring nation and have no fleet of war, so that the struggle between the Aryans and other races for the domination of the world is likely to concentrate itself in Eastern Asia, and it is possible that the conflict between them may become prominent in the impending future.

Rise of Japan.

The chances of success seem to be on the side of the Europeans. The United States and Canada are the centre and the starting place of a conquering civilisation. India, Hong Kong and Shanghai are becoming rapidly Europeanised; Australia, Manila and Saigon are pressing the Eastern Asiatics from the south, while Russia presses them from the north. It is hardly likely that Japan will be able to place herself at the head of a new Eastern Empire under the rule of the Mikado, because the Malays differ from the Japanese in race, language, religion and political ideas. However, since 1900 a change has taken place in favour of the Eastern civilisation, and it is possible that the independence of ideas and government which has made Japan almost a member of the European family of nations may spread to China and produce results difficult to foresee. There can, however, be no doubt that Japan has won a strong position for herself by her own strength, and is likely to keep it. The war of 1894 had

the effect of giving to Japan a considerable moral and material development.

The East India Company.

The intercourse between Great Britain and China began later than that of other European Powers, but has grown to large dimensions. In 1613 the East India Company established a factory in Japan and, two years later, opened agencies in Formosa and Amoy. Little progress, however, was made until Oliver Cromwell concluded the treaty with Portugal which gave England free access to China by way of the East Indies. In 1644 the reigning dynasty in China was replaced by the Ts'ing, a Manchu, dynasty, and the new government showed itself hostile to the foreigner. The East India Company's factory at Amoy was destroyed in 1681. Trade continued, subject to great difficulties and interruptions, and it was only in 1771 that permission was given to foreigners to reside at Canton during the winter—that is, during the trading season.

The Treaty Ports.

For more than two centuries the relations of the East India Company towards the new government were those of a suppliant, humbly acknowledging the supreme sovereignty of the Son of Heaven. The higher classes, the Court, the officials, and the educated mandarins despised trade as only fit for the lowest class; foreign traders were tolerated for brief periods in the suburbs of Canton, but were not allowed to enter the gates or travel inside, nor to come into contact with any but the lowest orders of the Chinese. The embassies of Lord Macartney in 1792 and of Lord Amherst in 1816 were treated as tribute-bearing deputations, and, until a comparatively recent date, Great Britain was only allowed a place in the roll of tributary nations. At last, in 1839, war broke out, the results of which were that the island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British, and five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai—were opened to British trade. Another war broke out in 1856, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed in 1858 and confirmed by the Convention of Peking in 1860. Additional ports in China were opened to British trade, a British representative was allowed to reside permanently in Peking, and the territory of Kowloon opposite to Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain.

Hatred of Foreigners.

The Treaty of Tientsin and the subsequent conventions which accompanied it form an epoch in the relations between China and Europe. China was brought, for the first time, face to face with the fact that her supposed supremacy was at an end, and that she must acknowledge the equality of other States. But whatever privileges were granted to foreigners on paper, the

Chinese were, in spirit, as much opposed to them as ever. In 1875 friendly relations between Great Britain and China were seriously interrupted by the murder of Augustus Margary, an official in the British consular service. Trade between China and Burma having been interrupted by a rebellion of the Mussulmans of Yunnan, which was suppressed in 1873, the British were desirous of reopening it, and collected an expedition for the purpose at Bhamo, to which Margary was to act as interpreter. Margary readily went ahead of the expedition to test the feeling of the Chinese, and was killed just across the frontier. Colonel Horace Browne, who was in command of the expedition, had to retire, and reached Bhamo in safety. Sir Thomas Wade, the British representative at Peking, demanded reparation, and when delays took place hauled down his flag and left the Chinese capital. He, however, agreed to meet Li Hung Chang, a prominent and powerful Chinese statesman at Cheefoo, and an envoy was sent to London with an apology for the crime. In 1872 the Emperor Tung-chi, having arrived at the age of sixteen, was obliged to assume the Imperial sceptre and to take to himself a wife. Aluli, the daughter of a Manchu official, was chosen for the purpose, and the marriage took place on October 16th.

"The Successor of Glory."

It was hoped that the succession of the new Emperor would place the representatives of foreign Powers in a better position. They had hitherto been denied personal audiences, on the ground that the Sovereign was not of age to receive them, but that excuse now became invalid. So on June 29th, 1873, they were permitted to have an audience. But the ceremony, instead of being held in the State Hall of the Imperial Palace, took place in an apartment used for less solemn occasions, and the concession was regarded rather as a slight than an honour. Any effort in the direction of improving the relations between China and Europe was cut short by the sudden death of Tung-chi on January 12th. It was announced that he died of small-pox, but it is believed he was poisoned by the two Empresses, into whose hands the Regency now returned. These were the widow of the late Emperor Hien Fung and the mother of Tung-chi. It was the duty of the Regents to nominate a successor to the throne, and the choice fell upon Tsai-tien, a child of four years old. This nomination was illegal in several ways. It violated the rule that the successor to the throne must belong to a later generation than the previous occupant, and it disregarded the fact that Aluli, the widow of Tung-chi, was with child and that no appointment should be made until it became known whether the infant was a son or a daughter.

Aluli, however, conveniently died, the other objection was overruled, and the boy of four years old was recognised as Emperor under the name of Kwang Hsu, the "Successor of Glory."

The Great Famine of 1878.

It was only natural that these events should strengthen the feeling in China against the foreigner. Mission houses were destroyed and missionaries attacked and murdered, the outbreaks taking place in country districts where their causes were difficult to ascertain. However, the pressure for greater liberty continued, and in 1876 four new ports were opened to foreign trade. The feeling towards the foreigners was further improved by the action of the missionaries, who organised relief for the sufferers from the terrible famine of 1878, which destroyed 9,000,000 people. The Chinese Government went so far as to send a formal letter of thanks to the foreign representatives at Peking.

Russia and Kuldja.

Great activity was now shown in external affairs. In July, 1871, the Chinese had allowed the Russians to occupy the province of Kuldja, on the understanding that they should receive the territory back again so soon as they were able to occupy it effectually. After the death of their great enemy, Yakub Khan, the Chinese considered that the time for this had arrived, and began negotiations with the Russians for this purpose. An incompetent ambassador completed an agreement in October, 1879, which ceded the greater part of the province to the Russians, and when he returned to Peking he was promptly condemned to death and a more discreet emissary, the well-known Marquis Tseng, was dispatched in his place. By the payment of a sum of money he recovered the ceded territory.

War with France.

In April, 1881, the co-regent died and the government remained in the hands of Tsu-tsi, the mother of the late Emperor. She, however, became responsible for a war with France, which lasted from 1882 to 1885. The origin of this lay in the desire of the Ferry Ministry in France to force the note of colonial enterprise, which led to the mission of Admiral Courbet, first, to compel the Emperor of Anam to acknowledge the French protectorate, and, secondly, to wrest the delta of Tonking from the Black Flags, which was effected in the Treaty of Tientsin, signed on May 11th, 1884. The Chinese Government, who had secretly assisted the Black Flags, resented this arrangement and attacked a French force, with the view of expelling the hated foreigners from Tonking. But Courbet destroyed the arsenal of Foochow, took possession of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands, besides blockading the southern part of China to prevent the trade in rice. The Chinese were compelled to accept peace, which was signed on June 9th,

1885, at Tientsin, under which they definitely recognised the establishment of a French protectorate over Tonking and Anam.

Rise of Li Hung Chang.

The young Emperor came of age in 1889, when he not only had to take to himself a wife, but also to assume the reins of government, and the Dowager Empress chose her own niece for his consort. The Emperor followed the example of his predecessor in receiving the foreign envoys, and with some difficulty was persuaded to do this in the large Hall of Audience, instead of in the smaller which had been used for the purpose by Tung-chi. The head of the progressive party at this time was Li Hung Chang, who persistently urged the desirability of constructing railways for commercial and military purposes. The Emperor strongly opposed the project, but eventually Li gained a certain amount of success for his policy. Attempts were also made to modernise the system of official examination, to establish schools and colleges, to open a college of science at Peking; but all these failed for the moment. Reforms were introduced in the currency, which were absolutely necessary for commercial operations; but these, too, for the time, did not meet with success.

Death of the Marquis Tseng.

In 1888 a new era was opened by a number of concessions of Chinese soil to foreign Powers. Macao, which in 1557 had been handed over to Portuguese traders for a sum of money, which ceased to be paid in 1848, was in 1887 surrendered to Portugal on the same footing as any other Portuguese possession, Portugal promising not to alienate it without the consent of China. Russia also began to advance, her left eye looking, as was said, covetously at Korea and her right at Mongolia. In 1888 a treaty was concluded between Russia and Korea, which gave her the right to trade at various Korean ports, such as Chemulpo, Gensan, Fusan, and the town of Seoul. Li happened to be a warm supporter of the Russian schemes. Li and the Empress were opposed by the Marquis Tseng, a man of great ability, who might have rendered to China invaluable assistance in the troublous times which were approaching, but he was taken ill after a dinner given by one of his colleagues which he was foolish enough to attend, and died on April 12th, 1890.

Japan and Feudalism.

Before we deal with the war between China and Japan in 1894, which forms such an important epoch in the history of the Far East, we must give some account of the development of Japan and Korea, which was the cause of the war. The most remarkable fact about the history of Japan in modern times was the sudden abolition of feudalism, effecting at one stroke what it cost other nations similarly situated years to accomplish.

JAPAN AND FEUDALISM

Feudalism in Japan is generally considered to have begun in 1192, when the civil government of the several provinces, previously chosen from the *Kugé*, or Court nobles, was replaced by one composed of *Shugo*, or protectors drawn from the military class. However, three hundred years before that time an economical change had taken place which substituted large estates exempt from taxation for peasant holdings subject to taxation, which had previously existed. Four centuries of civil war succeeded, favourable to the development of the great territorial lords, who had risen from the military order, and to whom the peasants were responsible for the payment of taxes and the performance of services in labour.

The Position of the Mikado.

The feudal system was completely established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when power was vested in the *Daimios*, or great feudal lords, owing a nominal allegiance to the Mikado, a phantom sovereign without power, and in a number of smaller owners, who were really dependent on their feudal lords. The Daimios and their feudal followers formed the *Samurai*, the military and noble class who were the rulers of the land. These, however, were subdivided, as in other countries, some being granted land, others receiving pay, usually in the form of rice; some serving with their personal vassals, some alone, some on horseback, some on foot. Service in the cavalry was considered more respectable, as in Greece and Rome and other feudal States, and the man who had a horse was able to ride it in times of peace. The Mikado and the Kugé retained all their titles and prerogatives, but lost every vestige of influence and power. They were allowed only a moderate income, and were excluded almost entirely from intercourse with the external world. But, curiously enough, this entire deprivation of power was coincident with the theory that the Emperor was supreme, and for this reason devotion to the Emperor never died out. He lived in his palace, as in heaven, in order to keep his noble heart unharmed. Every day he was to pray to heaven that he might be an example to his country, for by such means the lofty virtues of the Emperor were spread abroad; all the country under heaven belonged to the Emperor; his duty was to help and educate his people, and for this reason he committed the care of the peace and prosperity of the country to officials and warriors. This duty might have been entrusted to the Kugé, but the people preferred that it should be given to the *Buké* or military class. The rulers of provinces were called *Kokushu*, and of them the *Shogun* was the chief. Beginning at first as *primus inter pares*, he gradually arrived

at predominant authority. The Kokushu could only approach the Mikado through the Shogun; all direct communication with the Imperial Court was forbidden; they were not allowed to visit the capital without the approval of the Shogun, and even then they must not come within a certain distance of the Imperial palace. Marriages between the Buké families and the Kugé families were not allowed without the permission of the Shogun, and also every precaution was taken to maintain the authority of the Shogun over the Daimios, generally on the principle of dividing and governing. The most powerful of the Shoguns was Iyemitsu, who held the office from 1623 to 1651, and made himself and his successors masters of Japan. The visit he paid to the Mikado in Kioto in the first year of his reign was the last paid by any Shogun until 1863. Under his rule the British and Chinese were sent to Nagasaki, and all other foreigners were expelled the country, the Japanese themselves being forbidden to leave it. The administration of his dominions was admirable in all respects. He was the first to assume the title of Tycoon, or "great lord," which he used in intercourse with other countries.

The Shogun and the Mikado.

It must not be supposed that the supremacy of the Shogun was universally accepted without opposition. Iyemitsu belonged to the powerful family of the Tokugawa, but there were divisions in this family itself as to the policy by which the Mikado had been deprived of his rights. The opposition to it was mainly literary, and the leaders of it were the princes of the House of Mito. Mitsukumi, who died in 1700, published a great history and a book of ceremonial, which drew attention to the early history of Japan and prepared the way for the restoration of the Mikado. The poverty of the Samurai, the growth of *Ronins* (or masterless Samurai), who were no better than brigands; the rise of a bureaucracy which ate like a canker into the land of the Shogunate, the spread of foreign ideas, the desire of the Daimios for independence, led to the formation of parties at the courts both of the Mikado and the Shogun, and the situation was brought to a crisis by the appearance of foreign vessels off the coast. Political parties arose, some of which were for the Mikado, some for the Shogun, while others wavered between the two. In the midst of this ferment in 1853, Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry arrived at Yokohama and demanded the opening of Japan in the name of the United States of America. By treaty signed on March 31st, 1854, the ports of Shimonoseki and Hakodate were opened to the Americans. The Mikado and his followers seized the opportunity of raising the cry of "*Jo-i!*" ("Drive

out the strangers!") with the object of weakening the power of the Shogun.

The Last of the Shoguns

At length, in 1858 conventions were executed with the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia and Portugal, and Prussia in 1861, by which the ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki and Hakodate were thrown open to foreign trade, diplomatic representatives were admitted to Yedo and consuls to the Treaty ports, the Mikado still opposing the policy for his own purposes. As may be imagined, the movement was not universally popular, and a number of murders of foreigners took place. It became evident that no finality could be secured unless the conventions made with foreigners by the Shogun were recognised by the Mikado. This concession was obtained in November, 1866, but the feeling against foreigners remained. The struggle between the Mikado and the Shogun continued, with varied fortunes, until on January 13th, 1868, the Shogun was finally defeated at Fushimi. His life was spared, but the Tokugawa was deprived of nearly all its revenue and of a large portion of its territory. Resistance was finally crushed on June 26th, 1868. Thus fell the dynasty of the Tokugawa Shoguns which, for nearly 400 years, had given peace and prosperity to the country. Its fall was due to its own weakness and the treachery of those whose interest it was to support it. It is certainly one of the most remarkable facts in history that a dynasty, which had been powerless for 700 years, and had been excluded from all intercourse with the outer world for 250 years, should have been able to assert itself in this decisive manner.

The Mikado's Difficulties.

The movement against the rule of the Shogun had begun with the cry of "Down with the foreigner!" The fact that they had one national object in view consolidated the Mikado's party as nothing else would have done. But some of their influential advisers realised that progress was intimately connected with the admission of foreigners and foreign ideas, and they did not hesitate to give utterance to these opinions even at the risk of their lives. More than one of them suffered death or damage at the hands of the Jo-i party.

The Mikado had, indeed, a difficult task in reorganising his government. The first plan was to re-establish the *Taikwa*, a constitution promulgated by the Emperor Kotoku in 645, which implied a well-organised centralised government. But in April, 1868, the Mikado gave a solemn assurance that a deliberative assembly should be summoned; a few days afterwards he reviewed the army and fleet at Osaka, and on January 5th,

1869, received the representatives of foreign courts at Yedo. The work of reform was carried on with less difficulty than might have been expected.

The Samurai.

A great problem was how to raise the position of the lower classes and depress that of the Samurai so as to form a fairly homogeneous population. As we have seen, the Samurai were formed of the Daimios and their retainers, and occupied themselves as notabilities have done in all countries and in all ages—the more intelligent as statesmen, the lower ranks in fencing, riding, and learning the use of the spear and the bow. The remainder of the population consisted of three classes—the *No*, or farmers, the *Ko*, or artisans, and the *Sho*, or traders; but below these were two other classes, or rather two unclassed sections, reminding us of ancient Rome and modern India, the *Eta* and the *Hinin*, the latter word meaning "Not human," the pariahs of the nation, living entirely apart from their fellow-countrymen. They were employed in slaughtering animals, tanning skins, burying executed criminals and similar pursuits, the No, the Ko, and the Sho regarding the touch or presence of these people as contamination. Yet the position of the two lowest classes, with regard to those immediately above them, was not worse than the relation of these latter to the Samurai. In the presence of a Samurai they either prostrated themselves on the ground or stood bowing with downcast eyes. They could not retaliate if struck, nor would they be avenged if murdered.

Great Social Reforms.

On such foundations the fabric of modern Japan had to be built. The first task was to abolish or modify profoundly class distinctions. The Kugé and the Daimios were merged in a new class of nobles; the remainder of the Samurai were grouped together with distinctions of rank, and the rest of the population, including the Eta and the Hinin, were formed into a single class of commoners. Disabilities of every kind and all sumptuary laws were abolished, and every office in the Government was thrown open to the people. The foundations of a national army, with universal military service, were laid; railway, postal, and telegraph services were organised; a system of compulsory education was established, and a uniform coinage was introduced.

Prince Ito.

The moving spirit of all these reforms was Prince Ito, of whom Professor Longford enables us to conceive a trustworthy picture. Born a simple Samurai, he early discerned the advantages of Western civilisation. Leaving his country with four others, under pain of death, he made his way to England. To do this he shipped

before the mast and worked his way as a common sailor. When he returned he ran the danger of assassination, but was saved by the devotion of a young girl, who afterwards became his wife, He held many offices in his own country, but his chief merit lies in the fact that in every crisis of the Empire, whenever a mission required special tact, decision, sacrifice, broad-mindedness and elaborate investigation, he was chosen as ambassador. He was the first Prime Minister when the system of responsible government was introduced, and before his death, in 1909, had held that office four times.

Japan's Constitution.

Great pains were taken in the preparation of a Constitution, and the best intellects of Europe were consulted on the subject, and at last, on February 11th, 1890, the document was formally presented to his subjects by the Emperor. The first general election took place in the summer of 1890, and the parliament met in the following November. The Constitution resembled that of Germany rather than that of Great Britain, the Ministers being responsible to the Emperor and holding their offices at his will; but, considering the difficulties in the path, parliamentary government in Japan cannot be regarded as other than a success.

"The Land of the Morning Calm."

The narrow peninsula of Korea, jutting out from the continent of Asia, washed on one side by the Yellow Sea and on the other by the Sea of Japan, has, during the greater part of its history, been an apple of discord and a theatre of war between its contending neighbours. Struggles between China and Korea occupied the two centuries before the Christian era. These wars, which continued for nearly 1,400 years, ended in the acknowledgment of the supremacy of China. Korea had been the teacher of Japan in almost all its arts and sciences, and a higher civilisation existed in the "Land of the Morning Calm" than in China itself; but under the Ming dynasty the country became wholly dependent on China, the calendar, chronology, methods of government, and the dress of the Chinese being adopted. Buddhism was almost entirely suppressed, and priests were forbidden to enter Seoul, the capital, strict Confucianism becoming the State religion of the country. At the same time advances were made in civilisation; the practices of human sacrifice and of burying slaves alive at the burial of their masters were given up. But whatever advances were made in Korean self-government, the country was dependent on its more powerful neighbours, and embassies were sent both to China and Japan as bearers of tribute.

Tribute to Japan was discontinued in 1460, but in 1592 Hideyoshi, the ambitious ruler of Japan, set out to conquer

Korea, as the first step to the conquest of China. In eighteen days Seoul was captured, and the Japanese reached the Ta Tung. It is said that Hideyoshi's army consisted of nearly 200,000 men. Chinese troops came to the assistance of the Koreans, but they were defeated, and peace was made between Japan and China. By this treaty the southern provinces of Korea were ceded to Japan and her tributary relations with that country were acknowledged. A few years later war broke out again, and the Japanese were again victorious, Korea, however, retaining a certain measure of independence, though greatly weakened. On the fall of the Ming dynasty, Korea was invaded by the Manchus and forced to pay tribute to China. We see, therefore, that from the dawn of its annals, Korea, although proud of its individuality and possessing a noble history and many excellent traditions, was obliged to live on sufferance, a buffer State between two imperious neighbours.

Japan Recognises Korea's Independence.

After the revolution in Japan and the restoration of the Mikado the new Government demanded from Korea the resumption of the payment of tribute, which was indignantly refused. The Japanese clamoured for conquest, and an expedition against Formosa was undertaken to direct popular sentiment into another channel. However, in September, 1875, when a Japanese warship, which was surveying the coast of Korea, was captured, it was impossible to restrain the popular feeling. The Japanese sent an embassy to Peking to ask for definite information with regard to the position of the Chinese Government in respect to Korea, and, upon the Chinese declining all responsibility for the affairs of that country, an expedition was sent to the peninsula. Negotiations took place, however, and on February 27th, 1876, a convention was signed in which Japan recognised the independence of Korea, and her harbours were thrown open to Japanese trade.

The Satsuma Rebellion.

This led to the rebellion of the Satsuma in Japan. Saigo, the head of that clan, one of the most powerful personalities in Japan, was profoundly dissatisfied with the peaceful policy adopted towards Korea, and withdrew to his native province, where he was said to devote his time to farming and field sports. But he was really organising rebellion, as in his own clan he had kept the Samurai on their former footing and had trained them as soldiers of the modern type. He was able to do this without difficulty, because his clansmen regarded him with passionate devotion.

Satsuma was the most powerful of all the Daimiotes; it lay

in the extreme south of Japan, and was protected by a frontier of hills; while Kagoshima, the capital, situated at the head of a long, narrow bay, could easily be guarded. Everything, therefore, favoured its isolation and secrecy. In 1871 the Daimios accepted the new order of things; but Saigo refused to admit the officials dispatched from Tokio and sent them back by the steamers which brought them. The Government, not being able to coerce, attempted to flatter, heaping honours on Saigo himself and giving important duties to other members of the clan; but Satsuma continued to maintain its *quasi*-independence. When, however, an edict was issued in 1876, forbidding the Samurai to wear their accustomed swords, Saigo lost all patience, and, on February 14th, 1877, marched out of his capital at the head of 14,000 men, equipped with modern weapons and well drilled in their use, to "address," as he said, "some inquiries to the Government."

Defeat of the Satsuma.

The campaign lasted more than seven months; at first the Satsuma were victorious. After firing a few volleys with their rifles, they rushed upon the troops of the Government with their terrible swords and routed them. But the Imperialists, largely exceeding the rebels in number, gradually gained confidence, and the clansmen were driven back and eventually surrounded. Saigo, with a few faithful followers, broke through the investing forces and entrenched himself on a hill near Kagoshima, leaving the others to surrender if they pleased. On September 24th the hill was stormed by the Imperial troops, and all the insurgents, excepting 200, who were made prisoners, were killed. The campaign cost the Government 17,000 lives and £8,500,000, but feudalism received its last blow; Satsuma was placed under the Tokio officials, and has been quiet ever since.

Anti-Japanese Risings in Korea.

In 1882 the United States, and then Great Britain and Germany, followed the example of Japan and concluded conventions with Korea. But in that year a rebellion broke out in Seoul, directed against the Japanese, and the members of the Japanese Embassy had to flee the country. They returned, however, a few weeks afterwards, and a convention was signed at Chemulpo, by which Japan obtained the right to keep troops in Seoul for the protection of her Embassy. In 1884 fresh disturbances occurred in Seoul, the object being to destroy the Chinese conservative influence and substitute the Japanese progressive party in its place. Fighting ensued, but ultimately the Chinese gained possession both of the palace and the person of the King. At the same time an anti-Japanese riot broke out, the houses of Japanese

traders were destroyed and their inhabitants murdered. The Japanese Legation was attacked, the members of the Embassy had great difficulty in making their way to the coast, and the Legation itself was burned.

Convention of Tientsin.

Popular opinion in Japan was more excited against the Chinese than against Korea; but the Government, better informed, kept the parties quiet, and Ito was sent to Peking. A treaty was drafted providing that both China and Japan should withdraw their troops from Korea, but should have the power of sending them back should circumstances require it; neither country, however, was to act without the knowledge of the other. Korea was to be left to herself and to be encouraged to train her own population to arms. This was signed on April 18th, 1885, by Ito and Li Hung Chang, under the name of the Convention of Tientsin. Peace continued for some years, although the commercial rivalry of the two Powers created perpetual friction, and the establishment of constitutional and parliamentary government in Japan caused a recrudescence of a more vigorous foreign policy. The proceedings of the ambassador, Oishi, who was sent to Seoul in 1893, would have produced a war but for the diplomatic wisdom of Li Hung Chang.

Japan Occupies Korea.

In 1894 a fanatical religious sect revolted in Korea, and the Government, being unable to suppress the disturbance, applied to China for help. Two thousand troops were sent to Seoul by orders from Peking, the Chinese Government informing the Japanese of what they had done. Upon this the Japanese dispatched an army of equal strength to the peninsula and collected a reserve in case of emergency. The first Chinese troops landed on the east coast of Korea on June 8th, and the first Japanese troops at Chemulpo on June 12th. The revolt was quickly suppressed; but, when the Chinese sent information of the fact and of their intention to withdraw their troops, the Japanese replied that they had no intention of evacuating Korea until an understanding had been come to with China as to the reforms to be introduced into the affairs of the peninsula. China refused to take part in this policy, and maintained that Korea should be left to take care of herself and work out her own reforms. Japan then addressed Korea in the same terms, and, not meeting with an adequate response, sent an ultimatum on July 20th, 1894, demanding that reforms should be accepted within three days. Two days later an unsatisfactory reply was delivered, Seoul was attacked and captured, and the King was taken prisoner.

CHINO-JAPANESE WAR

War between Japan and China.

This was an act of war, and the civilised world heard that the two great nations of the Far East were about to contend for supremacy. Those who thought they knew the situation best considered that China would have an easy victory, and were not sorry that the upstart Japanese should receive a lesson from their more solid and more trustworthy neighbours. The innate strength of China and the hollowness of Japanese civilisation would become apparent to the world. Chinese transports were dispatched to the Yalu River, the northern boundary of Korea, and to Oram, on the south-western coast. On July 25th three Japanese men-of-war sent to guard the coast sighted two Chinese ships of similar strength. Within an hour one of these ships was driven ashore and the other escaped to Wei-hai-wei. At the end of the action a Chinese man-of-war appeared, apparently escorting the *Kowshing*, an English vessel. The Chinese ship hauled down its flag, but the *Kowshing* refused to obey. Thereupon the Japanese opened fire, and sank the transport with 1,500 men. Asan was captured shortly afterwards, and the struggle shifted to Ping Yang, a very strong place farther north. This was captured on September 16th. The garrison were pursued, and 1,500 of them killed, the rest making their escape across the Yalu. Two days later a great battle took place off the island of Hai Yang, at the mouth of the Yalu. The battle lasted three hours; four Chinese ships were sunk, but the Japanese did not lose one. The Japanese then crossed the Yalu and continued their victorious march into Manchuria. They now proceeded to attack Port Arthur, which was defended by a wall of forts consolidated by French engineers, and fell on November 21st. The Chinese retreated northwards along the coast.

Treaty of Shimonoseki.

Li Hung Chang now advised the Emperor to sue for peace; but the Japanese were unwilling for the moment to consider it. The one remaining Chinese fortress, Wei-hai-wei, was attacked by Admiral Ito and, after the loss of five ships of war, surrendered by Admiral Ting, who, shamed by this defeat, committed suicide. Li Hung Chang presented himself personally at Shimonoseki on March 19th, 1895. By the treaty signed on April 17th, China ceded to Japan the Liao-tung peninsula, the island of Formosa and the Pescadores; a war indemnity of £50,000,000 was to be paid in eight instalments; four new cities were to be open to trade; and Japanese vessels were allowed to navigate the Upper Yangtsze-kiang and other Chinese waters. As a guarantee of the fulfilment of these conditions the Japanese were to occupy Wei-hai-wei.

But the European Powers now interfered. They could not

view with indifference the surrender of Port Arthur, which, they said, would dominate Peking. The Japanese wisely yielded on the payment of a larger indemnity. Out of this originated the secret convention between Count Cascini, the Russian Minister at Peking, and China, which is supposed to have guaranteed the integrity of her Empire to China and resistance to any attempt of the Japanese to gain a footing on the mainland. The Chinese in return were to give facilities for the making of Russian railways through Manchuria, and to agree to the settlement of certain disputed questions concerning the long-extended frontier between China and Russia. Russia did not gain her way without some difficulty, but the general result of the war was to place her in Korea instead of China, although one of the objects of Japanese policy had been to check the advance of that aggressive Power.

CHAPTER XII

FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA

TASMANIA was discovered by Abel Tasman (who named it Van Diemen's Land) in 1642, and Australia by Captain Cook in 1770, though Australia had often been sighted before that date. When the exportation of criminals to Virginia came to an end after the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Botany Bay, of which Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist, had given a glorious account, praising its magnificent scenery and splendid climate, was chosen as a dumping-ground for convicts. A more rational plan of colonisation by exiled American loyalists was proposed by Matra, afterwards British Consul at Algiers, and Lord Sydney, Secretary for the Colonies and Plantations, favoured the scheme in 1784, but afterwards recurred to the plan of transportation. It is a pity that the idea did not receive the serious attention of Pitt.

Convict Settlements.

On May 13th, 1787, a frigate and tender of the Royal Navy, six transports, and three store ships sailed from England with 1,100 men, of whom some 250 were free, and landed at Botany Bay about January 20th, 1788, but removed in a few days to the site of the modern city of Sydney. The expedition was commanded by Captain Arthur Phillip, the son of a German governess who had married an English seaman. Phillip remained Governor for five years (1788–92) and did his work admirably. Sheep-farming owes its origin to John MacArthur, who was also the first to introduce Australian wine culture. In 1797 he procured some fine merinos from Cape Town, and these, with some ordinary Cape sheep which were afterwards added, were the progenitors of the immense flocks which were the foundation of the wealth of the island-continent. MacArthur obtained a concession in perpetuity of 5,000 acres of grazing land, with convicts as labourers, and founded the Camden estate, so called in honour of the Secretary of State who had given it to him. The results of this policy were prodigious. On the retirement of Phillip in 1792, only 1,700 acres were under cultivation, and the number of domestic animals could be reckoned by dozens. In 1806, after five years of the government of Gidley King,

Development of New South Wales.

the stock amounted to 37,768 and the white population to 9,462 persons.

Early Notabilities.

The close of the Napoleonic wars gave a great impulse to Australian emigration, and New South Wales received, besides criminals, a large number of free colonists, mainly time-expired soldiers or discharged convicts. When Governor Macquarie retired in 1821, after holding office for eleven years, the white population was reckoned at 39,000 persons, 32,267 acres were under cultivation, and there were 103,000 head of cattle, 4,564 horses, and more than 250,000 sheep. The revenue of the community was £30,000. After Macquarie's departure the power of the Governor was limited, and Brisbane, his successor, who held office from 1821 to 1825, was obliged to act in conjunction with an advisory board. Under him the income of the colony more than doubled. Brisbane was succeeded by Darling, who ruled from 1825 to 1831, but did not gain that popularity which his name would seem to imply. He treated the convicts with inhumanity and the free settlers with tyranny and hostility. Still, his term of office witnessed an increase of material prosperity. On May 22nd, 1840, transportation to New South Wales was abolished, but it still continued to North Island and Tasmania; afterwards it was partially restored and did not come finally to an end till 1868.

Extinction of Tasmanian Natives.

Of the six States of which the Commonwealth of Australia is composed, only three—Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland—were offshoots from New South Wales. South Australia and Western Australia were founded, like New Zealand, by direct colonisation from Great Britain. Tasmania was founded as a penal colony by Lieutenant Bower in June, 1805, the reason being fear of French aggression, and the necessity for providing additional accommodation for the convicts, who were becoming too numerous for New South Wales. The wanton destruction of the natives in Tasmania is a blot on civilisation. They were naturally peaceable, harmless, and contented, and bore the cruelty of the barbarous criminals with exemplary patience; but in 1826, driven to desperation, they retaliated and murdered all the whites who fell into their hands. Since the landing of the whites they had lived upon the produce of the sea; but, being driven into the interior, this supply failed them. They fought heroically for their existence. At last large sums of head-money were offered for the shooting or capture of the blacks, and aboriginals were brought over from Australia to track them more securely. The process of extinction was cruel and pitiless. The convicts killed

the natives from lust of blood, the settlers pursued them in self-defence, and the Government helped to destroy them from desire of territory. At last Colonel Arthur, the then Governor (1823 to 1836), organised a colossal drive. A cordon was drawn across the island from coast to coast and the natives were forced into a narrow peninsula. This elaborate design, which cost this country £30,000, resulted in the capture of two natives. The last Tasmanian native, called Trukanini, or Lalla Rookh, died in London in 1876. She had been born in 1803, the year of Bower's expedition, when the native population was numbered at 8,000. In 1830, the time of the native war, they had been reduced to 700, and in 1861 to 18. The last male Tasmanian died at Hobart in 1869, aged thirty-four.

Victoria.

Originally known as Port Phillip, Victoria, which changed its name in 1851, was founded in 1835 by settlers from Van Diemen's Land, against the will of the Government of New South Wales. But the colony, once established, soon developed and grew very prosperous. In 1840 Melbourne became a free port; in 1843 the trade of the colony amounted to £341,000, and in 1848 to £1,049,000. The relations between the colonists and the natives were friendly. In 1851 it was separated from New South Wales and raised to the position of an independent colony.

Queensland.

Queensland derives its origin from settlers who proceeded from New South Wales to the north, from the Liverpool Plains to the Darling Downs, the best pasture grounds in the world. There was at this time a penal settlement at Moreton Bay, which is the modern Brisbane, but it could only be reached from the interior by a difficult mountain path, and settlement by squatters was absolutely forbidden. It was not until the abolition of the penal settlement in 1839 that good roads were made over the mountains, and the value of the position was enormously increased. Therefore the development of this country is unique from the fact that it proceeded from the interior to the coast. Queensland was declared an independent colony in 1859, the population then consisting of 30,000 souls.

Western Australia.

West Australia, formerly Swan River Settlement, was founded directly from England in 1829 by Thomas Peel, who had grand schemes, but lost £50,000 in attempting to carry them out. Lack of labour compelled the colonists to invite convicts to their shores, an offer which was readily accepted by the British Government in 1849. By 1852 there were 1,500 transported men in the country, half of whom were ticket-of-leave men. This proved to be a blessing, and the influx of new workers brought money and

life into the colony. Coalfields were discovered, guano beds were exploited, sandal-wood was exported, a pearl fishery was established, and studs for breeding horses were introduced on a large scale. It profited largely by the money obtained from the Mother Country for the support of the convicts. Transportation to Western Australia finally ceased in 1868, after the colony had received 9,718 convicts. The stoppage of this source of men and money hindered the development of the colony, which was not considered ripe for responsible government until 1890.

South Australia.

South Australia was, like West Australia, colonised from England, and the South Australian Land Company, formed in London in 1831, contained amongst its directors Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the distinguished originator of scientific colonisation. According to his plan, large tracts of land were to be assigned to a colonisation company and provided with sufficient means, on the understanding that it founded settled communities. The company was to recoup itself for its initial expenditure by selling land at fixed prices, the profits to be expended by bringing over British workmen. In 1834 the Government gave its practical consent to Wakefield's scheme, and the success of the experiment was very great. A capital was chosen, called Adelaide, after the name of the consort of William IV. In 1840 there were 10,000 settlers, who owned 200,000 sheep and 15,000 head of cattle. Indeed, the flood of prosperity was so great and so sudden that the colony soon got largely into debt. The situation was saved by the appointment of the great statesman, George Grey, to govern the colony. He adopted drastic measures, especially in the direction of economy, and in five years ended a brilliant term of office, after which he was transferred to New Zealand. In 1849 the population amounted to 52,000, and in the following year South Australia became a recognised colony.

Self Government in Australia.

Australia having thus been called into existence with its six colonies (counting Tasmania as one), each as large as a European kingdom, the next step was to endow it with the magic powers of self-government. New South Wales had enjoyed this privilege since 1842, and a Bill became law on August 5th, 1850, by which Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, now separated from New South Wales, received Constitutions. Every proprietor of land of the value of £10, who was at least twenty-one years of age, received the franchise, as well as anyone who rented or held a farm of the annual value of £10. Customs and excise were left to the colonies under the condition that no preferential duties were to be proposed; but the customs continued to be collected

by officials nominated from Great Britain. Self-government was incomplete, as half the profits drawn from Crown lands were at the disposal of the Mother Country, and the nomination of the higher officials rested entirely with the Colonial Office in London. At last, owing to the discovery of gold, fear lest the colonies might secede, and the distractions of the Crimean War, the demands of South Australia and Tasmania for greater and more complete liberty were granted in 1854, and those of Victoria and New South Wales were confirmed by Parliament in the following year.

Colonial Parliaments.

These new Constitutions introduced a bicameral system. The former Legislative Council became an Upper House, and to this a Lower House was added. In New South Wales the Upper Chamber consisted of twenty-one members, nominated by the Crown for life, and the Lower Chamber of fifty-four elected representatives, a number which has now increased to 125. In Tasmania the Council has always numbered eighteen and the Lower House thirty-seven, all elected. The Governor is nominated by the Crown but paid by the Colony, and holds office for six years. He occupies the position of a constitutional sovereign, but is controlled by the Colonial Office. His consent is necessary to all colonial legislation, but his actions may be reversed by the Colonial Secretary. The Colonial Parliaments are regarded as Parliaments of the King, passing laws which bind the Australian subjects of the Sovereign. Indeed, the Crown is the link which binds the colonies—recognised as States since the founding of the Commonwealth—and the Mother Country together. The colonists enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects, without paying one penny to Great Britain, and English law holds good in Australia, except so far as it has been superseded by local legislation. The executive power is in the hands of the Ministers, who vary in number from six in Tasmania to nine in New South Wales. Their nomination depends upon Parliamentary majorities in the different colonies, and in consequence they change very rapidly. Between 1858 and 1876 South Australia had twenty-nine different Ministers at the head of affairs.

The Gold Boom.

The discovery of gold produced a profound effect upon the development of the country. The ore was first found in the mountains near Bathurst in 1851; a few weeks later near Ballarat, in Victoria; in October in Mount Alexander, not far from Melbourne, and a little later at Bendigo; in 1856 in Queensland; and in 1886 in West Australia. The whole population rushed to the goldfields. Melbourne was left with a single policeman, South Australia seemed to be inhabited by women and

children, and crowds of emigrants flocked from the Old World. The growth of population was phenomenal. In ten years that of Victoria increased from 70,000 to 581,000. This enhanced the difficulties of the Government, which was still more embarrassed when the majority of the Civil Service deserted their offices for the goldfields. Soldiers had to be imported from England, and the place of government officials was supplied by English pensioned prison warders.

The Gold Output.

Another difficulty was to determine to whom the gold belonged. At the outset it was claimed for the Crown, and it was even proposed to stop mining altogether; but this was impossible, even if it had been desirable. It was difficult to insist even on the payment of a royalty, and the questions of the amount to be imposed and the tax on the exportation of the precious metal were not settled for some time. The average yearly output of gold from 1851 to 1901 was not less than £9,000,000 sterling. But great expenditure was needed to meet the new problems which had arisen. In 1900 the public debt of Australia reached £187,000,000, or £50 per head of the population. The land question assumed great prominence, and there was a severe contest between the large and the small proprietors, which is not even now completely at an end. The population trebled in forty years, owing mainly to emigration from the United Kingdom.

British New Guinea.

The internal development of Australia was accompanied by the desire and the effort to spread its sway beyond the limits of the continent. This was shown, first, in the anxiety to relieve the Mother Country of Fiji, and, secondly, in the wish to take over at least a portion of the immense island of New Guinea, on which Germany had cast covetous eyes. The Australians suggested the acquisition of that part of New Guinea which was not occupied by the Dutch, and Great Britain consented on condition that Australia bore the cost of administration, but this she refused to do. As the fear of German encroachment grew more imminent, the Prime Minister of Queensland declared, in March, 1883, that he had taken possession of the island. The Mother Country still refrained from decisive action, and Germany did actually annex the northern portion of the island, whereupon, on November 6th, 1884, the British flag was hoisted on the southern coast. British New Guinea became a Crown Colony, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria paying a fixed sum every year towards the cost of its administration. The authority at the head of British New Guinea communicates with the Colonial Office through the Governor of Queensland. Pitcairn and Norfolk

Islands stand in the same relation to New South Wales. Questions of a kindred character have also arisen with regard to Samoa, but these so far have been happily settled, though it is impossible to predict what may be the future of a greater Australia.

Tariff Questions and Federation.

The necessity or prudence of federation in course of time became a question of importance. Early in the 'fifties the creation of an Australian Parliament was proposed to settle the differences of tariff, but it was rejected. Then the adoption of a Customs union in Canada in 1871 stimulated the movement. From the first one of the greatest obstacles to union had been conflicts on the tariff. In the 'forties, New South Wales and Tasmania differing in opinion on the subject, it was felt to be undesirable that the colonies should pass hostile or retaliatory measures which were likely to interfere with trade and commerce and excite feelings of jealousy and ill-will, and possibly produce even worse results. As early as 1849 the establishment of a uniform tariff for Australia, to be fixed by the British Parliament, was proposed, to be adjusted from time to time by representatives of all the colonies in council. Thus the federation of Australia, like the federation of the United States, took its origin from the difficulties arising out of the adjustment of mutual trade.

Early Efforts Towards Federation.

Indeed, a Constitution Bill was introduced by Earl Grey to establish a general executive and legislative authority in Australia for the promotion of the common welfare and prosperity of the separate communities, as well as a Supreme Court for the settlement of disputes between them. The clauses passed the Commons, but were withdrawn in the Lords. The movement was premature. However, in 1851 Sir Charles Fitzroy was appointed Governor-General for the whole of Australia, with lieutenant-governors for the separate provinces; but this arrangement only lasted until 1855, and was finally repealed in 1861, so that the attempt of Earl Grey to construct a central government came to an end. Efforts at federation still continued. In 1858 New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia agreed to a conference, and in 1860 the new colony of Queensland gave her adhesion. But some of the colonies thought that the proper moment had not yet come, and the first conference, held in 1863, to discuss questions of tariff, declined to consider federation.

Inter-colonial Tariffs.

As the six colonies developed separate interests and separate politics the prospects of union became more and more remote. The tariff had, as we have seen, been a source of trouble from the beginning. Each of the colonies had a separate scale of import duties, and it was found that goods imported into a colony with

lower duties could easily find their way into another colony, while the colonies could not bear the expense of guarding their several frontiers. Also the natural port of one colony might be situated in another. Accordingly, rough-and-ready agreements were made to provide a kind of remedy. A modified system of intercolonial free trade was suggested by the South Australians in 1862, but received little encouragement. Indeed, all the colonies were restrained by Act of Parliament from establishing differential or proportional duties, either between themselves or with the world outside, and attempts made to abrogate the Act were not successful. At last, in 1873, an Australian Duties Act was passed which removed all obstacles to tariff arrangements between the Australian colonies. This, in some ways, made matters worse. Victoria had adopted a strong protective policy, and she was just as anxious to protect her agricultural and pastoral industries against her neighbours as her manufactures against the competition of Europe. She would not hear of Free Trade, unless her manufactures found a free market in other colonies. Protection begat retaliation, and in the interests of internal peace the question of a common tariff had to be laid aside.

Problem of Military Protection.

Beside the question of a Customs union, the general political condition of Europe favoured a federal union of the Australian colonies. The year 1870 brought war very close to the United Kingdom, and it was thought that if Great Britain were involved in a European war the colonies might be a source of danger to the Mother Country, while the connection with Great Britain might cause danger to them. There were also some who feared lest federation should be a step towards independence. Imperial troops had recently been withdrawn from the colonies, a fact which tended to expose them to the dangers of war. A commission, presided over by Charles Gavan Duffy, emphasised the view that the colonies possessed responsibility without either authority or protection. They were exposed to the hazards of war, which they were powerless to avert, and could not rely on defence from the Mother Country. The commission, therefore, was in favour of greater independence, especially in the direction of power to contract agreements with foreign States. It also approved of the eventual separation between the colonies and the Mother Country. As a French writer once expressed it, in somewhat infelicitous language, Great Britain says to her colonies when they have grown up, "Wayward sisters!" (*Allez, mes sœurs!*), imagining that "wayward" was a synonym for "onward."

After 1870 the power of other countries began to develop in

the Pacific, and the necessity for definite action became urgent. Great Britain annexed Fiji in 1874. There being some likelihood of France acquiring the New Hebrides and using them for the transportation of convicts, in 1878 an agreement was made between France and Great Britain that neither country should annex these islands, but suspicion of danger still remained. Similar difficulties arose with regard to Samoa. The result was that in 1883 federation assumed a more tangible shape, which was strengthened by the question of New Guinea, to which we have already referred. In August, 1885, a Federal Council of Australia was established for the purpose of considering the marine defences of Australasia, the relation of Australia to the islands of the Pacific, the prevention of the influx of criminals, the regulation of quarantine, and—using a phrase employed on a similar occasion by Alexander Hamilton—"other matters" of general Australian importance and interest. The council was a permanent body; it was to meet at least once in every two years and had power to make laws. At its first meeting, in 1886, it appointed a standing committee to assemble out of session and communicate, through its chairman, with the Secretary of State. But the council was not received with equal enthusiasm by all the States. Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania and West Australia were the only constant members, Fiji was represented only at the first meeting, and South Australia soon withdrew. New Zealand and New South Wales were not represented at all. The great weakness of the council was that it did not possess the power of the purse.

Federal Convention.

The further development of the principle of federation was connected with Imperial defence. In 1887 an agreement was made by which Australia was to contribute £126,000 a year towards the expenses of an Australian squadron. This was the result of a conference held in London on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, when the widespread character of the British Empire was the subject of an ocular and visible demonstration to the colonies, to the Mother Country, and to the Powers of the world. It was also agreed that periodical inspection of the Australian forces should be made by a general officer of the Imperial army. The first report, issued by the inspector in October, 1889, recommended the federation of the colonies for the purposes of defence, and the adoption of a common gauge for the Australian system of railways. In pursuance of this idea, a conference of the six colonies met at Melbourne on February 6th, 1890, when a resolution was unanimously adopted that it was

desirable to effect union between the colonies under the Crown, and under a single legislative and executive government. Consequently, a National Australian Convention was appointed, consisting of not more than seven delegates from each of the self-governing colonies and four from each of the Crown colonies. The Convention met at Sydney on March 2nd, 1891, and sat till April 9th. In these short weeks they agreed that a federal Constitution should be formed, containing a Parliament of two Houses, a federal Supreme Court, and a federal Executive. Committees were formed to deal severally with questions of Constitution, finance and justice, and finally a drafting committee of four produced a Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia. This draft Bill contained in substance the Constitution which received the Royal assent in 1900 and came into operation on January 1st, 1901.

Conference of Premiers.

When the Convention had drawn up the draft Bill of 1891, it recommended that as soon as the Constitution had been accepted by three colonies the Home Government should take steps to put it into execution. But much had to be done before that result could be realised. New South Wales held back; Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania were uncertain; and the other colonies did nothing. Sir Henry Parkes suggested that the matter should be taken out of the hands of Parliament, and that the Australian people should elect a federal Congress representing all the colonies and the whole people. Steps in this direction were taken, and a conference of Premiers, held at Hobart in January, 1895, recommended that the duty of fixing a federal Constitution should be given to the representatives of each colony directly chosen by the electors, the Constitution so formed to be submitted to the electors for acceptance or rejection by a direct vote, and that these resolutions should be confirmed by the Parliaments of each colony.

Federation Accomplished.

The elections for the Convention took place in March, 1897, and four colonies were represented—Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania. The Convention met at Adelaide on March 22nd, 1897, and it was evident that Edmund Barton was the leading spirit. The draft Bill of 1891 was adopted as the foundation of the work of the Convention. The first session came to an end after a month, and the Bill was sent to the Colonial Parliaments for consideration and amendments. At the second session, held in Sydney between September 2nd and September 24th, the most troublesome problems lay in the difficulty of determining the Constitution and the power of the Senate,

and, as in the American Constitution, the conflicting claims of population and the rights of individual States. Financial questions also occupied much time. The third and final session was held at Melbourne between January 21st and March 17th, 1898. The Bill had now to be submitted to a popular vote by means of the referendum. It was passed in Victoria and Tasmania by a majority of five to one, and in South Australia by two to one; but in New South Wales, although there was a small majority for it, the statutory number of votes was not obtained. As the Bill had been accepted by three colonies, it was competent to present it to the Crown for enactment, but it was felt impossible to move without the concurrence of New South Wales. At last matters were adjusted, and on June 20th, 1899, the Bill was passed by New South Wales. In September Queensland, which had hitherto stood aloof, came in; but West Australia did not join until the Act had received the Royal assent.

The Australian Constitution.

In every federal Constitution it is necessary to determine who is the residuary legatee. Is the central federal authority entrusted with certain regulated and defined powers, everything not so enumerated being left to the component parts? Or, are the States entrusted with certain powers, everything not so given being left to the central government? America is representative of one system, Ireland under Home Rule would be an example of the other.

Australia followed the American model, every power not directly given to the central authority being left to the States. The States remained separate entities, sovereign within their own sphere, intact in their territories, capable of modifying their own Constitutions, and in direct relation with the Imperial Government, not being obliged to communicate through the federal body. They surrendered to the central body certain specified powers—the control of commerce, Customs, post office, foreign affairs, defence, navigation, naturalisation, railways and State debts. The States retained control over education, the police and the land.

The federal Government consists of a Parliament, a Federal Council, and a High Court of Judicature, the Parliament having two Chambers, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The qualification for members and for electors is the same for both Houses, and the members of both receive the same salary. In this bicameral Parliament the principles adopted in America and in Switzerland are followed. The Senate represents the States, each State sending an equal number of representatives, six for

each province. The senators are chosen for six years, and one half of the members retire every third year. The Lower House is elected according to population, it sits for not more than three years and is twice as large as the Senate. The Senate cannot initiate or amend money Bills, but it may reject them. A dispute between the two Houses that cannot be arranged is met either by a simultaneous dissolution or by a joint sitting of the Houses. The head of the Executive is a Governor-General. The ministers are appointed by the Governor-General to administer certain departments, their number, however, being fixed by Parliament, and they may be dismissed by him. The ministers are always members of the Executive Council, but all members of the council are not necessarily ministers. The High Court has original jurisdiction in certain defined matters, and a general appellate jurisdiction, but appeal may be made from its decision to the Privy Council.

A Democratic Constitution.

The Constitution of Australia, following the lead of America and Great Britain rather than that of Canada, is essentially democratic. It bears every mark of confidence in the capacity of the people to undertake any and every function of government. In the constitution of Parliament, in the relations between the Houses, and in the amendment of the Constitution the people play a direct part, and the qualifications both for members and electors rest on the widest possible basis.

Commonwealth Reforms.

The creation of the Commonwealth has opened a new phase in the history of Australia. No great change has taken place in the policy of the country, because the principles and objects of its government remain the same as before. But the unity to which all progress had been tending was now embodied in definite institutions, and the ideals which had been cherished in different parts of the Commonwealth could now be regarded as the expression of national feeling. A firmer stand was made against slavery. The importation of native labourers was forbidden in 1901, and in 1906 those already introduced were sent out of the country. Care was taken in the introduction of new citizens, educational tests were imposed on immigrants, and sugar planters who only employed white labour received pecuniary encouragement from the State. Tariff barriers between the several States were removed, the bonds between the separate provinces rapidly increased, and a policy of Protection was introduced, partly from the necessity of providing for the heavy expenses of the Government and partly from the desire to encourage nascent industries. At the same time the policy of Imperial Preference has made some

progress; but the question of preference between Australia and Great Britain divides parties in the Mother Country, and is still far from settlement.

Growth of the Labour Party.

One of the most notable facts has been the growth of the Labour Party, which has brought the regulation of industry in the interests of the workman into prominence. This, again, has made it necessary to determine what are the spheres of the State and what of the individual. A tendency has been shown towards the increase of federal power, a movement which is observable in all federal constitutions, and which is checked in Switzerland by the operation of the referendum. It has been felt that a revision of the Constitution is desirable to increase the authority of the central Government. The Labour Party has shown itself desirous of strengthening and extending federal control, and a change of this nature would have an important bearing on the policy of Protection, on government regulation of industry, and on legislation with regard to land and labour. An increase of federal revenue has also become desirable, and it is possible that the future will see an increase of federal taxation. The site of a federal capital has been settled by the choice of a territory about 140 miles to the south-west of Sydney.

The Future of Australia.

It is impossible to forecast the history of Australia, but there is no doubt that the Pacific Ocean will gradually become more and more important in the history of the world. Australia is at the outset of a great career and will play a more energetic part in the policy of the Pacific than has hitherto been the case. For a long time to come her policy will be identical with that of the Mother Country, but the opening of the Panama Canal may produce results which cannot be foreseen.

CHAPTER XIII

RECONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

The Italians in the Sudan.

WE have already seen how, after the death of Gordon in 1885, the Sudan was abandoned by Egypt to the rule of the Mahdi and Osman Digna. This lasted for thirteen years, during which period the country was devastated and almost depopulated. Five months after the capture of Khartum the Mahdi died and was succeeded by the Khalifa. The Dervishes under him conceived the design of invading Egypt, but their troops were crushed at Toski on August 3rd, 1889. Osman Digna, the chief supporter of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, was defeated in February, 1891, near Tokar, an event which permitted the Egyptians to reoccupy part of the Eastern Sudan, and establish a settled frontier and a tranquillised province. Before this date fighting had taken place on the border of Abyssinia. Some of the Egyptian garrisons, abandoned in 1883, were in great danger, from the Mahdi on the one side and the Abyssinians on the other. King John of Abyssinia was eventually persuaded to allow them to retire through his country. The Italians, who were anxious to follow the example of the rest of Europe by acquiring a colonial dominion, occupied Massowah, a port on the Red Sea. This led to hostilities between King John and the Italians, but the differences were adjusted by the intervention of Queen Victoria in October, 1887. A war which broke out between the Abyssinians and the Dervishes in 1889 resulted in the death of the King, and the project of capturing Khartum, which had brought it about, was abandoned.

Egyptian Unrest.

In the meantime Egypt remained in a most unsettled condition as a consequence of Great Britain not having declared a protectorate of the country after the defeat of Arabi in 1882. The French, who had refused to assist in that enterprise, did all they could to impede the results of victory. Other European Powers, from jealousy of Great Britain, aided and abetted France, while Abdul Hamid used to the full his opportunities of fomenting disorder, by proposing that Tewfik should be deposed and the hold of Turkey over Egypt strengthened. The cause of this trouble was the weakness of Gladstone and Granville, who shrank

from assuming the responsibilities which their policy had imposed upon them, and talked of retiring from Egypt, as if the interests of civilisation or a proper regard for moral considerations would admit of such a course. Feeble attempts were made to improve the situation with very little success. Clifford Lloyd did what he could for a few months in 1883 and 1884 in this direction, but found that serious reforms were impossible in the face of Mohammedan prejudice, nor was the mission of Lord Northbrook in 1884 productive of better results.

Reforms in Egypt.

When Salisbury succeeded Gladstone in 1885 he sent Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who was supposed to have a special knowledge of Eastern affairs and to be popular with the Turks, to arrange matters. But he was met by the invincible jealousy of France, supported by Russia, and under their combined influence the Sultan refused to ratify the Convention, and the only result was that a permanent Turkish Commissioner was placed as an additional thorn in the side of Great Britain. However, notwithstanding these difficulties, which might have been removed by a firmer and more vigorous policy, some progress was made. The use of the *kurbash*, a whip of hippopotamus hide, in driving the fellahin, or peasants, to forced labour in clearing the canals, was abolished; the *corvée* ceased to exist, and a small wage was paid, in spite of the opposition of France, out of the interest due to Great Britain on account of the Suez Canal shares. But it took many years to effect a permanent settlement of the question.

The Finances of Egypt.

The whole of this period had been one of great financial difficulties. The release of Egypt from debt and the placing of the Egyptian budget on a secure footing were due, more than to anyone else, to Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer). He had been appointed in 1877 British Commissioner to the Public Debt of Egypt by Goschen, to whom the Khedive had applied for a suitable official. He next undertook the office of Agent and Consul-General, and began his duties in Cairo on September 11th, 1883. In 1885 he proposed to the Powers to raise a loan of £9,000,000 for the purpose of paying off the war indemnities in connection with the bombardment of Alexandria, of wiping off the deficit which had accumulated since 1882, and of providing a surplus of £1,000,000 for the purposes of irrigation. The careful expenditure of this sum brought about a condition of equilibrium in 1888, and in time raised Egyptian credit to a level only a little below that of the richest European Powers. The outlay on railways, roads and public buildings has been provided out of

annual revenue, and the only increase in taxation has been in the tobacco duty. The administration has been essentially honest. Natives have been encouraged to become proprietors of small holdings of land, the traditional industry of the peasants has been stimulated and rewarded, and in a quarter of a century a transformation has been accomplished which is unique in history.

Egypt's Progress.

Egypt was now completely civilised under British rule; the roads had been cleansed and extended; drainage of the land, which is as important as its irrigation, had been introduced; and the great barrage, situated a short distance below Cairo, had been repaired and rendered serviceable. The result of this was that in ten years the cotton and sugar crops were both trebled and the country was covered by a network of light railways and agricultural roads. In 1898 a dam was established at Assuan, which, though it partially submerged the beautiful temple of Philæ, has rendered infinite service to the prosperity of the country. The only dangers are that more water should be supplied than the cultivators are able to utilise, and that the truth should be forgotten that the flooding of land for crops is useless, and, indeed, mischievous, unless accompanied by a system of carrying off the superfluous waters, a process almost as costly as irrigation itself. Another great step in advance has been the creation of a serviceable Egyptian army. In old days conscripts, chained together like convicts, were torn from their homes and dispatched to distant garrisons, from which they seldom returned. Egyptians, excellent as soldiers, were useless as officers; but Sir Evelyn Wood, the first Sirdar of the Egyptian army, inaugurated a system by which the new soldiers taken from the land, when well fed, well clothed, punctually paid, instructed and officered by British soldiers, became efficient instruments of war. The army was, moreover, strengthened by the enrolment of black volunteers from distant places in the Sudan.

Italy in the Sudan.

In consequence of all these improvements a desire arose for the reconquest of the Sudan, a measure necessary for the security of civilisation in Egypt; but the stimulus to this effort proceeded from the relations of Italy to Abyssinia, of which we must give some account. Italy had taken no part in the suppression of Arabi; indeed, popular sympathy in that country ran strongly in his favour, but in 1884, when Depretis was Prime Minister, Great Britain suggested to the Italian Government that they should occupy some country on the shore of the Red Sea as a counterpoise to the French. Therefore, early in 1885, Bailul and Massowah were taken by the Italians, although Lord Cromer

was opposed to the policy. The abandonment of the Sudan by the British was an unforeseen blow, and the Italians complained that they had first been instigated to embark upon colonial adventure and then deserted. The Abyssinians resented the Italian occupation, and in January, 1887, a whole battalion of 500 men was cut to pieces by Ras Alula at Dogali, while a force of 20,000 men, sent to retrieve the disaster, had to be recalled. However, in 1890 the suzerainty of Italy over Abyssinia was announced, money was coined with the effigy of King Humbert wearing the Abyssinian crown, and a colonial Eritrea was established. The Dervishes were defeated at Agordat and Kassala; and Crispi, who was Prime Minister, conceived the idea of a vast African Empire. But on March 1st, 1896, the Italians suffered a terrible defeat at Adowa, losing all their artillery. The killed included 254 officers and nearly 4,500 men, and the prisoners 45 officers and 1,500 men. The suzerainty over Abyssinia was abandoned, and by the treaty signed in September, 1900, the Italian possessions were reduced to a territory of 80,000 (?) square miles.

Kassala in Peril.

Dismayed by this defeat the Italians turned to Great Britain for assistance. They represented that they had originally undertaken the occupation of a portion of the Red Sea littoral under British advice, and that unless energetic steps were taken the whole of their Eritrean colony was in danger. The matter was brought before the Cabinet, and the request of the Italians appeared to be reasonable. But there was no decision to recover Khartum; the plan was to advance as far as Akasheh and then to await events. Kassala, with the Italian garrison, was threatened by the Dervishes, and was in imminent peril. It was obvious that if it fell into the hands of the Dervishes there was a danger that they would overrun the whole of the Nile valley. It was deemed essential to save Kassala by a diversion towards Dongola, and this could best be done while the Khalifa's forces were occupied.

The Dongola Expedition.

Other European Powers, however, were contending for the occupation of the Upper Nile. The French were advancing from the south-west, the Belgians from the south, and it was necessary that the British should exhibit similar activity. In March Lord Curzon, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated in the House of Commons that, in view of the forward movements of the Dervishes in different directions, and the threatened attack on Kassala, the Government had ordered an advance to Akasheh in order to avert danger to Italy, Egypt and Great Britain.

The advance, he said, might be extended to Dongola, but that would depend on circumstances. The Dongola expedition was to consist of 9,000 Egyptian troops under the command of the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, but some British troops were to advance to Wady Halfa to take the place of the Egyptians stationed there. Although some Liberals approved of the expedition, it was opposed by the party as a whole, and the National Liberal Federation, at a meeting in Huddersfield, condemned it; while Morley, in the House of Commons, proposed a vote of censure against it, which was defeated by 288 votes to 143. Money had to be provided for the expedition, and the British Cabinet thought that Egypt ought to pay for the recovery of her lost territory. She had the money, and was willing to give it, but could not do so without the consent of the six Commissioners of the Debt. Four of them authorised payment and advanced the money, but the French and Russian Commissioners dissented. The mixed tribunal of Cairo ordered the Egyptian Government to refund the money with interest, but Lord Cromer induced the British Government to lend Egypt £800,000 with interest at 2½ per cent., so that the money was repaid.

Battle of Ferkeh.

On March 21st, 1896, the Sirdar, with Colonel Wingate, and the first battalion of the North Staffordshire Regiment, 917 strong, left Cairo for Assuan and Wady Halfa. Wingate, who was stationed at Wady Halfa, moved forward to Akasheh, which had been for some time the advanced post of the Dervishes, and occupied it without opposition. On June 7th an advance was made to Ferkeh, and the Dervishes were attacked with masterly skill by the Sirdar, who divided his forces into a desert and river column, so that the enemy had no chance of escape. In two hours the Dervishes were completely routed, losing 1,000 killed and wounded and 400 taken prisoners, whereas the Egyptian losses were very slight. By the victory of Ferkeh forty miles of the Nile valley were cleared of Dervishes and the only organised army of the Khalifa over the frontier was destroyed near Suakin, which had been for many years the starting-place for raids against the Nile villages and was now the advanced post of the Sirdar's army.

Occupation of Dongola.

After the victory of Ferkeh and the occupation of Suakin there was an interval of three months, a time of very hard work. The railway had to be pushed on, stores collected at the front, and steamers tugged up the cataracts, while, to make matters worse, the troops were attacked with cholera, which killed nearly 200 Egyptians and some British. The attack on Dongola was

made on September 3rd, at 7 in the morning. But the Dervishes refused to fight, retiring whenever the Egyptians advanced. The Sudanese garrison of the town surrendered to the Egyptians and at 11 in the morning Dongola was occupied. The inhabitants crowded amongst the troops, seizing the hands of the soldiers and kissing them in their delirious joy at being delivered from oppression. On the same night the army bivouacked in and near Dongola or its ruins. The British troops were sent back to Cairo, having lost seventy-four of their number, chiefly from enteric fever. Every Dervish fled for his life, the horsemen riding across the desert into Omdurman, the foot soldiers following the Nile to Berber, which now became the next objective.

Kitchener's Sudan Railway.

While Dongola was being rebuilt and its government reorganised, news was brought to the Sirdar by Slatin Pasha and other escaped prisoners that the Khalifa's rule was crumbling to dust, and the British Government announced that they contemplated the reconquest of the Sudan. On February 5th, 1897, Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in asking for a vote of £800,000, declared in the House of Commons that Egypt could never be considered secure so long as hostile Powers were in occupation of Khartum, and that Great Britain, having compelled the Egyptian Government to abandon the Sudan, was now bound in honour to recover it for civilisation. Between Dongola and Berber the Nile makes a large loop to the north and, in order to avoid this, the Sirdar determined to make a railway across the desert, thus saving a distance of 330 miles. In order to make the railway, Abu Hamed had to be captured, and this was effected on August 7th, four-fifths of the Dervishes being killed or taken prisoners, and the rest fleeing to Omdurman, spreading everywhere the news of their defeat. The consequence was that they evacuated Berber, and General Hunter was able to enter it on September 13th. Formerly a large and important town, the centre of a flourishing trade, it had been sacked and destroyed and was only represented by a large Dervish village two miles from the river.

Italy Abandons Kassala.

Whilst Hunter was advancing upon Abu Hamed and Berber, Osman Digna had collected a force of 5,000 men at a place on the Atbara, situated about ninety miles from Ed Damer, where the Atbara flows into the Nile above Berber. Hunter determined to attack him, and, leaving Berber on October 23rd, reached Adarana, where Osman Digna had established himself, six days later. They found he had evacuated the town and was in the desert between Omdurman and Kassala. As nothing more could be done,

Adarana was burnt and the expedition returned to Berber. The road between Berber and Suakin, which had been closed for many years, was now open, and plenty of water was obtainable on the way. There was at this time bad feeling between the Mahdist leaders, Mahmoud and Osman Digna, the first, who was at Metammeh on the Nile, halfway between Ed Damer and Khartum, being anxious to advance, Osman being unwilling to help him. The Khalifa at Omdurman could not weaken himself by sending supplies to Mahmoud, who had, therefore, to remain inactive. Demonstrations were made against him, but nothing important was done. The railway from Wady Halfa to Abu Hamed was completed on October 31st and pushed on to Berber. The Italians now arranged that Kassala with its surrounding territory should be handed over to the Egyptians on December 25th, 1897. It will be remembered that the expedition was originally undertaken with the object of preventing Kassala from being taken from the Italians by the Dervishes. The town is situated near the Atbara, and forms the third point of a triangle with Berber and Khartum, the three places being at an equal distance from each other. The Egyptian troops who, under the command of Colonel Parsons, were to occupy Kassala marched through the Italian colony of Eritrea, being received everywhere with the greatest courtesy.

British Reinforcements for the Sudan.

Early in 1898 the military position was somewhat as follows: the Khalifa was at Omdurman with 40,000 men; Mahmoud, who had been joined by Osman Digna, was at Metammeh with 20,000; the Egyptian army had its headquarters at Berber, with an advanced post at Ed Damer, occupying also Abu Hamed, Merawi and Dongola, as well as Kassala and various positions between Berber and Suakin; and the desert railway was well advanced towards completion. It was known that Mahmoud intended to move down the Nile and attack Berber. It having been deemed necessary that British troops should be employed to reinforce the Egyptians, three battalions were sent up from Cairo, and the Seaforth Highlanders were summoned from Malta. General Gatacre was placed in charge of the British brigade.

Kitchener Awaits His Opportunity.

Mahmoud began to move on February 10th, and it would have been possible to intercept his force and cut it to pieces before it could reach its destination, but probably the Sirdar desired to do nothing which might prevent a general and decisive engagement. Such a conflict was approaching, and troops of both nationalities were rapidly moved up, the Sirdar commanding 13,000 Egyptians and Gatacre four battalions of British

infantry. On March 31st Mahmoud occupied a strong position between Omdurman and Berber, well fortified, but he was in great straits for food, his soldiers being disaffected and anxious to desert. He could not advance to Berber, because the Sirdar stopped him; to come out into the open meant disastrous defeat; to retire to Omdurman would demoralise his followers. He had, therefore, no alternative but to remain where he was and await the Sirdar's attack. At the same time the Sirdar's army was receiving its own supplies with difficulty, and the British troops began to suffer from dysentery and enteric.

Defeat of the Dervishes.

At last the attack took place on April 8th. Mahmoud was strongly fortified by a zariba, formed by cut mimosa branches and strengthened by a palisade of palm logs, laid endways on the ground, and an encircling trench. The bombardment, begun at 6.15 in the morning, lasted for an hour and a half, and at 8.15 the advance was sounded. The whole line marched in quick time, inspired by the bagpipes and the bands of the native regiments. The Camerons, Warwicks, Leicesters and Lincolns came up to the zariba, tore down the thorn bushes, gaps were soon made, and the zariba was entered at about 8.30. The trenches were full of crouching Dervishes, who fired as fast as they could load, neither wishing for nor receiving quarter. After half an hour's fighting the Battle of the Atbara was won, and orders were given to cease firing. The troops indulged in mutual congratulations, and the Sudanese soldiers danced with joy, waving their rifles in the air and shaking hands with every British soldier they came across. When they met the Sirdar they greeted him with enthusiastic cheers. The British brigade had 5 officers and 21 men killed, with 99 officers and men wounded. The Egyptian loss was more severe, 57 men being killed and 386 wounded, including 10 British officers. Osman Digna escaped with the cavalry, but Mahmoud was taken prisoner. His force had numbered 14,000, and of these only 8,000 remained. On April 14th the Sirdar made a triumphal entry into Berber and a review was held, at which Mahmoud, a tall, majestic figure, with his hands tied behind his back, was a conspicuous object. He was afterwards sent down to Wady Halfa.

The Advance on Omdurman.

In May, 1898, preparations were made for the advance to Omdurman; the railway had now reached El Abeidieh, only twelve miles north of Berber, but military operations were suspended for a time and the Sirdar went to England. However, by the middle of August the Nile had risen sufficiently and a start was made, the force being only six miles from Omdurman on

September 1st. When they reached this place they found the whole Dervish army drawn up in battle array in the desert outside of the city. They were in five divisions, and numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 men. On the night of September 1st everyone in the Sirdar's camp was anxious. The two opposing armies were only five miles distant; a report had come that the Khalifa intended to make a night attack, and the men lay down on the sand, fully dressed, with arms and accoutrements beside them. The night was cloudy and the enemy could only be looked for with the help of the searchlight from the gunboats. By a ruse the Khalifa was led to suppose that the British intended an attack, and he kept quiet and the night passed in peace. But he missed a grand opportunity, as no one could foretell what a night assault might have produced, for though victory would doubtless have waited on British prowess the loss of life would have been terrible.

The Position at Omdurman.

However, the decisive battle was to take place next day, September 2nd. The Sirdar had under his command a force of 22,000 men, naval and military. His camp formed a kind of horseshoe, the ends resting on the side protected by the gunboats. The order of the brigades was as follows, counting from the left: Lyttelton's, with the Rifles and the Grenadiers; Wauchope's, with the Seaforths and the Camerons; Maxwell's, with the Egyptians and the Sudanese; then came Macdonald's, Lewis's, and Collinson's—all black troops. Along the British line was a rampart of bushes, which proved afterwards a hindrance rather than a help, while the Egyptians were defended by a shallow trench. The buglers sounded the réveillé at 3.30, and all the troops stood to their arms. When after an hour's waiting there seemed to be no sign of an advance, the Sirdar determined to march out against the Dervish forces.

The Dervish Attack.

At 5.30 in the morning the booming of guns announced the bombardment of Omdurman, but the cannonade had hardly begun when the patrols announced that the enemy were in motion. According to George Steevens, the brilliant and gifted war correspondent, who by his death at Ladysmith robbed England of a great literary name, "an electric whisper came running down the line, 'They are coming.' The noise of something began to creep in upon us; it advanced and divided into the tap of drums and the far-away surf of raucous war cries; a shiver of expectancy ran along our army, and then a sigh of content. They were coming on. Allah help them! they were coming on! It was now 6.30. The flags seemed still very distant, the roar very faint, and the thud of our first gun was almost startling. It

may have startled them, but it startled them into life. The line of flags swung forward, and a mass of white, flying linen swung forward with it too. They came very fast, and they came very straight, and then presently they came no farther. The crash of bullets leapt out of the British rifles."

The Wonderful Dervishes.

The courage of the Dervishes was without parallel. They advanced in an immense mass, marching with military regularity and well-kept ranks, shouting the defiant cry of "There is one God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." Emirs and sheikhs led the way, and Baggara horsemen trotted abreast of the men on foot. From one end to the other of the British line there was a continual blaze of flame, the men firing both in volleys and independently. Through the smokeless air the Dervishes were seen falling in heaps. As whole ranks dropped others rushed in to supply their places. When the Dervishes were within 800 yards of the British line their advance was practically arrested. Yet even then individuals attempted to rush on. One old man with a white flag started with five comrades; all fell but he, and by himself he came bounding forwards to within 200 yards of the Sudanese. Then he folded his arms across his face, his limbs loosened, and he dropped to the earth beside his flag. As Steevens says, "it was the last day of Mahdism and the greatest."

The Baggara Charge.

The ground was white with dead men's drapery, for it was not a battle, but a battue. At first the British loss had been slight, the Dervishes not halting to fire, but discharging their weapons into the air; careless of aim, their bullets fell short; when they got closer their fire began to tell, and casualties became frequent. But this was as nothing compared with the awful slaughter of the Dervishes. They were not driven back; they were simply killed as they came on. Just before the British fire ceased a last Dervish effort was made, taking the form of a cavalry attack. A party of Baggara horsemen, 200 in number, gallantly charged Maxwell's white brigade. Shot down by rifle and Maxim, the undaunted remnant repeatedly dashed on until there was nothing to be seen but a struggling heap of men and horses lying on the ground. At 8 the grand attack was finished and the main body of the enemy was in retreat to the hills three miles distant.

Scene on the Battlefield.

At 8.30 the bugle sounded for the advance to Omdurman. As the soldiers passed over the field of battle they saw the slaughter they had done. The bodies—nearly all of Arabs—were not in masses, but spread evenly over acres and acres. Some lay very composedly, with their slippers placed under their heads for a pillow; some were kneeling, killed in the midst of a

last prayer; some were torn to pieces; others, not dead yet, sprang up as the soldiers approached and rushed savagely, hurling spears. These were bayoneted or shot. The losses of the Dervishes were immense. No fewer than 10,800 bodies were counted on the field, and the wounded numbered at least 16,000, making a total of 27,000 out of a force of 52,000. Besides these, 4,000 black troops surrendered, and three of Gordon's steamers were captured. The Sirdar's losses were only nominal—48 killed and 382 wounded.

"The Dervishes were Superb."

Steevens pays a magnificent tribute to the Dervishes. He says that "the British were perfect," but that "the Dervishes were superb beyond perfection."

"It was the largest, best and bravest army which ever fought against us for Mahdism, and it died worthily of the huge Empire which Mahdism won and kept so long. Their riflemen, mangled by every kind of death and torment which man can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor, rotten, home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death at every minute hopelessly. Their horsemen led each attack, riding into the bullets till nothing was left but their horses trotting up to our lines. It was over; the avenging squadrons of the Egyptian cavalry swept over the field. Now, under the black flag, in a ring of bodies, stood only three men, facing the 3,000 of the British brigade. They folded their arms about their staff and gazed steadily forward. Two fell. The last Dervish stood up and filled his chest; he shouted the name of his God and hurled his spear, then he stood quite still, waiting. It took him full; he quivered, gave at the knees, and toppled with his head on his arms and his face towards the legions of his conquerors."

Omdurman Occupied.

In the afternoon, when the fight was over, the Sirdar rode forward to occupy Omdurman. When the surrender of the fighting men was accepted, the inhabitants swarmed out of their houses and cheered the troops. The victorious army marched down the broad street leading to the Khalifa's house and the Mahdi's tomb. Finding that the Khalifa's house was barred, the gunboats proceeded to shell it from the river, and in doing this nearly killed the Sirdar and did kill Herbert Howard, the son of Lord Carlisle, a newspaper correspondent. The Khalifa had run away after a vain attempt to organise renewed resistance. The prisoners were released, the chief of them being Charles Neufeld, a German subject (who had been for eleven years in captivity and was kept in chains), two Italians, and thirty Greeks. In the arsenal were found large stores of ammunition.

THE FASHODA INCIDENT

The Mahdi's Tomb Destroyed.

It was necessary to crush the feeling of fanatical reverence which had grown up around the Mahdi, by destroying his tomb and throwing his burnt ashes into the Nile, and those who criticised this action can have little idea of the requirements of statesmanship in dealing with ignorant and superstitious natives. Lord Crewe declared the deed to be a practical necessity. Duty demanded a visit to Gordon's grave at Khartum, and a memorial service was held in the remains of his palace. This accomplished, the British army left as soon as possible, as it began to feel the inevitable reaction from fatigue, and fever also had set in. By the end of September nearly the whole of the British division had left for the north. The Khalifa fled from Omdurman into the wilds of Kordofan, wandered about for a year, and was there killed by Sir Reginald Wingate, who succeeded Kitchener as Sirdar of the Egyptian army. The Khartum expedition was not only a thorough success, but owing to the Sirdar's excellent management cost only £1,000,000, besides the £1,200,000 spent on permanent improvements on railways and telegraphs.

Marchand at Fashoda.

The taking of Khartum was followed by a surprising incident which nearly brought about war between Great Britain and France. On September 7th one of Gordon's old steamers, which had been sent up the White Nile by the Khalifa, returned to Omdurman to find the place in the hands of the British. The captain reported that at Fashoda he had been fired at by some white men, and produced bullets of European manufacture in support of his statement. It was evident that some European expedition had reached Fashoda, and Kitchener determined to ascertain what it was. Having, with characteristic caution, sent all the newspaper correspondents to Cairo, he left Omdurman on September 10th with a small fleet of vessels. On September 18th he reached a point ten miles from Fashoda, and, after five miles' further journey, was met by a boat bearing the French flag, and learned that Lieut. Marchand, a French explorer, had occupied Fashoda since July 10th. When Fashoda was reached the French flag was seen flying, with Marchand's fleet close to the old Egyptian fort. The Sirdar told him that the presence of a French force in Egyptian territory was inadmissible, and Marchand replied that he was acting under orders from the French Government. Kitchener landed his troops and posted the Egyptian flag about 500 yards from the French flag. The Sirdar returned to Cairo, but the relations between the French and Egyptian Governments assumed a serious aspect, and for twenty-four hours war between the two countries seemed probable. The French held that Fashoda,

although formerly belonging to Egypt, had, by abandonment, ceased to belong to anyone and might be legally claimed by either France or Belgium; the British, on the other hand, claimed the whole valley of the Nile for Egypt. Eventually the French withdrew from an untenable position, and on November 4th, when the Sirdar was entertained by the Lord Mayor of London, Lord Salisbury was able to announce that the incident was closed.

Tranquillity in the Sudan.

In the final settlement of the Sudan some of the mistakes made in Egypt in 1882 were avoided. The agreement of January, 1899, gave the Queen of Great Britain sovereign rights in the Sudan in conjunction with the Khedive, based upon the right of conquest. The frontier of the Sudan towards the south was left undefined. The supreme military and civil command was vested in a Governor-General appointed by the Khedive on British recommendation, and no foreign consuls were allowed to reside in the Sudan without the previous consent of Great Britain. It was also decided that in all matters concerning trade, with a residence in the Sudan, no special privileges would be accorded to the subjects of any one Power. Consequently, in the following years the Sudan advanced greatly in prosperity, and the population increased. Port Sudan, on the Red Sea, was made into a well-equipped harbour; the White Nile was rendered navigable by the removal of 400 miles of *sudd*; and Gordon University at Khartum provided for the enlightenment of one of the darkest spots in the Dark Continent.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR OF 1898

THE war between the United States and Spain in 1898 was of such importance in the history and development of the great Republic that some account of it is inevitable, although it did not produce much effect upon Europe, excepting that it put the finishing touch to the course of humiliation to which Spain had exposed herself ever since the era of her grandeur in the Middle Ages. The war, which had been impending for a considerable period, was due to an accumulation of causes. The Americans, for one thing, could not suffer a small country at their very doors, closely connected by commerce with themselves, to remain in a condition of maladministration which was a perpetual menace to good government in their own country. For another, controlling, as it did, the approaches to the Gulf of Mexico and the Panama Canal, it was felt undesirable that Cuba should be in the hands of a Power that might possibly become hostile. Relations had grown so strained and feeling was so tense that it only required a spark to fire the magazine. **Causes of the War.**

In 1898 the Cubans were in revolt against Spain, and the United States had been urged to give them assistance. Nevertheless, there was a strong party, not only in the United States, but even in the Government, which was opposed to interference in the affairs of Spain or of any other country, and there is every probability that nothing would have been done had not an event occurred which changed the whole situation. The United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbour of Havana on February 15th in a mysterious manner, with a loss of 266 lives. The general belief was that the ship had been destroyed by the Spaniards or by Cuban sympathisers to force the hands of the United States, and the testimony of the survivors confirmed this opinion. The whole country was in a state of excitement, the newspapers clamoured that the outrage on the *Maine* should be revenged, and, although a large number of cool-headed people, including President McKinley himself, were against hostilities, the President was compelled to declare war upon Spain on April 21st, 1898. **The *Maine* Disaster.**

The news was received with great joy in New York. The Stars and Stripes were hung across the streets and from the windows of

towns and cities, and everywhere was seen the motto, "Remember the *Maine*." Steps were immediately taken to meet the crisis. The American army, which on a peace footing consists of 25,000 men, was raised to 71,000, while the President called for a volunteer force of 125,000 men. The first shot was fired on April 23rd at Key West, when the Spanish merchant ship, *Buena Ventura* was captured by the *Nashville*. President McKinley announced a blockade of the northern coast of Cuba between Cardenas and Bahia Honda, as well as of the harbour of Cienfuegos upon the south coast. This was carried out by a squadron of twenty-three men-of-war, under the command of Admiral Sampson, in the *New York*, who started from Key West Islands, which are only a hundred miles distant from Havana, the capital of Cuba.

Bombardment of Havana.

The American fleet began the bombardment of Castel Morro, one of the defences of Havana, on April 25th, and of Matanzas on the two following days. An eyewitness of the first engagement tells us that the shots fell in the ramparts, throwing the earthworks fifty feet in the air and cutting them level with the ground. Only three shots from the enemy's batteries struck the *New York*, and of the others none came closer than a hundred yards, although the engagement lasted fifteen minutes.

American Naval Difficulties.

Sampson's fleet could not sail out to intercept the fleet of Admiral Cervera, on its way from Spain, because it was difficult, if not impossible, to discover its whereabouts in the broad expanse of the Atlantic, and because two American warships, expected from Brazil, could not be left off the coast of Cuba without protection. On the other hand, if Cervera's fleet were left unmolested, it might attack the east coast of North America without being materially prevented by the flying squadron commanded by Admiral Schley. Consequently, some apprehension was felt in the towns of the United States seaboard, and, as a precautionary measure, mines were laid in the harbour of New York.

Dewey in the Philippines

Whilst in the West Indies every one was on the tiptoe of expectation with regard to the coming of Cervera's fleet, news of momentous import arrived from the Far East. Admiral Dewey, commanding an American squadron of eight ships-of-war in the harbour of Hong-Kong, sailed on April 25th for the Philippines, with orders to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet lying off the islands. This squadron of thirteen ships, under the command of Admiral Montojo y Pasaron, went out to meet Dewey, but soon returned with the intention of awaiting the attack in the Bay of Canacao, near Cavite, in the Bay of Manila. They would thus be supported by the land batteries, and a bombardment of Manila during the sea-fight would

be impossible. Dewey, who had anchored in Mirs Bay, on the coast of China, left on April 27th, and on May 1st sailed into the Bay of Manila without being stopped by the batteries of the Corregidor Islands which lie at the entrance, and laid his ships alongside of the Spanish fleet at the extremity of the Peninsula of Cavite. His fleet was armed with 122 guns of modern construction, some of enormous size, and in seven hours he completely destroyed the whole of the Spanish ships.

Destruction of the Spanish Fleet.

The Spaniards defended themselves with heroic courage, but the combatants were unequally matched. Of the Spanish cruisers, armed with ninety-six guns, only five were fit for battle, while the American ordnance consisted mainly of long eight-inch guns of the newest construction, which had a longer range and never missed their mark. Of course, the Spanish vessels, which had no similar resources, were either at once set on fire or sunk. The Spaniards lost 175 killed and 214 wounded; the Americans had none killed and only seven wounded. Apparently it had never occurred to the Spanish Government that a number of antiquated vessels, sufficient for the local needs of the far-distant and extensive group of islands and the maintenance of Spanish sovereignty, would be useless against an enemy possessing serviceable vessels of modern type.

Troops for Manila.

Needless to say, tidings of this disaster caused the utmost consternation in Madrid, and Sagasta's Ministry was attacked for the insufficiency of its preparations. On May 2nd a state of siege was proclaimed in the capital, and eventually the Ministry was reconstructed. In the United States the victory of Admiral Dewey on May Day was received with enthusiasm, and when he reported that he had not sufficient men to take possession of Manila, it was determined to dispatch an army to his support.

Cervera in Sight.

On May 2nd, the fleet of Admiral Cervera, consisting of four armoured cruisers, three torpedo boats, and three destroyers, was sighted at Fort de France, in the Island of Martinique. It appears to have been Cervera's intention to discover as soon as possible one of the two American squadrons which had not yet been able to unite, to engage with it, and inflict so much damage as to render it incapable of protecting the transports which had left Tampa, in Florida, on May 11th, with the troops destined for action in Cuba.

Cervera, forbidden to land at Martinique, which belonged to the French, proceeded to the harbour of Santiago, on the southern coast of Cuba. The town is situated in a large bay, surrounded by the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, and has ample space for the evolutions of many large ships-of-war. The narrow and difficult

entrance is defended by the castles of Morro and Estrella. Cervera thought that from this basis he would be able to defend the neighbouring coast, and was the more confident of his ability to do so because the squadron of Admiral Sampson, who had been misinformed with regard to Cervera's movements, was crossing to the north of Hayti and proceeding in the direction of Key West, where there happened to be a serious scarcity of fresh water.

The Fight at Santiago.

Sampson's fleet reached Santiago on May 19th, and was joined here, on the last day of the month, by the flying squadron of Schley. The two admirals then undertook to bombard the forts, whose defective armaments had to be strengthened by cannon from Cervera's ships. The attack was renewed on June 3rd, and on this occasion the American schooner *Merrimac* was sunk in the entrance of the harbour, but not in such a manner as to render the egress impossible, although it increased the difficulties of entrance. A third attempt was made on the following day, June 4th, but an assault on the forts of La Sorapa and Puertegrande was repelled, and it seemed as if Cervera intended to break out and sacrifice his fleet in preventing the arrival of an invading army. He still, however, remained in the vicinity, and on June 6th 5,000 American infantry were landed at Punto Cabrera under the shelter of a heavy bombardment, and on the following day 600 at Carminanera.

The Spaniards Hopeful.

The Bay of Santiago is so extensive that Sampson's heavy guns could barely reach the town (which lies at its furthest extremity), or even Cervera's fleet. At the same time the admiral did not feel justified in forcing an entrance. He therefore sent to the American Government, on June 17th, a pressing request for further reinforcements on a considerable scale. Some detachments which had landed at Guantanamo on June 8th, had a few days later serious engagements with the Spanish troops. The Spaniards began to congratulate themselves on their successes, as the American fleet had not been able to effect anything conclusive, and the only loss they had suffered had been the sinking of the torpedo-boat destroyer *Terror* by the American line-of-battle ship *Oregon*.

Roosevelt in Cuba.

At length the army which had been so anxiously expected sailed from Tampa on June 8th, under the command of General Shafter, who had served in the War of Secession, and landed on June 23rd at Baiquiri, a harbour half-way between Santiago and Guantanamo, an operation in which two men were drowned. After landing they were assisted by 3,000 insurgents under the command of Calixto Garcia, who speedily united himself with Shafter. But on the following day, June 24th, was fought the battle of Las Guasimas, which, after a vigorous resistance on the part of the Spaniards,

ended in the victory of the Americans. The burden of the fight fell upon the regiment of " Rough Riders " commanded by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. It had been intended, at first, to recruit it mostly from cowboys, picked up from the ranches, but actually there enlisted fashionable young men from New York clubs, undergraduates and graduates from the Universities, and athletes from schools and colleges, and it certainly achieved much distinction. In the battle of Las Guasimas the enemy numbered at least 4,000, whereas the Rough Riders were only 500 and General Young's force 464. Of the former force eight were killed and thirty-four wounded, and of the latter eight killed and eighteen wounded. The Americans had thus attacked and vanquished an enemy over four times their number, entrenched behind rifle-pits and bushes in a mountain pass.

Battle of San Juan.

On June 25th fighting began for the possession of Sevilla, south of Santiago, which was captured on June 28th. Then took place the Battle of San Juan, the entrenchments of which were the outer defences of Santiago. The advance began on the afternoon of June 30th, " twelve thousand men, with their eyes fixed on a balloon, treading on each other's heels in three inches of mud." At El Pozo the trail forked, the right-hand road leading to El Caney, the left to Santiago. The troops slept in the mist, seeing the street lamps of Santiago and the moon shining over the hill of San Juan. Before the moon rose again every sixth man who slept in the mist that night had either been killed or wounded.

Capture of El Caney.

El Caney, about four miles to the east of Santiago, was held by 500 Spanish soldiers, and it was thought the Americans would take it without difficulty. The idea was that the right division should attack towards the north, and after the capture of El Caney, turn south-westwards and join the left division in the attack on Santiago. But the village was strongly defended, and El Caney was not taken till late in the afternoon, the Americans having lost 377 killed and wounded.

American Losses at the San Juan.

On the left the battle was far more serious. The greatest loss took place at the San Juan River, where the Americans—commanded not to return the fire, but lie still and wait for further orders—were simply fired into. For a whole hour they lay on their rifles while the bullets drove past incessantly, sharpshooters and guerillas being hid in the trees above the stream and above the track. They spared no one, neither wounded, nor surgeons, nor attendants carrying the litters. The balloon, intended as a point of observation, was a complete failure ; not only was it of no use, but it directed the fire of the enemy.

A Magnificent Assault.

At last the division came within sight of the hill on the top of which stood the Spanish blockhouse and fort of San Juan. The troops were intended to take it, although it was almost impregnable. Though it was madness to assault this hill without artillery, it was done. Luckily, the Spanish trenches on the summit were built so far back from the brow that, unless the Spanish soldiers lay on the breastworks or outside of them, they could not depress their rifles sufficiently to fire down the hill. Thus the fire was hotter in the last stage than in the actual assault. At length the Americans flooded the ridges, swarmed into the blockhouse, and carried the crest. Then the invaders halted, gazing at the city beneath them. It is reckoned that the loss on both American wings did not fall short of 2,000 men. On the side of the Spaniards, General Linares was severely wounded, 467 men were killed, and half their force was disabled.

Cervera's Defeat.

An unexpected incident now supervened. The moment had arrived when Cervera's fleet could be of great service, although up to the present it had been of little good. But, to the surprise of all, at 9.30 a.m. on Sunday, July 3rd, it came out of the harbour under full steam, and, in three-quarters of an hour, was entirely destroyed by the American fleet, three times superior in number, and armed with excellent artillery. The Spanish ships were set on fire and driven on to the coast, where they blew up.

Field-Marshal Blanco had sent Cervera repeated orders to come out, and he had at last obeyed, because his supply of coal was nearly exhausted, and because, seeing that Santiago was closely invested, he did not wish to be caught, like Montojo at Cavite, but preferred to perish in the open sea. Unfortunately, he was misinformed as to the position and number of the American fleet, and sailed in the wrong direction. As the engagement took place at a distance beyond the range of the Spanish guns, not a single shot touched the American ships, although the flagship, the *Vizcaya*, continued to fire after she was in flames, and the *Colon* did not haul down her colours until she had done her utmost to escape. This Spanish fleet was not ten years old, but the armour-plates were thin; it carried 6 heavy, 46 medium, and 96 light guns, whereas the American fleet had 67 heavy, 36 medium, and 196 light guns. Cervera was taken prisoner, and, with his companions, honourably treated.

Surrender of Santiago.

Before Santiago an armistice was arranged from July 2nd to July 9th, during which period many discussions were held about surrender, although Marshal Blanco talked about making the place a second Saragossa. Both sides were really desirous of peace, for

though the position of the Americans was anything but secure, the garrison of Santiago, which had been reinforced with 18,000 men under General Pondo from Seilobo, was gradually running short of provisions and ammunition. At length, on July 15th, the town and province of Santiago de Cuba was surrendered to the United States, under the condition that the garrison, amounting to 22,780 men, should be sent back to Spain unarmed. Sampson's fleet now entered the harbour, and on July 17th President McKinley issued orders for the Government of the Province.

The Insurgent Filipinos.

In the Philippines, Admiral Dewey was still waiting for a force to begin operations on land, but meanwhile the Spanish troops were hardly pressed by the insurgents. At the end of June, the Governor-General, Augusti, proposed to the German Vice-Admiral, Von Diedrichs, who was at Manila for the purpose of protecting German commerce, that the admirals of the neutral Powers should take Manila under their protection. This offer was refused in consequence of the American blockade. On the other side, Emilio Aguinaldo, who commanded the insurgent Filipinos, and who, on June 12th, had proclaimed the independence of the islands, made a declaration to the same admiral that any claim made by the United States was excluded by the convention which had been signed by him and Admiral Dewey on April 24th, and agreed to by President McKinley, Great Britain and Japan, in virtue of which the insurgents should join the Americans in making war upon Spain, with the object of establishing in the Philippines an independent Federal Republic under American protection.

The Ladrone Islands Occupied.

The American land forces were still detained at sea. On their way they had hoisted the American flag in the Ladrone Islands, which belonged to Spain, and carried off the garrison, which had heard nothing of the outbreak of the war. On July 17th they eventually arrived at the island of Luzon, and engaged the Spanish troops on July 31st. This enabled Admiral Dewey to demand the surrender of Manila on the following day. The summons, however, was rejected, and the Americans did not become masters of the city until August 13th, after it had suffered a bombardment.

Capture of Porto Rico.

The capture of the island of Porto Rico forms a striking contrast to the operations in Cuba, the difference being attributed by the Americans to the incompetence of the commanders in the one case, and their competence in the other. General Miles had assumed the command of the American army in Cuba in the latter half of July, and immediately turned his attention to Porto Rico, where the feeling of the inhabitants was strongly anti-Spanish. The island had been declared independent on February 9th, and a Parliament

assembled on July 24th, which protested against the attack of America on the freedom of the country. The invading army marched, it was said, with the precision of a set of chessmen; its moves were carefully considered and followed by corresponding success; its generals, acting independently and yet along routes reconnoitred by Generals Ray and Stone and Major Flagler and selected by General Miles, never missed a point, nor needlessly lost a man, nor retreated from a foot of ground over which they had advanced. Accordingly, eight cities or towns, with 700,000 inhabitants, were won over to the United States at the cost of very few men killed. General Miles landed at Geronimo on July 25th, and the reduction of the island was completed by the surrender of Ponce on July 28th.

Spain Asks for Peace.

Although only a small portion of Cuba had surrendered to the Americans, and the Spaniards still had 80,000 men on the island, the latter could not continue the war, which had cost Spain about 5,000,000,000 pesetas in six months, and was likely to cost 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 a month in the future. Moreover, the destruction of the Spanish fleet made it impossible to raise the blockade. Therefore, on July 27th, through the friendly offices of the French Ambassador, Cambon, in Washington, the Spanish Government avowed itself beaten, and asked for conditions of peace.

On August 12th, preliminaries were signed, in terms of which Spain surrendered all the Antilles, except Cuba, the town, bay, and harbour of Manila, and a coaling station on the Ladrones, to the United States, besides further renouncing its sovereignty over Cuba. The United States, on its side, while declining to take over the debt of Cuba and Porto Rico, made no claim to a war indemnity. A commission to settle the details of the treaty was also appointed on the understanding that Spanish troops should be immediately withdrawn from Porto Rico and the remaining provinces of Cuba.

American Concessions.

By the definite treaty, signed at Paris on December 10th, 1898, Spain relinquished her sovereignty and right to possession in respect of Cuba, and made over to the United States Porto Rico and the rest of her West Indian islands, the island of Guam, the most southerly of the Ladrone group, and the Philippine archipelago, on the condition that for ten years Spanish ships should be allowed to have access to them on the same conditions as the ships of the United States. The United States was to pay 20,000,000 dollars to Spain, which thus abandoned every title to be deemed a colonial empire, and stripped herself of the last shred of claim to rank among the Great Powers of the world.

CHAPTER XV

THE BOXERS IN CHINA

ON November 1st, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in a village near Chining Chow, in the province of Shantung. The country to which they belonged was bound to resent this, as there was no cause for the outrage, and the deed had been executed in cold blood, with special circumstances of barbarity. A German admiral lost no time in avenging the insult. He steamed into Kiaochow, the harbour of the province, and took possession of the island of Tsingtao situated within it. He demanded an indemnity of 200,000 taels of silver (over £6,000), the rebuilding of the mission chapel (which had been destroyed in the riot), the repayment of the expenses incurred by Germany in these operations against Kiaochow, the dismissal of the Governor of Shantung, and the condign punishment of the murderers. The Germans also demanded that the territory which had been seized should be leased to them for ninety-nine years, with rights of mining and making railways, and all these demands were granted.

Germans Occupy Shantung.

Shantung province forms a peninsula which lies between the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pechili, the Bay of Kiaochow being situated on its southern coast. Shantung has enormous mineral wealth in gold, iron, and coal, and pays the largest land tax of any province in China. The natives possess high physical and moral qualities; from them the Chinese navy draws its best recruits, and the overflow from it has peopled the rich lands of Manchuria. The Germans made full use of the privileges granted to them. They have opened a railway from Tsi-nan-fu, the capital of the province, and have erected a German town at Tsingtao.

The example of Germany was soon followed by other Powers. In 1897 Russia opened negotiations at Peking for permission to anchor her fleet at Port Arthur. This being granted, they demanded that the harbour might be leased to them on the same terms that Kiaochow had been leased to Germany, and this was conceded without demur. Port Arthur, which derives its name from the English captain who discovered it, lies at the extremity of the peninsula of Liaotung, in the very north of which is

Russia and Port Arthur.

situated the town of Mukden. Liaotung is opposite Shantung, and with it helps to close the Gulf of Pechili, and is only 163 miles from Taku, the fort which commands the passage to Peking. It is, therefore, the key to Northern China. The treaty making these concessions was signed on March 15th, 1898.

Great Britain's Claims.

As Great Britain could not acquiesce in this act of Russian aggression, a convention was signed on July 1st, 1898, by which Wei-hai-Wei, an important area at the extremity of the Shantung peninsula, not far from Chifu, was ceded to Great Britain, so long as Port Arthur remained in the possession of Russia. Not to be behind in the loot, France demanded the port of Kwang-chow-wan, together with an assurance from the Chinese Government that this part of China should be recognised as subject to French influence. Kwang-chow is in the south of China, not far from Canton and Hong-Kong on the one side and the French province of Tonking on the other. To counterbalance this, Great Britain asked for and received an accession of 200 square miles of territory on the mainland opposite to Hong-Kong and an assurance that no other foreign Power should be allowed to acquire territorial rights in the basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, the river which passes by Nanking and reaches the sea at Shanghai. The Foreign Office of China was, at this time, administered by Prince Kung, who died in 1898. Next year, when the Italian Minister at Peking asked for a concession to his country similar to that which had been granted to other Powers it was summarily refused.

Position of Missionaries.

In 1898 the question of preaching Christianity in China became acute. The European missionaries, who were supported by the diplomatic influence of their own countries, were powerful and determined and the native converts supported them. On the other side was the vast majority of the non-Christian natives, who were encouraged by the mandarins and other Government officials. The dispute was not entirely religious, but social and political also. Missionaries of all kinds, Catholic as well as Protestant, were accused of using influence in favour of Christian converts in the native courts of justice, and the Catholics tried to exert both a political and a religious influence. Notwithstanding this, when the French Legation brought pressure to bear on the Chinese Government, the latter issued, on March 15th, 1899, an Imperial edict granting officially to all missionaries a public *status* of an important character. The privilege was accepted and at once put in force by the Catholic missionaries, but, being declined by the Protestants, it was withdrawn in 1908.

Anti-Foreign Campaign.

There were other causes of irritation. The French Treaty of 1860 allowed the Catholic missionaries to recover buildings which had been wrested from them during the popular outbreaks of that period; but as many of these buildings had been converted to secular, or even to religious uses, some more than a hundred years before, the resumption caused great resentment. Moreover, the orphanages established by the sisters of mercy were completely misunderstood, and were believed by the Chinese Foreign Office to be instituted solely for the purpose of political propaganda. The disastrous result of the war with Japan also embittered the feeling between the Chinese and the foreigners. Placards issued with the purpose of stirring up hostility between the yellow and the white races warned the British, French and Americans that if in future they wished to preach their doctrines in China, they must drive the Japanese back into their own country. The worst of these documents came from the Tsungli Yamen, and the Chinese Foreign Office refused to take measures for their suppression.

The Opium Question.

The opium traffic had also its share in increasing this anti-foreign odium, as it was well known that it was favoured by foreigners for their own pecuniary advantage. A strong movement against the smoking of opium had recently taken place in China. One of the principal opponents of this traffic, Chang Chihtung, wrote: "Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison. Opium has spread with frightful rapidity and heartrending results throughout the provinces. Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. The ruin of the mind is the most woeful of its many deleterious effects. The poison enfeebles the will, saps the strength of the body, renders the consumer incapable of performing his regular duties. It consumes his substance and reduces the miserable wretch to poverty, barrenness and senility. Unless something is done to arrest this awful scourge in its devastating march, the Chinese people will be transformed into satyrs and devils."

Opium Prohibited.

Convinced by these and other opinions to a like effect, energetic steps were taken by the Government. On September 20th, 1906, the following edict was issued by order of the Emperor: "Since the first prohibition of opium almost the whole of China has been flooded by the poison. Smokers of opium have wasted their time, neglected their employments, ruined their constitutions, and impoverished their households. Thus for several decades China has presented a spectacle of increasing poverty

and weakness. The Court is now determined to make China powerful, and it is our duty to urge our people to reformation in this respect. We decree, therefore, that within the limit of ten years this harmful filth be fully and entirely swept away. We therefore command the Council of State to consider means for the strict prohibition both of opium smoking and of poppy growing." There is much to be said for the exclusive attitude of the Chinese against foreigners. The Chinese Empire is self-sufficing, containing within its bounds everything it requires for itself. If foreigners insist upon being admitted to China for their own purposes they are bound to submit to its laws.

The Dowager Empress.

Even in the later 'eighties outrages against foreigners had taken place in the valley of the Yang-tsze-Kiang; at Chin-kiang the British consulate was burned to the ground, and similar outrages took place in the west and north. The defeat of China by Japan impressed some statesmen with the imperative necessity of reforming the Empire. But the reactionary party at Peking had recourse to the Dowager Empress, and begged her to resume the reins of power. Therefore, in 1898, she ordered the Emperor to surrender his power into her hands, reversed his edicts, and commanded the punishment of his friends. This increased the hostility to the foreigners, and in many places the Christians were assaulted.

Origin of the "Boxers."

But the most remarkable result was the emergence of a secret society, known in Europe as the "Boxers," in China as the *Ino Chuan*, or the "Patriotic Harmonious Fists." This society received vigorous Imperial support: "The Powers cast looks of tiger-like voracity on the Empire; to resist this, Viceroys and Governors should act together without distinction of jurisdiction; the word 'peace' should be banished from their lips; they should preserve the homes and the graves of their ancestors from desecration at the hands of the invader." The Dowager Empress was the soul of this encouragement.

Boxer Outrages.

The foreign Ministers besought the Tsungli Yamen to suppress the Boxer movement, and were told that everything was being done to effect this, and that a large army was at hand for the purpose under the command of Tung Fuhsiang. But he really took the other side, and when he arrived matters became worse, three British officers being pelted with stones by his soldiers in October, 1899. The Boxers now drilled openly and threatened foreigners and their native servants. Throughout winter matters continued in a very grave condition. Christians were massacred and burnt in the neighbourhood of Peking, and the Boxers

destroyed the railway and tore up the track not far from the capital.

Fighting at Tientsin and Peking.

The foreign representatives were obliged to send to the ships stationed at Taku for additional guards, and the Legations were protected by 340 men. Prince Tuan, a professed supporter of the Boxers, became President of the Tsungli Yamen, and the Legations could no longer be considered safe. The Boxers now reckoned themselves strong enough to take active steps, and the Legations called on the admirals for protection. On June 10th Admiral Seymour marched from Tientsin with a force of 2,000 men. At Antung he found the railway line destroyed and a large body of Boxers in position. After staying there some days he discovered the railway cut behind him, and determined to retire to Tientsin by water. On June 22nd he seized the Chinese arsenal, finding in it large stores of rice and ammunition, and with some difficulty returned to Tientsin on June 26th. The Boxers being joined by the Imperial troops, the Legations at Peking and the foreign settlements at Tientsin were besieged, and but for the opportune arrival of 1,700 Russian troops a catastrophe would have taken place. The foreigners at Tientsin were in a hopeless plight; they had few works of defence, and their communications with the Taku forts were cut off. On June 15th the Boxers, who had sixty guns at their disposal, bombarded the foreign settlements at Tientsin from the walls of the native city. Not until June 24th could a relieving force arrive, but with this the allied commanders were able to act, though the bombardment did not take place until July 13th. On the following day the city was occupied by the allied forces, whose next business was to relieve the Legations at Peking. This was done by a column drawn from the whole of the allied armies. On the night of August 13th the Russians began an attack on the city wall of the capital, and, asking for reinforcements, these were supplied by the Japanese.

Relief of the Legations.

The Legations had been besieged for eight weeks. On June 20th Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister, had been shot dead a few hundred yards from his Legation, as he was riding out to pay a visit to the Tsungli Yamen. Peace was no longer possible, and foreigners of all nationalities retired to their Legations; the British Legation, being the largest, accommodated the largest number of fugitives. On the arrival of the relieving columns the Chinese made only a faint-hearted resistance. The Dowager Empress, with the Emperor and the Court, fled to Li-an-fu, the capital of the province of Shensi. Prince Ching and

Li Hung Chang being given full powers to arrange terms, it was decided that the officials connected with the Boxer movement should be punished, an indemnity paid, the Taku forts dismantled, the importation of arms prohibited, the Tsungli Yamen abolished, and a rational system of intercourse with the Emperor established. In pursuance of these terms, Princes Tuang and Tsailan were sentenced to death, three high officials were condemned to commit suicide, and three mandarins were beheaded. Prince Chun proceeded to Berlin to apologise for the murder of Ketteler, and the indemnity was fixed at about £10,000,000. The conditions of peace were signed on September 7th, 1901. Two months later Li Hung Chang, the most powerful statesman whom China at that time possessed, died after a short illness.

Russian Massacre at Blagovestchensk.

The movement of the Boxers, which meant the regeneration of the fighting power of China, was viewed with great suspicion by the Russian Government, which feared they would endeavour to recover some of the territory which China had lost in Manchuria. The town of Blagovestchensk, on the Amur, had grown very rapidly, and a small force of Russians was face to face with a large Chinese population. The Governor, Chichegov, afraid of what might occur, commanded all the Chinese to cross to the south side of the river, and, when they hesitated to obey, the soldiers were ordered to drive them over at the point of the bayonet. The result of this atrocity was that 4,500 people were drowned in the stream, a barbarous outrage on the Mongols which was soon to be avenged.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BOER WAR

THE Cape of Good Hope was so named by John II. of Portugal, who hoped it might prove a place of call on a new and easier route to India. In 1620 Captain Fitzherbert claimed it as British territory, but did nothing to secure its possession, so that in 1652 the Dutch East India Company were able to occupy it in order to assist their trade with India. The Dutch did everything to keep the Cape to themselves and exclude other nations from it. They deposed Governor Quellbergen with dishonour because he showed friendliness to a French ship. The Company forbade all commerce, and the farmers were required to sell their produce to them alone at prices they fixed. Taxes and tithes were oppressive, all settlers holding their position on sufferance and being thus liable to expulsion at any moment. The French Huguenots, who came to the Cape in 1690 and formed the most valuable part of the population, were forbidden to employ their language in public affairs, and found the oppression of the Dutch Governor just as irksome as that of Louis XIV., from which they had escaped. At the same time the Government was thoroughly corrupt, and all complaints were punishable by death. The colonists possessed freedom only in name, and their condition was such that they would have welcomed at any moment the arrival of a British fleet to rescue them from an intolerable tyranny.

The Dutch at the Cape.

From this discontent arose the system of treks, or wholesale migrations, which have since been so characteristic of the Boer community. In 1795 there was a revolution and the districts of Graaf Reinet and Swellendam declared their independence. In the same year the Prince of Orange was driven out of Holland by the French and fled to England. Having urged the British Government to occupy Cape Colony in order to save it from the French, Admiral Elphinstone was sent to the Cape with a letter from the Prince recommending its surrender. This was arranged, and the British were welcomed as liberators; but in the Peace of Amiens in 1802 the Colony was restored to Holland. During the years 1803 to 1806 the Batavian Republic gave rise to no

How the Cape became British.

complaints, but in 1806 Holland was at war with Great Britain and the Cape was conquered without difficulty. After the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Orange family to Holland the Cape was ceded to Great Britain on October 29th, 1814, for £6,000,000, the price being heavier because the Cape lay on the then direct sea road to India. The little house in which the treaty for the cession of the Cape was signed still exists; but in 1906 Great Britain's position in the country was not such as to enable her to celebrate the centenary of its acquisition.

The Great Boer Trek.

Having become master of the Cape, Great Britain gave the Dutch two occasions of offence—one, that she insisted upon the use of the English language; the other, that she interfered with their treatment of the natives. This made them anxious to withdraw to territories where they might do as they pleased. They first moved to Natal. When Natalia, as it was called, became important, the British annexed it, on the ground that its Boer inhabitants were British subjects. But they had a better reason, because in 1842 a Dutch ship had made its appearance on the coast and the skipper had advised the Natal Boers to adopt the Dutch flag and to place themselves under the suzerainty of Holland. In search of liberty, the Boers travelled to the country which afterwards became the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and founded there independent communities. The Orange Free State was temporarily occupied by Great Britain from 1848 to 1854, but was voluntarily given up, and at the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 was as little connected with Great Britain as Switzerland. In 1852 the Sand River Convention recognised the independence of the Boer community on the other side of the Vaal.

The Transvaal Republic.

The Dutch of the Transvaal were at first organised in separate communities, and in 1852 there were four of these—Potchefstroom, Utrecht, Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg—bound together in a loose confederation. In 1857 the Boers of Potchefstroom, attempting to conquer the Orange Free State, desisted when they saw that the latter could defend itself, but in 1862 civil war broke out. This was put an end to in 1864 by Pretorius, who founded the Transvaal Republic. In 1872 Pretorius was succeeded by Burgers, who was too liberal both in politics and religion to please his fellow countrymen, and the condition of the country deteriorated. The disorganisation became gradually worse and worse, the Government was nearly bankrupt, and money was scarcely to be had. In 1876, in the north-east, the Boers were at war with Sikukuni, whom they were not able to conquer; while

Cetewayo, then at the height of his power, was pressing them from the south.

Annexation of the Transvaal.

The condition of the Transvaal being regarded as a danger to Natal, the country was, on April 12th, 1877, annexed to Great Britain, Burgers, the President, receiving a pension. It was believed at the time that this met with the approval of the Boer inhabitants, but, as a fact, only 2,500 out of 8,000 Boers had given their consent in writing. This arbitrary proceeding led to the rebellion which has been already described, and this in turn was succeeded by the Treaty of Pretoria, signed in 1881, by which its independence was restored to the Transvaal, the suzerainty of Great Britain, however, being directly acknowledged. This was modified by the Treaty of London in 1884, in which the term "suzerainty" was expressly deleted, and an article substituted which provided that the Transvaal should not contract any agreement with any country, excepting the Orange Free State and the native States to the east and west of the Republic, without the consent of the British Crown. The Boers might make a treaty with Germany, but it would have no validity unless the consent of Great Britain had been previously given to its provisions. Article 2, a repetition of Article 19 of the superseded treaty, provided that the Transvaal should confine itself to its own territory, and not permit its subjects to cross the frontiers. The situation was, however, altered by the discovery of gold in 1886 and also by the development of the spirit of colonial expansion which had seized upon all European nations since 1880.

Prosperity of the Transvaal.

The discovery of gold especially produced important effects. In 1885 the whole revenue of the Transvaal Republic amounted to £177,876; in 1897 it had increased to £4,480,217. All nations flocked to the new source of wealth, millions of capital had been attracted to the country, roads constructed, and the economic foundations of a modern State laid. A change on this scale could not have been brought about by the Boers themselves. The progress was due to the foreign settlers—the Uitlanders, as they were called—Dutch, German, French and British. Out of this mixed community arose a conflict, not so much racial as of economic character. The Boers, essentially farmers, were wedded to a country life; the new settlers, essentially a town population, lived together in one area for the purpose of making money. Another cause of difference was the attitude of the Boers and the British towards the natives. The Boers regarded them as animals, hardly distinguishable from the wild creatures they had been

obliged to get rid of in order to secure their safety. The British detested slavery, and approved of missionary efforts to convert and instruct the natives.

Two Schemes for Unity.

From these differences arose two ideals, both of them extreme, held only by an advanced section of either people—the driving out of the British from South Africa with the help of the Dutch and the Germans on the one hand, and the constitution of South Africa as a British community under the British Crown on the other. The necessity for expansion tended in the same direction. South Africa, with only 500,000 of white population, was divided into seven different provinces, each with different laws and different economical and political ideals. Both Kruger, the President of the Transvaal Republic, and Cecil John Rhodes, the most powerful of the British settlers, looked forward to a united South Africa, but they were divided as to the flag under which the union should take place. The desire of the British and the Boers for expansion was likely to bring about a conflict unless pains were taken to avoid it. There is no doubt also that the Transvaal had broken the contract, adopted in 1881 and 1884, which forbade the Republic to extend its frontiers. It had advanced its influence in every direction, from Bechuanaland in the west to Mashonaland in the north, to Swaziland in the east, and to Zululand in the south. The British opposed a barrier to this expansion in all directions. Bechuanaland was placed under British protection, the Republic of Goshen was conquered by the Crown, the Boers were cut off from the sea to the east, and the territory of Lobengula was secured by Rhodes to the north. Kruger saw that Rhodes' energy was gradually surrounding him by a wall which he could not pass. The irritation thus produced brought about an economic struggle of a petty but vexatious kind. The British tried to prevent direct communication between Cape Colony and the Transvaal, forcing it thus to the circuitous route by Delagoa Bay. Kruger, for his part, gave an advantage to Dutch and Germans in granting concessions and monopolies, hoping to secure their co-operation in case of a war with Great Britain.

The Grievances of the Uitlanders.

The main cause of dissension was formed by the so-called grievances of the Uitlanders. No doubt the miners had, in the first instance, been welcomed and even invited by the Boers. When the Transvaal was an agricultural settlement efforts were made to encourage colonists, and rights of naturalisation were virtually, if not legally, promised. But the advance of a stream of undesirable adventurers attracted by the gold modified the

condition of things and induced the Boers to alter their naturalisation law so as to make it difficult or impossible for new-comers to become complete citizens of the Republic. There was much excuse for this; agricultural settlers were welcome so long as they were likely to assume the conditions of Boer life; but it was reasonable that the Boers should take precautions against being swamped by a motley influx of men who would stifle and eventually destroy their national character, and who had not—most of them at least—the remotest intention of settling permanently in the country. These so-called grievances were exaggerated by the jingo Press in England, just as the British nationality claimed by a mass of speculators of Jewish origin with German names seemed to be of a very shadowy description. Yet the Uitlanders had some rights, and their desire to be admitted to a share in the government had a real and reasonable basis, as was shown by the National Union, founded in 1892, though it was not until 1895 that capitalists, by the advice of Rhodes, began to take part in it. Even then Barney Barnato stood aloof, while J. B. Robinson was directly opposed to it.

Boers Outnumbered by Uitlanders.

The condition of the Transvaal was indeed very peculiar, hardly paralleled by that of any other State known to history. The number of foreign settlers was double, or nearly double, that of the Boers, and they paid nineteen-twentieths of the taxes. Their principal grievances were that the taxes were too high, amounting to £4,000,000 in a country inhabited by scarcely 250,000 whites, the larger proportion, too, being paid by Uitlanders; the absence of any proper budget or other statement as to how the money was spent; the absence of English schools supported by the State; the commandeering of British subjects for military service; the exclusive use of Dutch in the law courts; the bad municipal rule of Johannesburg; and the corrupt character of the Government. The Boers, viewing the British as enemies to their freedom and independence, were not disposed to place them in a position of influence; on the other hand, the Dutch whom they imported from Holland to supply their own deficiencies were corrupt and tyrannical, and not qualified to improve the relations between the rival peoples, but rather to embitter them.

Franchise Inequalities.

Of all the grievances the most serious was the question of naturalisation—the admission of Uitlanders to the franchise, the right to elect and to be elected. A Boer received full political franchise at the age of sixteen, but a Briton could not be fully enfranchised until he had been fourteen years in the

country and was forty years of age, and even then he had no vote for the office of President or Commander-in-Chief. These restrictions were felt more deeply because, up to 1883, citizenship had been obtained after a single year's residence, and, up to 1890, after five years' residence; while the Orange Free State asked for only two years' residence, and Cape Colony for none at all. The reformers set themselves to obtain, in the first instance, a more generous law of naturalisation; but they forgot that a man cannot be a citizen of two countries at the same time, that an Englishman cannot become a Boer without ceasing to be an Englishman, and it was doubtful whether any of those who complained most loudly of their grievances would have accepted relief on such a condition.

The Jameson Raid.

A spark fell into this mass of explosive matter when Dr. L. S. Jameson made a raid into the Transvaal on December 29th, 1895, with a view to entering Johannesburg, joining there with the Uitlanders who, he believed, were ready to rise, and establishing a reformed government under the Dutch flag. The enterprise was insane; it was undertaken against the wishes of Rhodes and with the strong disapproval of the British Government. A few Boer commandos were hastily summoned together, and the raiders ignominiously surrendered to them at Krugersdorp. Kruger behaved magnanimously. He might justifiably have tried the raiders by court-martial and shot them; but he gave them up to the British Government, which, when the first passion of indignation had passed, treated them with undue leniency. The part played by Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, in the matter has never been adequately explained. Kruger now recognised the necessity of arming if he wished to preserve his independence. In 1897 more than 147,000 rifles were imported into the Transvaal by way of Delagoa Bay, whereas the number of fighting citizens was only 29,500, and a close alliance was formed with the Orange Free State. The idea of a Dutch South Africa came again into prominence. There was no organised conspiracy against British rule, as has sometimes been asserted, but the most violent spirits amongst the Boers cherished the hope of independence, and this was stimulated by Dr. Leyds, an able Dutch lawyer, who had a pernicious influence over Kruger's administration.

Milner on South Africa.

In February, 1897, Sir Alfred Milner was sent out to succeed Lord Rosmead, formerly Sir Hercules Robinson, as Governor of Cape Colony, and there is no doubt that he set himself to make a fair and unprejudiced examination of the situation. He was

well disposed to the Boers, learnt their language, and made speeches in it, but, being more of an administrator than a statesman, was soon drawn into close communion with, and strong support of, the Uitlander party. He seems to have come to the conclusion that war was inevitable, which he believed would be short and decisive, and that any attempt at conciliation was only putting off the evil day. In the spring of 1899 he sent to England a petition of the Uitlanders with 23,000 signatures, demanding a redress of grievances. To this Chamberlain replied, on May 10th, that a conference should take place between Milner and Kruger at which all matters in dispute should be fairly discussed. The conference took place at Bloemfontein, but it was foredoomed to failure. Milner had made up his mind that it could not succeed, and did not wish that Kruger should make concessions which could only be illusory and would hinder the only settlement possible—that of the sword. He was therefore relieved when the conference came to nothing. At the same time Chamberlain embittered the relations between the Transvaal Government and himself by the revival of the term "suzerainty," which had appeared in the Convention of 1881, but had been expressly omitted from that of 1884. The Transvaal was not an absolutely free government in the sense in which the Orange Free State was, because its power of making treaties with other countries was circumscribed. But it had complete independence in the management of its own affairs, and could not be said to be under the suzerainty of the British Crown. The abuse of this title drove the Transvaal to declare itself to be a "sovereign independent State," rather a strained expression.

Kruger's Concessions.

After the Bloemfontein conference was over, a Bill submitted by Kruger was passed by the Raad, granting the suffrage after seven years' residence upon certain conditions of registration. This being only partially accepted by the British Government, a further step was taken, which conceded everything which Milner had asked at Bloemfontein, and more. This proposal, made on August 12th, gave a five years' retrospective franchise, as had been proposed, eight new seats in the First Chamber, and more, if necessary, in the Second. The new citizens would have equal rights with the old, and friendly suggestions from the British Government would be considered. To this Chamberlain gave, on August 30th, what he called a qualified acceptance, but expressed in an ambiguous manner and in language which would be certain to be offensive to the Boers.

It is possible that this so-called acceptance, although indirect,

exceptional difficulties to contend with owing to the enormous extent of territory over which the war was spread, and the contrast between the lightly equipped, easily moving Boers and the lumbering transport of a regular army. Every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty had to be prepared to fight for his country at any moment. If required for active service he must provide himself with a riding horse, saddle and bridle, a rifle and thirty cartridges, or, if unable to obtain a rifle, thirty bullets, thirty caps, and ½lb. of powder, together with provisions for eight days. The provisions consisted of meat cut into strips, salted, peppered and dried, or sausages and Boer biscuits. When meat was served out the British received theirs cooked, the burghers theirs raw and had to cook it themselves. The Boer ultimatum to the British expired on October 11th, 1899, and war had broken out. The British Parliament met a few days afterwards and voted £10,000,000 for the conduct of the war. It is believed that if at that time the operations of the Boers had not already begun, Parliament would have taken a peaceful line and the South African War would have been averted.

False Ideas of the War.

When Milner and Chamberlain entered upon this struggle with the Boers they had no idea of the kind of resistance their enemies were likely to offer; they thought the conflict would be over in a few months and would cost only a moderate amount of money, which would be easily repaid out of the profit of the gold mines. On the other hand, a different view was taken by some in Great Britain. They regarded the South African conflict as a parallel to the attempt to reduce the North American colonies in the eighteenth century, foresaw the costly nature of the struggle, recognised the difficulty of vanquishing the Boers, and doubted whether they would be conquered at all.

Continental Opinion.

Moreover, as we have said, the public opinion of Europe was opposed to Great Britain's war policy. At this time two questions were agitating the Continent—the trial of Dreyfus in France and the treatment of the Boers by Great Britain. France was made so unpopular by the one that she was almost ostracised by her sister communities, and in consequence of the other British travellers were so rudely treated on the Continent that few ventured to go abroad for pleasure. In the efforts of other countries to obtain liberty Great Britain had hitherto borne an honourable part. She had always been on the side of the weak, and had even lately supported struggling Finland against the encroachments of Russia, and it appeared incredible that she should now employ her immense resources to crush a small

community of farmers, whose only crime was a determination to live under their own laws and their own flag.

German Insults.

Germany took full advantage of the opportunity which Great Britain afforded her. While the German Press teemed with exasperating insults and insinuations, their Government set themselves to extend their commerce and increase their fleet. The Boer War not only laid upon Great Britain an expenditure of £270,000,000, but it left her burdened with the task of recovering her lost position and of contending against fresh advantages which her absorption in war had enabled her rivals to consolidate. It is providential that no other nation took the opportunity of attacking Great Britain or assisting the Boers; her neighbours thought it better to use her extremity for their own advantage rather than imperil their chances by attacking her. In India the masterly diplomacy and wise government of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, prevented any movement on the part of Russia to profit by the occasion. That Great Britain rose superior to these misfortunes was due to the admirable qualities of King Edward VII., who, by his personal popularity, wide knowledge of European affairs, and diplomatic skill, succeeded, within the ten short years of his reign, in leaving his country as powerful and as much respected in Europe as she had ever been.

Invasion of Natal.

The period fixed by the Boer ultimatum came to an end at 5 in the afternoon of Wednesday, October 11th, 1899, and next morning, amid cold and mist, their camps were broken up and the Boers rode to the war. Twelve thousand mounted burghers and two batteries of eight Krupp guns each invaded Natal from the north, hoping to be joined later by contingents from the Free State and the Transvaal. An eyewitness tells us that their faces wore an expression of determination and bull-dog pertinacity, with no sign of fear or wavering. They were evidently no cowards, nor unworthy antagonists of British valour. They were commanded by Piet Joubert, a Boer of Huguenot extraction.

British Retire on Ladysmith.

The British troops in North Natal had been under the command of General Sir William Penn Symons, who had been superseded only a few days before the declaration of war by Sir George White. Their main position was at Ladysmith, but there was a force of 4,000 men at Glencoe, which was five miles from the railway station at Dundee, and forty miles from Ladysmith. The garrison of the place was 8,000 to 10,000 strong, and was commanded under White by Archibald Hunter, John French and Ian Hamilton. The first contest took place on October 20th, at Talana Hill. In the attack Symons was shot in the stomach and

fell mortally wounded. The British won the hill, but with a serious loss, mainly of officers, so that the affair was a tactical victory but an actual defeat. It was a crude front attack without any attempt at flanking, and was carried through by the dogged valour of the British troops. This, for some time to come, was to be the characteristic note of the British operations. The conflict involved retreat to Ladysmith, which was reached on October 26th, leaving 200 sick and wounded, together with Symons, in the hospital at Dundee. The Battle of Elandslaagte was fought on October 21st, with a view to enabling the Dundee column to retire to Ladysmith. It was a brilliant action and disengaged the railway, but had no permanent results. At the end of the first week the Boers had made the position of the British in Dundee untenable and had forced them back to Ladysmith; they had thus the northern quarter of the country in their possession. They had killed or wounded between 600 and 700 of their foes, and were so insistent that the British had to leave considerable stores as well as their wounded behind at Dundee.

Investment of Ladysmith.

George White now commanded at Ladysmith an army of 12,000 men. His best policy was to remain on the defensive and await reinforcements from England. But his chivalrous feeling led him to court actions which would have better been avoided. The Battle of Ladysmith was fought on October 30th, but resulted in defeat. At the end of a fortnight 100 miles of railway line were in the hands of the enemy; out of five actions only one was a victory, and one a positive disaster. The Boers had lost two guns and 300 prisoners, the British had lost 1,200 prisoners and a battery of small guns. Besides, 12,000 British troops were shut up in Ladysmith, and there was no reason why the invaders should not reach the sea.

Mafeking and Kimberley.

Two other important towns were invested by the Boers—Mafeking and Kimberley. Kimberley, the seat of the diamond mines, was defended by Kekewich; but Cecil Rhodes, the founder and director of the De Beers mines, had thrown himself into the town. Mafeking was defended by the genius and resource of Baden Powell, and, although it was of no great importance in itself, the attempt to capture it kept Boers employed who might have been doing mischief in other directions. The Boers appeared before Mafeking on October 13th; after three days the siege began in earnest, and a week later a bombardment began which lasted with intermissions for seven months. The successes of the Boers continued. The burghers of the Orange Free State seized

the railway junctions of Naauwpoort and Stormberg, and threatened De Aar, where, if they had persevered in their attack, they would have found large quantities of provisions and supplies. But great as their opportunities were, and great as their advance had been, the invaders were lacking in energy, definiteness of purpose and initiative. They allowed Kimberley and Ladysmith to hold out until such reinforcements should arrive as would crush all resistance.

Buller's Wrong Methods.

The war entered into a second stage by the arrival of Sir Redvers Buller from England in November. Strenuous efforts were made to relieve both Kimberley and Ladysmith, but they were not successful, mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the British had not realised that they required a much larger force to subdue an enemy fighting on interior lines, with an intimate knowledge of the country and possessed of extreme mobility; and, secondly, they had not learned the proper way of fighting against them. The British attacked in the open an enemy who had the art of concealing themselves behind every stone and every tussock, whose firing was admirable, and who used smokeless powder, and the soldiers had the demoralising experience of seeing their comrades killed while lying on the ground by a mysterious foe, whose position and means of offence were equally inscrutable.

Methuen's Disaster.

Lord Methuen reached the Orange River on November 12th, and ten days later came into touch with the Boers at Belmont. The British gained a victory of a sort, but with little material result, for the enemy galloped away comfortably after the action and pursuit was impossible. The Battle of Enslin was fought on November 25th, and in it the Naval Brigade behaved splendidly; but little advantage was derived from it because, as Conan Doyle says, if the British won the kopjes they lost the men. They had 200 killed and wounded and the Boers less than 100. The British had set out from the Orange River on Wednesday; on Thursday they fought at Belmont, on Saturday at Enslin; on Monday the column set out again, and on Tuesday reached the Modder River, defended by the famous Cronje, on November 28th. Here was fought a desperate battle, which ended in victory for the British, because the Boers retired and left the former masters of the field. But it was a Pyrrhic triumph, for the British losses were enormous. Cronje sullenly retired to new defences, while the British slept exhausted upon the stricken field.

But disaster overtook Methuen at Magersfontein, when he attempted to force his way across the hills which separated him

from Kimberley. His force moved out on Sunday, December 10th, in pouring rain and bivouacked on the cold, soaked ground. In the middle of the night they started in a dense mass, but before they could deploy a hail of Boer bullets dashed against them, which slew them by hundreds. Their leader, General Wauchope, was killed, and the rest of the Highland Brigade broke. The Highland regiments re-formed next morning and advanced, but nothing could be done against Cronje's trenches. After remaining all day under a burning sun without food or water, they were compelled to retire, and the whole force returned with bitter humiliation to the place from which they had started. The British lost nearly 1,000 men killed, wounded and missing, of whom 700 were Highlanders, and 57 officers of the Highland Brigade had fallen.

Gatacre at Stormberg.

Similar ill-success befell General Gatacre, who on December 9th advanced from Sterkstroom to attack the enemy at Stormberg, to carry out a storm movement which had been minutely described by *The Times* correspondent two days before it was begun. He started with 3,000 men in open railway trucks, detrained at Molteno in the evening, missed his way, and in the dawn of December 10th was entirely defeated by the Boers. Only a few men fell, 26 being killed and 68 wounded, but 600 were taken prisoners and two guns were captured. The losses of the Boers were very slight.

The "Black Week."

Such was the fate of the efforts to relieve Kimberley, but the mind of the British at home was set upon the beleaguered Ladysmith. White had been driven back into that town on October 30th; a few days afterwards both its railway and telegraph were cut and Ladysmith isolated. Buller now made serious attempts to relieve it. His troops were massed at Chieveley, and on Friday, December 15th, he moved out to attack the Boers at Colenso, with a force of about 21,000 men. The expedition was a complete failure. The British advanced in masses against an invisible enemy, concealed behind every rock and protected by every fold of the ground. At 12 o'clock all the troops were retreating, having lost 1,127 men, killed, wounded and missing, the enemy having lost not more than 100, while the British guns were left as trophies to the Boers. Conan Doyle says that the week between December 10th and December 17th, 1899, was the blackest known for one generation, and the most disastrous to British arms during the century. They had lost in seven days, in three separate actions, 3,000 men and 12 guns, which involved despair to themselves and triumph to their enemies.

SPION KOP

Roberts and Kitchener Take Control.

At length Great Britain realised the magnitude of the enterprise and the seriousness of the position. Lord Roberts, the greatest general she possessed, was sent to take command, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of Staff. Volunteers offered themselves with eagerness, crowds of young men in frock coats and top hats waiting to be enlisted, one fashionable club sending 300 of its members to the war. A fact of significance for the whole world was the dispatch by Canada, Australia and New Zealand of voluntary levies in aid of the Mother Country. There was therefore a lull in the operations, Methuen strengthening himself at the Modder, Gatacre at Sterkstroom, and Buller preparing for a final advance on Ladysmith.

Spion Kop.

In January Buller determined to turn the Boer right flank and gain the hills which overlooked Ladysmith, with an army of 20,000 men. The operations began on January 10th, but the decisive conflict did not take place till twelve days later. On the evening of January 22nd a portion of the British force climbed up a bare hill 2,000 feet high, called Spion Kop (Spy Hill), because from its summit in 1835 the Boers looked down upon the promised land of Natal. But when they reached the summit they found that they only held half of the hill and that the rest was occupied by the Boers, strongly entrenched. They stayed there all the following day, but were in a hopeless position. If they retreated the Boers would rush the summit they occupied; if they held their ground they were exposed to a murderous fire of shells. Reinforcement merely meant adding more victims to the slaughter. The situation was saved for the moment by the advance of some Rifles from Lyttelton's Brigade, who climbed up the precipitous path with an activity and a heroism rarely surpassed in war. At last night came and Colonel Thorneycroft determined to retreat, feeling that he could not face another day such as that through which he had passed. The Boers were probably in as bad a position as himself, and were themselves on the point of retreating; but the sight of 1,300 dead and dying unnerved the commander, and he gave the word to retire on January 24th.

Failure of the Attempt.

In the morning the hill-top was in the hands of Louis Botha, but it was known that at daybreak he had regarded the affair as hopeless, and that no one was more surprised at the victory than himself—a victory which had been won by the excellence of the Boer guns. It is clear that Buller and his subordinate, Sir Charles Warren, ought to have taken more personal interest in the operations, and should have decided the momentous issue of retreat. Four thousand troops had been crowded into a space which could

only hold 500 in proper cover, and the British losses were very severe, 1,500 being killed, wounded or missing. The Boers lost only 50 killed and 150 wounded. Buller had lost 2,000 men since he passed the Tugela, and on January 27th he retired across the river, unmolested by the Boers. All he had to show for his exertions was the possession of Mount Alice.

Relief of Ladysmith.

Buller having failed in his attacks upon the Boers' centre and their extreme right, now determined to assault the extreme left with the hope of better results. He started on this expedition at daybreak on February 17th, and after three days had established himself fairly along the whole south bank of the Tugela. On the following evening he crossed the river at Colenso, and attacked the formidable post of Pieters Hill. Conan Doyle is of opinion that this direct attack should never have been attempted, and that a flanking movement should have been persisted in from the first. Buller only came to this conclusion after the sad experience of repulse and after terrible losses had been incurred on both sides. The Tugela was recrossed, and another advance was made in a different direction. At last a hill was taken which was known to be the key of the position. A great plain lay before them which extended as far as Bulwhana, a mountain overlooking Ladysmith. The British pushed over the plain until Dundonald's cavalry were met by a picket from Ladysmith, and it was known that the town was saved. Relieved on February 28th, 1900, Ladysmith had held out for 118 days, 16,000 shells having fallen in the town. Buller in his efforts to relieve it had lost over 5,000 men, more than 20 per cent. of the whole army. He entered the rescued city in state on March 3rd, passing between the lines of the defenders, and those who saw that the Dublin Fusiliers, who had suffered most and were placed in the van of honour, were represented only by five officers and a handful of men, sobbed like children.

French Relieves Kimberley.

Kimberley was finally relieved by a body of cavalry—hussars, dragoons and lancers—under the command of General John French, who rode 100 miles in four days with insufficient food and water. On the night of February 15th, 1900, the relieving column camped in the plain two miles from the town, while French and his staff rode in. The relief of Kimberley had really been effected by the operations of Roberts, of which we must now give some account. His second object, besides this relief, was to cut the connection between Cronje and Bloemfontein. Cronje was hidden in most extraordinary entrenchments on the Modder, which, in spite of all remonstrances, he refused to leave. It had

been found by bitter experience impossible to attack him in front, and the only alternative was to advance from each end of his position and reduce the length of river held by him. With the loss of 1,100 men, the length of his position had been shortened from three miles to less than two. The cordon around the Boer lines gradually grew tighter and tighter, and on February 26th it was determined to attack. After a furious onslaught of nine hours a white flag was shown at the trench. A haggard figure appeared and said, " The burghers have had enough; what are they to do ? "

Cronje Surrenders.

At 6 o'clock next morning, Conan Doyle tells us, a white-headed man on a white horse rode up to Lord Roberts' head-quarters. He was of middle age, thickly built, with grizzled hair flowing from under a tall brown felt hat. He was dressed in black broadcloth with a green summer overcoat, and carried in his hands a small whip, looking more like a cattle drover than a famous general. He agreed to unconditional surrender, stipulating that his wife, secretary, adjutant, and servant might accompany him, and on the same evening he was dispatched to Cape Town. His men, a pallid, ragged crew, emerged from their holes and burrows, and delivered up their muskets and rifles. The prisoners consisted of 3,000 from the Transvaal and 1,100 from the Free State. They formed a singular assemblage of people—ragged, patched, grotesque; some with goloshes, some with umbrellas and coffee-pots; all with Bibles, which they always carried with them. They had crouched for six days in deep, narrow trenches, in which a rifleman could lie with little danger from shells and in which the non-combatants remained in absolute safety.

De Wet's Effort for Cronje.

De Wet and Botha made a gallant attempt to rescue Cronje, but it was not successful. With the help of a Krupp gun and a Maxim-Nordenfeldt, a way of escape had been made for him, if he would leave everything and be content with saving his life and the lives of his burghers. His losses would not have been heavy, and some of the burghers did escape and join De Wet. On the night of February 25th De Wet sent Danie Theron to urge Cronje to fly. He crawled past the British lines, tearing his clothes to rags as he did so. When he returned to De Wet, on February 27th, the blood was running from his knees where the skin had been rubbed off. He reported that he had seen Cronje, but that he refused to accept De Wet's advice, because he did not think the attempt would be successful; and that morning, as we have seen, he surrendered. De Wet believed that Cronje was not only wedded to the defensive position he had constructed

with so much care, but that he did not realise the consequences of his capture. He did not see that it would cause a panic in Colesberg, Stormberg and Ladysmith, and throughout all the laagers on the veldt. Cronje could have escaped that night, for the British did not at that time employ Kafirs and Hottentots to guide them in the darkness, and De Wet had a force of 1,600 men, with whom he could have held Roberts back had he attempted to pursue Cronje. De Wet regarded the surrender of Cronje as the most terrible blow which the Boer cause suffered throughout the war.

De Wet's Defeat at Poplar Grove.

After Cronje had surrendered, Christian De Wet was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Orange Free State forces, and, as Roberts rested after his exertions from February 27th to March 7th, De Wet spent this interval in fortifying his position at Poplar Grove, ten miles from the scene of Cronje's surrender. Here he received a visit from Kruger, who had made the journey of ninety-six miles from Bloemfontein in a horse wagon. However, the danger of Roberts' advance compelled him to retire immediately. Roberts had made elaborate dispositions for the capture of Poplar Grove, but the Boers did not stop to defend it. Before the assault began they ran away in mad terror, much to De Wet's disgust, until they reached a farm eighteen miles distant. Here they defended their position gallantly during a whole day, but in the evening ran away again, so much had Cronje's surrender demoralised them.

Occupation of Bloemfontein.

On March 5th Kruger and Steyn, the Presidents of the two Republics, sent proposals for peace to the British Government, saying that they had only fought for their independence and asking that this might be recognised by the Prime Minister. Salisbury replied that he could accept no terms but unconditional surrender. So the war went on. De Wet tried in vain to infuse something of his own courage and enthusiasm into his citizen soldiers, but it was in vain. He had hoped for a vigorous defence of Bloemfontein, and had ridden at nightfall from position to position, haranguing to no purpose both the officers and the privates. Wellbach deserted the key to Bloemfontein, and the British occupied it. After a sleepless night, De Wet found, on March 13th, one post after another abandoned by his commandants, and Bloemfontein fell on that day without a shot having been fired. Roberts rode into the town amid the sympathies of many of the inhabitants, a number of Union Jacks floating from the windows.

After Bloemfontein had fallen, De Wet gave permission to his burghers to return home and remain there till March 25th. He knew that many of them would not come back, but that those

who did would fight hard. On March 20th a council of war was held at Kroonstad, now the capital of the Orange Free State, at which Kruger and Steyn were present. Salisbury's proposal of unconditional surrender had made peace impossible. On the other hand, there were no hopes of ultimate victory against the overwhelming forces of Great Britain. But they felt that, as men, they were bound to fight for their independence, and show that they were worthy to exist as a free nation under a Republican form of government. The meeting decided to continue the war more energetically than ever, to abandon the plan of great wagon laagers, and employ nothing but horse commandos. De Wet tells us that the effect of this council was to introduce a fine spirit into the Boer army, and that the watchword "Forward!" was in the mind and on the tongue of every one.

Disaster at Sanna's Post.

Whilst Roberts was at Bloemfontein preparing for his advance to Pretoria occurred the disastrous defeat of Sanna's Post, or Koorn Spruit, as it is also called, arranged and carried out by the crafty and courageous De Wet on March 31st. Broadwood, in command of Sanna's Post on the Modder, was retreating to Bloemfontein for greater security, and De Wet was anxious to capture the waterworks in order that he might deprive the garrison of Bloemfontein of their supply of that necessity. De Wet, who had 350 men with him, occupied a ravine which communicated with the Modder, called Koorn Spruit, and he placed his force, concealed in this ravine, on either side of the ford, through which the road from Sanna's Post to Bloemfontein passes. There was another force of Boers, 1,150 strong, to the left of the Modder. The British wagons came first, containing chiefly women and children. As they crossed the Drift they were threatened by De Wet that if they gave the slightest sign the drivers would be shot. The British troops, seeing the wagons pass in safety, thought that everything was secure, and descended into the stream. As they reached it, they were met with the cry, "Hands up!" More troops followed, and 200 were secured before they knew where they were. When the disaster was discovered the British retreated to the railway station, about 1,300 yards distant, a terrific fire being opened upon them as they retreated. The larger force of Boers did not arrive for three hours, and during that time the battle raged severely. Broadwood received, most unaccountably, no help from Bloemfontein, which was only seventeen miles distant. At last, on the arrival of the Boer reinforcements, the British retreated. De Wet had only three killed and five wounded; Broadwood had 330 dead and

wounded, besides the loss of 421 prisoners, seven guns, and 117 wagons.

Reddersberg. Four days later another disaster took place at Reddersberg. De Wet had with him a force of over 800 men and three Krupp guns. The British and the Boers marched together towards a ridge, the former getting there first. However, De Wet, finding himself in a superior position, wrote to the commanding officer, calling upon him to surrender to avoid bloodshed, to which the officer replied, "I am damned if I will surrender!" De Wet made it impossible for the British to escape during the night, and began his attack at daylight next morning, April 4th, and at 11 the white flag was hoisted, and they had to surrender, 470 prisoners being taken.

Boer Distrust. De Wet tells us that, notwithstanding a proclamation of Lord Roberts guaranteeing the property and personal liberty of the burghers who did not fight, they were captured while peacefully working on their farms. This was probably due to accident, but it made the Boers feel that the British were not to be trusted, and justified the message sent by De Wet to Steyn that Roberts was his best recruiting officer.

Pretoria Occupied. At this time the enormous forces at the disposal of the British commander began to produce an effect, and all De Wet could do was to hang upon their rear and offer a certain amount of resistance. Kroonstad was taken and, on May 18th, Roberts prepared to advance farther. It was decreed that Louis Botha, who commanded the Transvaal forces, should cross the Vaal, and that the Orange burghers should remain behind in their own country. This division between the two allies was made purely for strategic purposes. The number of 45,000 burghers, with which the campaign had begun, was now reduced to 15,000, partly by Cronje's surrender and partly by the fact that a number of Boers had returned to their farms. It was hopeless for this handful to make a stand against 240,000 men and 350 guns. De Wet says that he was ashamed to retreat, but that if he did so it was because it was impossible for one man to stand against twelve. On May 28th Roberts passed the Klip River without fighting. The country had become more populous, and on the hills were seen high chimneys and iron pumps which made the northern soldiers feel homesick. This was the famous Rand, the cause of the war, the source of untold wealth. A battle was fought at Doornkop by the British left flank, and on May 31st Johannesburg was entered. After two days' halt the army advanced to Pretoria, thirty miles to the north, and in the early morning of

June 5th that beautiful city, the pride of the Boer Government, was entered. The first thought was to release the prisoners, who had been admirably treated. On June 17th Buller had forced his way over the Drakensberg, crossing the mountains between Botha's Pass and Laing's Nek, so that the Boers were surrounded on all sides. Steyn and De Wet were full of anxiety. The burghers were leaving in crowds for their farms, so that there were plenty of officers, but no men. But besides De Wet, Louis Botha and Delarey showed splendid examples of fortitude, and pursued the war with invincible determination. The force of the Orange Free State was reduced to 8,000 men.

The Boers' Spoil at Roodeval.

After the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria and the annexation of the Orange Free State, later called the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal, the war continued for a considerable time, sustained mainly by the genius and energy of Christian de Wet. He has left an account of it in his well-written and amusing memoirs, which give a clear idea of the fight from the inside. The capture near Heilbron of 200 Highlanders and forty heavily-laden wagons was followed by the assault of Roodeval Station. After a furious fire the white flag was hoisted by the British, the defeated body being allowed to retain their personal belongings, but the mail bags remaining a prize of war. The post contained all kinds of articles—underclothing, stockings, oranges, and plum puddings. The Boers, allowed to carry away anything they pleased, almost sank under the weight of the spoil. All that was left was consumed by fire. Shortly afterwards Kitchener had a narrow escape from capture. He was in a train which the Boers stopped, and orders to storm it were not obeyed. The general procured a horse from one of the vans, mounted it, and disappeared into the darkness.

Surrender of Prinsloo.

Almost as great a blow to the Boers as the capture of Cronje was the surrender of Prinsloo on July 30th. Towards the end of this month the Boers were being hemmed in on every side by the British, and the pressure was becoming unendurable. Every hill round the Boer position sparkled with heliographs, nor had the Boer generals the spirit of De Wet. They elected Prinsloo irregularly to the chief command, and the first use he made of his authority was to surrender. He sent a message to Hunter asking for an armistice, and when this was refused, hoisted the white flag and surrendered unconditionally with all his men. Such was the independence of the Boers that it was some time before they all came in. Indeed, Olivier, with 1,500 men and several guns, broke away and escaped through the hills.

But the loss to the Boers amounted to more than 4,000 combatants.

De Wet's Guerilla Tactics.

De Wet now adopted the policy of dividing the commandos into small parties, so as not to risk any great battles, but to force the British to split up their forces as well. In this way, although the Boers lost many men, their enemies lost more, and the former made a number of prisoners whom they were not able to keep. The habit came into vogue of stripping the prisoners of their clothing, partly with a view to prevent them from immediately taking part again in the struggle, and partly to supply the Boers with garments of which they were sorely in need. The bitterness of the war became accentuated. De Wet's army had no provisions except meat, bread and maize, and even these were scarce. Coffee and sugar were entirely lacking, except when they could be captured from the enemy. The practice was adopted of blowing up trains by placing the barrel and lock of a gun with a dynamite cartridge under a sleeper, so that, when the engine passed it exploded and the train was blown up. Thus it became necessary to guard the railway with soldiers and impossible to run trains by night.

On August 7th, 1901, Kitchener issued a proclamation calling upon all burghers to surrender before September 15th. To this De Wet replied stating that the Boers were still hoping for intervention, and that the moral feeling of the civilised world would protect them against the crime which Great Britain was committing in South Africa, of exterminating a young nation; but that should this not be the case they would exert their utmost strength to defend themselves, firmly trusting in the mercy of God.

Kitchener's Blockhouses.

There is no doubt, from De Wet's narrative, that the Boers were greatly assisted by the farmers, and that, as they were pursued, they found rest and sometimes sustenance at one farm or another, as was but natural. Roberts, however, determined to burn these farms, which created great resentment amongst the famishing Boers and tended to prolong rather than to shorten the war. The farm-houses were destroyed with everything they contained, and the women and children were collected into concentration camps, where they suffered great hardships. An enormous number of blockhouses were also erected, never more than a thousand paces from each other, joined together with barbed wire, and so placed that one could be seen from the other. De Wet's opinion is that the blockhouses prolonged the war for three months, and it may well be doubted whether they repaid the

cost of building them and of maintaining the garrisons which occupied them. More embarrassing to the Boers were the night attacks, which kept them in continual unrest and led to many disasters.

The Elusive De Wet.

The last months of the war were spent in efforts to catch De Wet, who not only eluded capture, but inflicted considerable loss on his pursuers. At the end of January, 1902, a drive began with the object of forcing De Wet's army against one of the two lines of blockhouses, but the elusive guerilla general cut through the wire fence close to a blockhouse, and made the other side in safety. So on two or three other occasions De Wet just managed to elude capture.

Overtures for Peace.

By this time King Edward had succeeded Queen Victoria, and the Government of the Netherlands made offers of mediation, which were rejected by Great Britain. Lord Lansdowne, however, suggested that Steyn, President of the Orange Free State, and Schalk Burger, Vice-President of the Transvaal, acting in the place of Kruger, who was now in Europe, should communicate with the British Commander-in-Chief and make any proposals which occurred to them. This looked like a suggestion that the Presidents might meet Lord Kitchener with a view to making peace.

Kitchener Meets Boer Leaders.

Representatives of the two Boer Governments met at Klerksdorp on April 9th, 1902, Schalk Burger, Louis Botha and Delarey appearing with others on behalf of the Transvaal, and Steyn, De Wet and Olivier on behalf of the Free State. After Louis Botha, De Wet and Delarey had given an account of the condition of affairs, Steyn said that unless the British were prepared to grant independence the war must go on. "We would rather submit to unconditional surrender than make terms." After further discussions it was determined to offer terms of peace to Kitchener and suggest a meeting to discuss them, and these were outlined in a letter sent to Kitchener, who was at Pretoria, signed by Steyn and Burger. The letter proposed that the peace should include a customs, post, telegraph, and railway union, the granting of the franchise, equal rights for the English and Dutch languages in schools, and arrangements for arbitration in frontier disputes. The meeting took place at Pretoria on April 12th, but it was found that there was strong divergence on the most vital point, the independence of the two Republics, the Boers declaring that they had no powers to surrender the countries they governed, the British refusing to annul the annexation which had already taken place.

Milner Acts with Kitchener.

Milner was now nominated to act with Kitchener as representing the British Government. The two plenipotentiaries consented to allow the various commandos to be consulted on the question of independence, and that representatives should be chosen, who should meet at Vereeniging on May 15th, for the purpose of declaring the people's will. Louis Botha, Delarey and De Wet received safe conducts, enabling them to visit the several commandos. They consulted eight commandos, who unanimously decided to maintain their independence, and the commandos consulted by others were of like mind. Representatives were chosen to meet at Vereeniging on the day appointed, each accompanied by one man.

Treaty of Vereeniging Signed.

Steyn was very ill, and his doctor positively forbade him to attend the meeting. His absence was a very serious loss. De Wet says that he was a statesman in the best sense of the word, that he had gained the respect and affection of all, and that no task was too heavy for him, no burden too great if he could serve his people. He never complained; he fought for Boer independence until he could fight no longer and he was worn out, as weak as a child, although his mind was still strong. The Commission that discussed the terms of peace with Kitchener at Pretoria were Louis Botha, De Wet, Delarey, Hertzog and Smuts. The negotiations continued from May 18th to May 29th, and on May 31st the proposals of the British Government were accepted, and the independence of the two Republics was at an end. The representatives agreed that nothing else could be done. The Boers still had 20,000 soldiers—10,000 from the Transvaal, 6,000 from the Free State, and 4,000 from Cape Colony—but further resistance was felt to be impossible. The plenipotentiaries met on the evening of May 31st, 1902, at Kitchener's house at Pretoria and signed the treaty. The burghers in the commandos laid down their arms and by June 16th the war was over and the Dutch farmers had submitted to their fate.

British Generosity.

De Wet, giving an account of this event six months after it had happened, addressed a last word to his countrymen: "Be loyal to the new Government. Loyalty pays best in the end; loyalty alone is worthy of a nation which has done its best and shed its blood for freedom." Happily this advice was followed, and the loyalty of the Boers to their new masters was met by generosity on the part of Great Britain. The Government which made the war proceeded with cautious steps, but the advent of the Liberal Government in 1905 hastened matters. Full self-government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906, and to

the Orange River Colony in 1907. A convention, sitting from October, 1908, to February, 1909, first at Durban and then at Cape Town, drafted a Constitution for South Africa which was ratified by Act of Parliament in September, 1909.

The Constitution of South Africa.

Under this Constitution, at the head of the Union is a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, and there is a Parliament of two Houses—a Senate and a House of Assembly. The Senate contains forty members holding office for ten years, eight nominated by the Governor-General, and thirty-two representing equally the four provinces. The members of the Lower House are elected according to population. Members of both Houses must be British subjects of European descent. The Senate has no power to originate or to amend money Bills, and in case of a dispute there is to be a joint session of both Chambers. The Governments of the four provinces are administrative bodies, free from party politics. They are governed by an administrator appointed by the Governor-General, a council elected for three years, and an executive of four chosen by the council to act with the administrator. The councils control local institutions, works, and other matters referred to them by Parliament. Lord Gladstone, the son of the great Minister, was appropriately appointed the first Governor-General.

The coronation of George V. was the occasion of a Colonial Conference, in which the unity of the British Empire was consolidated on the wise principles of trust and confidence. No colonial representative was acclaimed more loyally or greeted more affectionately than Louis Botha, the general who had fought so bravely against the British. There seemed every hope that the close of a bitter war would ensure a lasting peace, just as the richest harvest grows on the field of battle on which human slaughter has been most severe.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Japan's Loss of Influence in Korea.

THE Treaty of Shimonoseki, which closed the war between China and Japan, was signed in the spring of 1895. On October 8th in the same year the Queen of Korea was murdered. She was a woman of great strength of character and intellectual ability. She had lofty ambitions, both for herself and her country, founded on association with China and enthusiasm for Chinese civilisation. But the result of the war of 1894 had been to substitute the influence of Japan for that of China in the affairs of Korea. On the day mentioned a sudden attack was made on the palace by a crowd composed mainly of Japanese. They forced an entry into the Queen's apartments, where she and some of her ladies were ruthlessly murdered with every circumstance of cruelty and indignity. The Japanese Government strongly disapproved of this crime, and all who had taken part in the outrage were recalled from Korea; but the result was to destroy Japanese influence in the peninsula. The King took refuge in the Russian Legation at Seoul and did not move out of it for two years. The influence of Japan was entirely annihilated, and that of Russia prevailed in its stead. Korea was gradually becoming a possession of Russia.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

This was one of the ultimate causes of the Russo-Japanese War. Another cause lay in the struggle for the possession of the island of Sakhalin. This island, which had belonged to Japan from the eighteenth century, was ceded to Russia in the Treaty of St. Petersburg, 1875. But, as time went on, the value of Sakhalin as a field of Japanese extension was discovered, and the increase of her population made it essential to find further territory for her surplus people. Japan took an important share in the suppression of the Boxer movement, which was effected by the concert of Europe, and before relief had come from the West had landed an army of 21,000 excellent soldiers, fully equipped in every particular, at Taku, and fought side by side with the British and the Americans. On January 30th, 1902, Great Britain signed a defensive treaty with Japan, which made the two countries guarantors of peace in the Far East. The

former was relieved from the burden of maintaining a powerful fleet in Eastern waters, and the Japanese obtained recognition as a great civilising Power.

Russia's Broken Undertakings.

A few months after this, on April 8th, 1902, a treaty was signed between China and Russia by which Russia promised to respect the integrity of China and to evacuate Manchuria. These, coupled with other events, seemed to open up a prospect of peace in the Far East. Russia had obtained an ice-free port in the Pacific, Japan had come to an arrangement with Russia about Korea, and Manchuria, which had been occupied by Russia, was to be gradually evacuated. This operation was to be effected in three periods of six months each, a definite section being restored to China at the close of each period. At the end of the first period, which ended in October, 1902, the money was duly paid and the section evacuated; but at the end of the second, in April, 1903, Russia declined to fulfil her engagements unless some new arrangements, not mentioned in the original treaty, were made with regard to Manchuria. This China, supported by Great Britain, America and Japan, refused to do. There was also evidence of Russian encroachment in Korea, while the memory of the cession of Sakhalin in 1875 and of Port Arthur at a more recent date rankled in the minds of the Japanese. They, therefore, protested, asking Russia to fulfil her engagements with regard to Manchuria and refrain from agitation in Korea. The rest of the year was spent in diplomatic negotiations, during which time Russia took the opportunity of strengthening her military position. At last in January, 1904, Japan agreed to withdraw from the advocacy of Chinese interests in Manchuria, but pressed her claims with regard to Korea.

Japan Declares War.

As no answer was received to her ultimatum, Japan practically declared war on February 5th, 1904. It was a strange position. A small Asiatic Power, only a short time ago a stranger to European affairs, challenged the Colossus of whose encroachments all the world was afraid, who had her feet in the East and the West and seemed to bestride the habitable globe. But Japan had well calculated her task, and knew what she was about.

The Russian Forces.

What forces could Russia bring against Japan in the Far East? She had at the moment a comparatively small number of available troops east of Lake Baikal, and these were scattered over a large area of nearly 1,000 miles in extent. Reinforcements could only be brought up by the Eastern Siberian Railway, and the road was interrupted by Lake Baikal, the railway round the lake not having been at that time completed. This necessitated

a journey of thirty miles over an inland sea. In the winter the lake was frozen, in the spring the ice was breaking up, and not until May could the steamers get to work. Japan, therefore, knew that in the most favourable circumstances Russia could only place 80,000 men in the field at the beginning of the campaign. On the other hand, Japan could mobilise 150,000 men immediately, and had plenty more in reserve. She had also national enthusiasm and self-devotion on her side. Her people were ready to sacrifice blood and treasure in the pursuit of objects they believed essential to their existence, and in obedience to the commands of the Emperor, devotion to whom was the mainspring of the national life. Russia dreaded the war which was forced upon her, and went to meet her doom with a sullen determination which presaged the disaster she feared. The sea-power of the two combatants was nearly equal on paper: Japan had seven battleships and thirty-one cruisers, Russia seven battleships and eighteen cruisers. The battle-fleet of Russia was stronger in metal, but the Japanese fleet was the admiration, the Russian the ridicule, of the world.

Attack on Port Arthur

The first object of the Japanese was to capture Port Arthur, which they had wrested from China in their war with that country, but had been compelled to surrender in 1895, and which had become Russian in 1897. Japan determined, therefore, to attack at once the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and Chemulpo, and to force Korea into a position of benevolent neutrality in order that she might be able to march through that country to the Yalu. On February 6th a body of troops, escorted by a small squadron, sailed for Chemulpo, while the main fleet, under the famous Admiral Togo, set out for Port Arthur. On February 9th Seoul, the capital of Korea, was occupied by the Japanese, and on the same day Togo inflicted a severe defeat on the Russian ships at Port Arthur. By April 20th the Japanese had marched through Korea and were concentrated behind the Yalu, while Togo exhibited ceaseless activity before Port Arthur. The Russian admiral, Makarov, had arrived from Europe early in March, and for a time stimulated the activity of the Russian fleet; but on April 13th his flagship, the *Petropavlovsk*, was sunk by a mine with himself and 600 men on board, and the *Pobieda*, another battleship, was severely injured.

Kouropatkin Takes Command.

In March, 1905, Kouropatkin appeared on the scene, having been appointed Russian Commander-in-Chief in the Far East. He had gained his reputation by being Skobelev's right-hand man in the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, and had been for some years

head of the War Ministry at St. Petersburg. He determined to concentrate his army at Liaoyang, the point at which the roads from Korea and the southern and western coasts of Manchuria meet, and not assume the offensive until he had amassed a sufficient number of troops to be able to act with effect. But the carrying out of this project required more resolution and endurance than the Russians possessed. Admiral Alexeiev, the Viceroy of Manchuria, was extremely anxious to secure Port Arthur, not realising that it must fall into the hands of the final victors, and that it mattered little whether it was held for a time by Russia or Japan, so long as the eventual triumph was secured for the Russian arms. He therefore strongly opposed the Fabian policy of Kouropatkin and did his best to undermine his influence with the Russian Court.

The Opposing Forces Compared.

At the end of April the Russian military forces east of Lake Baikal were divided into four sections. Kouropatkin had about 45,000 men in the neighbourhood of Liaoyang, Stoessel 19,000 in Port Arthur, Linevich 16,000 near Vladivostok, and Zasulich 9,000 on the Korean frontier. On May 1st the Japanese general, Kuroki, made a scientific attack upon Zasulich's position; this was a complete success, and after two hours the Japanese found themselves on the north of the Yalu. This was the first battle which had been fought with equal conditions of weapons and other matters between white and yellow troops, and the yellow race gained a signal victory. The Russians lost 1,800 killed and wounded, 600 prisoners, and 29 guns, the Japanese only 1,021 killed and wounded. This victory produced a great moral effect, and showed how fruitful had been the pains taken by Japan in the training of her army under German instructions. The soldiers were steady, cleanly and abstemious; the officers trained up to the highest level of modern military science. This theoretical training now received the consecration of practical advantage, and produced a powerful effect not only in Japan, but on the world at large. The Russian troops were very different. The men were dogged, determined and patient, but lacking in initiative; the officers were deficient in scientific training, and the colonels were given over to jealousy and intrigue. The cumbrous, inert, but passively powerful Russian troops were ill-matched against the alert, vigorous and resourceful enemies to whom they were opposed, and the contrast became more prominent as the war proceeded.

The next efforts of the Japanese were directed to cutting off Port Arthur from any prospect of help by land from the interior

of Russia. This was effected by the second army under Baron Oku, which had gradually been collected at Chinampo. On May 3rd Togo reported that he had so far succeeded in blocking the mouth of the harbour of Port Arthur, that battleships and large cruisers were no longer able to come out to hinder Japanese operations. So, on the evening of May 4th, some of the second army appeared off the mouth of the Huaguan, where they had landed in the previous war in 1894, and began to disembark on the following morning under cover of fire from the gunboats. As the tide was low the soldiers had to wade breast-deep 1,000 yards, but the Japanese flag was hoisted on the heights of the Liaotung Peninsula. Indeed, 10,000 men were landed before nightfall. On May 6th the railway was severed, and a few days later the Japanese were established securely across the peninsula and Port Arthur was cut off from communication with the world. The scheme had been admirably conceived and was perfectly executed.

Kouropatkin's Ignorance of His Enemy.

The Japanese kept the number and nature of the troops which were being disembarked in Manchuria secret, and the Russians had to rely on native rumours. Kouropatkin, under the impression that the Japanese force was much larger than it really was, delayed the attack, and when, at the end of the month, he endeavoured, by means of cavalry, to recover his connection with the coast, he found this was impossible. On May 19th, 10,000 men, under General Kamamura, landed at Takushan, and thus connected the forces of Kuroki and Oku. The Russians were entirely in the dark as to the number of this army, which they greatly exaggerated, and Kouropatkin's ignorance of his adversary's strength continued throughout the war, and was a serious hindrance to his strategy.

Position in Port Arthur.

Oku now began to advance against Port Arthur, while a Japanese naval squadron demonstrated along the coast, deterring Kouropatkin from sending reinforcements for fear of a landing on his flank. The position in Port Arthur itself was by no means satisfactory. Stoessel had the chief command, but Smirnov had been sent from Europe to take control of the fortress, so that the place was exposed to all the difficulties of a divided command. Kouropatkin foreseeing the consequences, had ordered Stoessel to leave, but the latter suppressed the order and remained until the place was so closely invested that it was impossible for him to depart.

Oku proceeded to attack the strong position of Nanshan, situated on the Kuantung Peninsula, between the Bay of Kinchow on one side and Hamid Bay on the other. The place

itself was defended by General Fock. The assault was made on May 26th, Oku being assisted by gunboats and torpedo boats, vessels of a deeper draught being unable to operate in the shallow waters of Kinchow. But Nanshan was extremely strong, and the vigorous assaults of the Japanese infantry were for a long time repulsed. Russian ammunition ran short, but Fock might have gained a victory with his immense superiority of position. At last the Japanese concentrated their efforts on a fresh bombardment, and under this the Russians began to give way, and at 7 in the evening, after sixteen hours' incessant fighting, the Japanese infantry, wading through the shoal water on the Russian left, penetrated into the works and became masters of the entire position. Stoessel ordered Fock to retire, and consequently eighty-two cannon fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Japanese lost the enormous number of 4,192 men, the Russians perhaps over 2,000. On the following day the Russians were pursued to Port Arthur and the terminus of the Siberian Railway was occupied. This brilliant and complete victory was achieved by the marvellous dash and persistence of the Japanese, and the effective co-operation of the army and fleet.

Japanese Naval Losses.

On May 30th Dalny passed into the hands of the Japanese without opposition, and with it 290 railway wagons. Its possession gave the Japanese an ice-free port for the next winter, whether Port Arthur stood or fell. On the other hand, the Japanese suffered a serious loss by the destruction of the two battleships *Hatsuse* and *Yashima*, by mines, on May 15th. The loss of the *Hatsuse* produced a sensation in Europe, but that of the *Yashima* was not known until months afterwards. The crew of the latter were saved and drafted into other ships.

Japanese Advance.

At the beginning of June the Japanese were free to engage in direct operations against Port Arthur. A third army under Baron Noghi was to conduct the siege; the second army, under Oku, advanced along the railway up to Yingkow; and the first army, under Kuroki, had advanced as far as Fenghwangcheng. Kuroki proceeded into the valley of the Liao by the Motien Pass, the tenth division through the Fenshui Pass, and Oku, as has been already said, by the railway. Kouropatkin, who had received considerable reinforcements, opposed Kuroki with 21,000 men, under the command of Keller; Mistchenko commanded 3,000 Cossack cavalry attached to the tenth division; and Stackelberg had 35,000 men at Yingkow. The reserve consisted of 35,000 men, which extended as far as Mukden.

Kouropatkin's design was to hold two of the Japanese divisions

in check and devote the whole of his energies to crushing the third; but he had no transport to enable him to attack with success the Japanese in the mountain passes, and if he were to concentrate upon Oku the enemy in the mountains would cut off his communications. He therefore determined to evacuate Liao-yang and to concentrate upon Harbin, but the Government intervened and demanded that an effort should be made to relieve Port Arthur. This led to the Battle of Telissu on June 14th and 15th, between Stackelberg with 25,000 men and Oku with 37,000. The victory of the Japanese was complete; the position of Stackelberg was turned and exposed to an effective fire from front, flanks, and rear, and the Russians gave way. The Japanese lost 1,190 killed and wounded, and the Russians more than 4,000, with sixteen guns. Bad weather and other reasons prevented the Japanese from pursuing Stackelberg.

Marshal Oyama Takes Command.

The scene of interest now shifts to the first army. On June 24th Kuroki advanced from Fenghwangcheng, and on June 30th secured possession of the Motien Pass, which the Japanese held against the assaults of Keller, and on June 27th the tenth division occupied the Fenshui Pass. A fourth army was formed under Count Nodzu, so that there were now three Japanese armies advancing towards the Liao Valley. The Russians, setting out from Vladivostok, gained a temporary superiority at sea, which hindered the dispatch of reinforcements and supplies, the consequence being that the operations of all four armies were hindered. Togo, on his side, made torpedo-boat attacks on the harbour, and drew the blockade closer, while Noghi obtained advantages against Stoessel. The chief command of all the Japanese armies was now given to Marshal Oyama, who left Japan on July 6th. Shortly afterwards the Battle of Ta-shih-chias was fought between Zarutieiev, with 36,000 men, and Oku, with 55,000, and ended in the retreat of the Russians. The harbour of Yingkow fell into the hands of the Japanese and supplied them with a valuable base for future operations.

Enormous Losses.

On August 1st Nodzu, in command of the fourth army, joined hands with Oku at Haicheng, and at the same time Keller was slowly collecting forces to attack the Motien Pass, which had been occupied by the Japanese. But the Japanese took the offensive and occupied the whole valley of the Liao. Keller was struck by the bursting of a shrapnel in the afternoon of July 31st, and fell, covered with many wounds. In these operations the Japanese first army lost 946 killed and wounded, the Russians 2,000 men, 2 guns, 5,300 rifles, and 157 prisoners. After these

defeats Kouropatkin collected his forces at Liaoyang on August 3rd, and on the same day Oku occupied Haicheng and Nuichwang. Kouropatkin might have united his forces at Liaoyang a month earlier, and would thus have been spared the loss of 6,000 men and a great diminution of prestige. Since the campaign opened on land the Japanese had lost 12,000 men, and the Russians about three times the number. Kouropatkin was now about sixteen miles distant from each of the divisions of the Japanese force, but he was in no mind to attack them, although superior in numbers. The Japanese had, therefore, about a fortnight's respite.

Port Arthur Fleet Destroyed.

During this interval Noghi pressed the attack on Port Arthur, now defended by about 50,000 soldiers, besides sailors and civilians. He began operations on the night of July 26th, and by August 8th had taken two small forts with a loss of 2,200 killed and wounded. He had not done much, but he had had an unexpected stroke of good fortune in the destruction of the Russian fleet. Admiral Witthoft, alarmed for the safety of his ships, determined to break out of the harbour and endeavour to reach Vladivostok. At the very beginning of the action Witthoft was killed by a chance shot and his flagship disabled. The result of the affair was the virtual annihilation of the Port Arthur fleet. Ten days later, on August 20th, Noghi began the assault. The result must be told in the vivid words of Major-General Maurice :—

Siege of Port Arthur.

"Then was seen the curious and horrible spectacle of chivalrous devotion and absolute contempt of death at grips with every engine of destruction which modern science has devised. For two days and nights this wonderful infantry flung itself against powerful works, crammed with stubborn and unyielding foes. Small remnants, left by the waves of assault, clung desperately to such positions as they had won, till they were forced back at last, human endurance being capable of no more, with a loss of more than 15,000 killed and wounded; but a lesson was needed to teach these brave soldiers that there were limits to the power of their valour. So the siege settled down to the business of sap, mine and countermine, while the main armies returned to the business of attack and defence."

Battle of Liaoyang.

We now come to the great Battle of Liaoyang, fought by Kuroki against Kouropatkin, which lasted for nine days. When Kuroki began operations on August 23rd the Russians held a chain of advanced positions to the south and east of Liaoyang forty miles in length. Kouropatkin had in all about 140,000 men and was expecting more from Mukden. The Japanese, numbering about 135,000, were slightly inferior to the Russians

in number, and during the battle Kouropatkin received an addition of 10,000 men. The town of Liaoyang was the military capital of southern Manchuria, being a large city with 60,000 inhabitants. It lies on the railway at the junction of the main roads, one leading to Korea and the other to Port Arthur. It was full of stores, supplies, and munitions of war of every kind necessary for the maintenance of an army in the field. It was, therefore, worth a deadly struggle to the Japanese, and its loss would be irreparable to Kouropatkin. The armies of Oku, Nodzu and Kunshi all advanced to the attack. The three armies of the Japanese came in touch with each other on August 29th, and the main attack began on the following day. On September 3rd Kouropatkin retreated in good order, so that the victory was by no means decisive for the Japanese. They had lost 23,615 killed and wounded, and were too weak to pursue, whereas the loss of the Russians, who had been on the defensive, was only 16,500.

Russian Retirement on Mukden.

Both sides now prepared for more serious efforts. A law was passed in Japan which enabled the troops intended only for home service to be sent abroad, and in St. Petersburg reinforcements were prepared for Kouropatkin with like energy. After the abandonment of Liaoyang the Russians retired to Mukden, and Oyama was following slowly in the same direction. During September the forces under Kouropatkin were raised to the number of 220,000, and those under Oyama to 160,000. They were extended over a front ninety miles in extent, a distance from the Commander-in-Chief which would have been impossible but for the telegraph and heliograph.

Japanese Naval Superiority.

The next great event in this momentous conflict was the Battle of the Shaho from October 9th to October 17th, 1905. It is a peculiarity of this wonderful war that the land battles lasted for days and the sea battles only a few hours. The former feature was due to the extreme tenacity of the Japanese, who never knew when they were beaten, fighting against a nation as stubborn and as valiant as themselves, but led with far less intelligence and skill; and the latter to the facts that science had taken the place of personal valour, and that the Russian ships could not stand against the concentration of intelligence of which the Japanese navy was the embodiment.

Kouropatkin Reinforced.

Kouropatkin having received important reinforcements, became convinced that it was his duty to attack. On October 2nd he issued a proclamation to the army announcing this, and declaring that his first object was the relief of Port Arthur. His plan was as follows: On the Japanese side Kuroki occupied the

right, Nodzu the centre, and Oku the left. Kouropatkin's object was to keep Nodzu and Oku in their places and to throw his force against Kuroki. The attack against Kuroki was committed to Stackelberg; but whereas Kuroki was quite able to hold his ground against Stackelberg, Bilderling, whose business it was to hold back Nodzu and Oku, found that he could not do so. During the whole of October 10th and 11th the battle raged along the front, and on the night between October 12th and 13th the Russian army was driven back to the Shaho. On the evening of October 13th the position of the Russians was extremely serious. They had been driven back in every part of the field and had lost heavily in men, along with thirty-eight guns. It was necessary to retreat, but extremely difficult to do so. Stackelberg, who was far in advance of the rest of the Russian line, must be withdrawn first. Zarubaiev, who was in the centre and in advance of the Russian right, must follow, and for the success of the operations, Bilderling, in command of the Russian right, must stand firm. Bilderling held his ground by the skin of his teeth. On October 13th Oku's impetuous advance broke the Russian centre, and if that advantage had been maintained the Russian army must have been destroyed. But they brought up their last reserve and recaptured what had been lost.

A Ten Days' Battle.

For thirty-six hours the battle raged at the central point, and at the end the centre and the left were saved. On the south bank of the Shaho was an elevation known as Solitary Tree Hill, with the village of Sha-ho-pu at its foot. On October 14th this was taken by the Russians and regained twice, fourteen Japanese guns remaining as the prize of victory. On October 15th the Japanese again reconquered the hill, but it was recovered by General Putilov, who held it against all assaults and gave it his name. On Sunday, October 16th, the Russians attacked Oku seven times, but were always driven back with loss. At length, by October 20th, after ten days' fighting, the armies were facing each other on either side of the Shaho, a line fifteen miles north of that which the Japanese had occupied during the engagement. The Russians had lost 32,300 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Japanese 20,300.

Failure of Attack on Port Arthur.

In the meantime the siege of Port Arthur continued, with the usual apparatus of such operations—the building of batteries, the opening of parallels, the final bombardment. On October 26th a general attack was made, which lasted five days; but it ended in comparative failure, the Japanese losing 151 officers and 1,970 men.

The Baltic Scare.

Then occurred the extraordinary incident of the Baltic fleet in the North Sea. On the calm night of October 21st, 1904, a division of the fleet of Admiral Rozhdeshtvensky, which had for months been anxiously expected for the relief of Port Arthur, in crossing the Dogger Bank passed through a fleet of Hull trawlers. The Russians opened fire upon them, with the result that one vessel was sunk and two fishermen were killed and eighteen wounded. When, two days later, the matter became public, a wave of indignation swept over Great Britain, and had it not been for the patriotism and courage of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne, war might have resulted. But, on October 28th, the Prime Minister announced that the Tsar had expressed his regret and had promised compensation. The matter was referred to arbitration, and a Committee of Admirals met in Paris in January, 1905. There is no doubt that the Russian admiral really believed he had Japanese torpedo boats in front of him, but the fact that he did so made the whole situation supremely ridiculous. The commission awarded an adequate compensation, while contriving to save Rozhdeshtvensky's face. The Russian fleet continued its voyage, and at length arrived in Eastern waters.

Stoessel's Depressing Report.

Whilst it was on its way the Japanese continued to attack Port Arthur with stubborn persistence. On December 5th Noghi captured an eminence known as the "Two hundred and three Metre Hill." In the attack the Japanese lost 13,000 men, 9,000 of whom had fallen round the hill itself, and under the works the corpses of 400 Russians were discovered. On December 15th General Kondranshenko died, an officer of high rank, whom it was impossible to replace. The generals conducting the defence began to lose heart. On December 28th Stoessel reported to his Government that the position of the fortress was becoming very painful, that scurvy was mowing down the men, and that there were only a few who had not been attacked by it. The next day he said, "We can only hold out a few days longer; we have hardly any ammunition left. I have now only 10,000 men under arms. They are all ill."

Port Arthur Surrendered.

On January 1st, 1905, Stoessel sent a flag of truce to Noghi without the knowledge of his council, and on the same evening the capitulation was signed. The Japanese had gained the first great object of the war. At the same time Stoessel telegraphed to the Emperor: "Great Sovereign, forgive. We have done all that was humanly possible. Judge us, but be merciful. Eleven months of ceaseless fighting have exhausted our strength; the

men are reduced to shadows." Stoessel's policy can scarcely be justified, as the means of defence had not been exhausted. The prisoners of war who marched out comprised 878 officers and 23,491 men, while provisions for three months and 2,500,000 cartridges were found. Had the Russian commanders not quarrelled with each other the defence might have been prolonged until the arrival of the Baltic fleet. The Russian soldiers behaved splendidly. They lost 28,200 killed and wounded during the siege, the Japanese sacrificing 57,780 killed and wounded, besides many who died from sickness.

Concentration of the Japanese.

The fall of Port Arthur made it possible for Noghi to join Oyama, but before he could do so it was necessary to reinforce him and make up the terrible losses he had suffered, and this would consume much time. But as the weather grew more wintry the supply of troops to Kouropatkin became more difficult. At the beginning of January Kouropatkin had control of 250,000 men, Oyama of 185,000. The Russians made several attempts to interrupt Noghi's movements and delay his arrival, but they were not successful, and at the close of January both armies were in their positions, except that they had each lost about 10,000 men in the struggle. Eventually Noghi brought an auxiliary force of 100,000 men to the assistance of Oyama.

The interest of the war now centred round Mukden. In the month of February, 1905, the Russians occupied the position on the Shaho and round Mukden which they had held during the preceding five months. Mukden had been transformed into the advanced base of operations for the intended march on Liaoyang, important reinforcements had arrived, and confidence had been restored. The first Manchurian army was commanded by Linevich, the second by Kaulbars, and the third by Bilderling. Remenkamp commanded the cavalry. The whole front of the army measured forty-four miles and the depth four to six miles. The Japanese had five armies, numbering altogether about 300,000 men, concentrated within striking distance of the enemy. They prepared to strike at the moment when the severity of winter had passed, but before the thaw, which usually set in in the second week of March, and which rendered the rivers impassable owing to the melting of the ice, and the country difficult for the movement of guns.

Preparation for the Struggle.

The first, fourth, and second armies retained their relative positions from right to left. A fifth army was moved through the mountains and placed on the right of Kuroki. Noghi's army was situated in a position which concealed it from observation, and

there was a reserve of 20,000 men under Oyama. On the Russian side Linevich was on the left, Bilderling in the centre, and Kaulbars on the right. Kouropatkin occupied Mukden with the reserve, his army amounting to about 310,000. Thus the numbers of the two armies were about equal, the Japanese being stronger in infantry, the Russians in cavalry, while the two artilleries were nearly of the same strength, although the Russians were superior in quality.

Battle of Mukden.

The series of operations which may be called the Battle of Mukden lasted fourteen days. The first move was taken by Kamamura, who advanced in two columns on February 19th, driving in the Russians. On February 23rd heavy snow fell and obscured the view, while the ice on the Taitse began to melt. Operations became difficult and progress slow from the precipitous nature of the ground. Nevertheless, Kamamura boldly attacked Alexeiev, and in the evening of February 24th the Russians finally broke and retired northwards in disorder, having lost about 1,000 men. Kuroki moved out on February 24th. On March 1st he was able to operate with Kamamura, and the general effect of these combined operations was to drive in the Russian left and to place the Japanese in a favourable position, north of the Shaho, to co-operate in a general northward advance. Nodzu's army did not begin to take a serious part in the action till February 27th. After two days the Russians who opposed him were driven across the Shaho. The next river to deal with was the Hun. On February 27th Oku advanced between the Shaho and this river, and then along its banks, and proceeded victoriously till March 6th, when he was stopped by superior forces. Noghi advanced rapidly and was soon in touch with Oku's left. The effect of these successes was that Kaulbars was forced to evacuate his position and send his siege guns by railway to the north. The loss of these guns left Kouropatkin at a great disadvantage.

Kouropatkin on the Defensive.

Kouropatkin did not discover the real nature of the Japanese plan until March 1st. He was concentrating his defences on his left, whereas his real danger was on his right, where he was threatened by Noghi and Oku. He was now obliged to withdraw from his southern front to the line of the Hun and take up a firm position round Mukden. Bilderling and Linevich received these orders with dismay. For ten days or more they had resisted the attack of the Japanese armies, but the army obeyed the order with anger and terror in their eyes. They, however, performed the movement steadily, and at dawn on March 8th the third

army reached the entrenched camp at Mukden. Any idea which Kouropatkin may have held for making a general attack upon the Japanese had to be given up, and he was obliged to remain entirely on the defensive. The retreating Russians were vigorously pursued by the Japanese, Oku, Nodzu and Noghi all defeating the forces opposed to them.

A Disorderly Retreat.

On March 9th, in spite of a violent storm, with icy blasts and clouds of dust, Nodzu crossed the Hun, and the sounds of firing to the east of Mukden electrified the Russian headquarters and sounded the knell of the Russian hopes. Kouropatkin had no further hope of victory, and gave the order for a general retreat. By the activity of the Japanese this was effected with confusion, and much booty fell into the pursuers' hands. The third Russian army was intending to make an attack upon the enemy on March 10th, but at 10 on the previous night it was ordered to retreat. It did so in great disorder, being fired into by the Japanese marching parallel on its flank. The condition of the second army was even worse; they were scattered about the hills like sheep without a shepherd. Companies, battalions, regiments and brigades were all mixed up in inextricable confusion, Linevich alone preserving some semblance of order. The Japanese occupied Mukden at 10 on the morning of March 10th, but resistance was not wholly quelled until the following day.

Kouropatkin Resigns.

By March 12th the Russians were twenty-six miles distant on the road to Tieling. Even then they pressed on, and Linevich was unable to halt till March 20th, his rearguard on that day being seventy miles to the north of Tieling. Oyama occupied Tieling on March 16th and fixed his headquarters there, pushing his outposts to within twelve miles of the Russian advanced posts. Both armies were exhausted and stood in position facing each other until the end of the war, both commanders being unwilling to undertake active operations. The Japanese had lost 71,014 killed and wounded, the Russians about 60,000 and 25,000 prisoners, together with immense quantities of munitions of war. Kouropatkin, feeling that he had no longer the confidence of the army, tendered his resignation, but was anxious to be employed in a subordinate capacity. Linevich was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Kouropatkin took command of the first army.

Rozhdesht-vensky's Progress.

We must now follow the fortunes of Rozhdeshtvensky, whose operations began with the tragic comedy on the Dogger Bank. As Port Arthur had fallen, there was no need for him to hurry, so he made a long halt at Madagascar to train his crews, and,

after coaling and furnishing his fleet in a masterly manner, got his squadron together in the China Sea on May 9th. He had eight battleships, twelve cruisers, nine destroyers, and a number of auxiliary ships. But many of his vessels were antiquated, and their efficiency was impaired by their long voyage. Togo commanded a squadron somewhat similar in size, but thoroughly up to date. In making for Vladivostok the Russian admiral had to pass through the Strait of Korea. Togo, who was always supplied with the most accurate information, heard of this by wireless telegraphy at 5 a.m. on May 27th.

Battle of Tsushima.

The battle began at 2 in the afternoon to the east of the Island of Tsushima. The Japanese engaged the enemy at 7,000 yards, which was the most favourable distance for their artillery. They steered across the Russian fleet, so as to bring every possible gun to bear, and thus developed a crushing force, whereas the Russian fire was comparatively ineffective. Rozhdeshtvensky advanced in three long columns, with his unarmed auxiliary ships in the centre. In less than three-quarters of an hour from the beginning of the engagement the battleships of the two main columns were out of action and the admiral himself was severely wounded. By nightfall every attempt of the Russian ships to break through to Vladivostok had been frustrated, and all cohesion in the fleet had been destroyed. During the night the Japanese torpedo boats continued the work of destruction, and the pursuit was followed up on the next day. The Russian fleet was annihilated. Four battleships, seven cruisers, five destroyers, and five auxiliary ships were sunk, and the rest completely disabled. Only four ships out of the whole fleet reached Vladivostok.

Roosevelt as Mediator.

The supreme victory of Togo decided the fortunes of the contest. The war was unpopular in Russia, and Japan was on the verge of exhaustion; but there was no opportunity of a decisive Japanese victory on land. Vladivostok could not be taken as Port Arthur had been, but the crushing Battle of Tsushima paved the way for negotiations. Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States, put himself forward as a mediator, and in June both belligerents agreed to nominate plenipotentiaries to consider terms. But the fighting went on. The Russians were driven out of north-eastern Korea, Sakhalin and the north of the Amur being occupied without opposition. The negotiations for peace were held at Portsmouth, N.H., Count Komura representing Japan and de Witte Russia. The negotiations continued throughout August, de Witte, on behalf of Russia, refusing to pay an indemnity. At length Komura agreed to

waive the indemnity, and the offer to surrender half of Sakhalin was also accepted.

Japan's Gains.

The Treaty of Portsmouth gave to Japan most of the objects for which she had entered upon the war. It gained for her a preponderating influence in Korea, secured the evacuation of Manchuria, gave her the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Dalny, and the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin. The Japanese negotiators showed themselves extremely moderate; indeed, the conditions of the treaty gave rise to serious riots in Japan. But they were certainly wise, for to have inflicted further humiliation on Russia would have been disastrous to Japan. The war cost each nation £100,000,000; each had mobilised about 1,000,000 men, of whom 230,000 Japanese and 220,000 Russians had died.

The Secret of Japanese Success.

Japan's victory offered a great surprise, but also a great lesson, to the world. She owed her success to the patriotic devotion with which statesman, diplomat, soldier and sailor had worked harmoniously together to achieve a common result; whereas the Russians had been inspired by no enthusiasm, nor had unity of purpose and action possessed her leaders. At the back of the extraordinary heroism of Japan lay the deep-seated sense of the obligation of personal honour, generally spoken of as *Bushido*. *Bushi* is the hero, *Bushido* is the heroism. *Bushido* offers the idea of poverty instead of wealth, humility in place of ostentation, reserve instead of self-assertion, self-sacrifice instead of selfishness, the interest of the State before that of the individual. It inspires courage and looks death in the face, preferring it to dishonour. It enjoins a strict physical and mental discipline, develops a martial spirit, and enjoins the virtues of courage, fortitude, faithfulness and self-restraint. It trains the man as well as the warrior, the woman as well as the man, and is as useful in times of peace as in times of war. It was to the constant presence of this ideal standard of morality and conduct that Japan owed her success, and those who would be her rivals must educate themselves in a similar school.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDWARD THE PEACEMAKER

The Diamond Jubilee.

ON September 23rd, 1896, Queen Victoria achieved the distinction of having reigned longer than any other English sovereign. She had worn the crown nearly twice as long as any other contemporary monarch in the world, excepting only the Emperor of Austria, and he ascended his throne eleven years after her accession. Hitherto George III.'s reign of fifty-nine years and ninety-six days had been the longest known to English history. There had been a Jubilee celebration of her reign in 1887, and it was now determined that there should be another in 1897—a Diamond Jubilee.

As in the first Jubilee the sovereigns and princes of Europe and Asia were the most conspicuous figures in the pageant, so now the Imperial position of Great Britain was to be signalised by the presence of representatives of the Colonies and of British settlements in all parts of the world. These representatives were entertained with regal munificence. The streets of London were thronged with Royal carriages, with servants in scarlet liveries seated on the box, carrying Colonial ministers or dusky potentates, subjects of the British Crown.

On June 22nd there was a State procession through London, when the Queen made almost a circuit of her capital, attended by her family, by envoys from foreign lands, Indian and Colonial officials, and a great body of Imperial troops, Indian native levies, mounted riflemen from Canada, Australia and South Africa, Colonial soldiers from the West Coast of Africa, Cyprus, Hong-Kong and Borneo. The procession traversed a space of six miles from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's, then over London Bridge and through the poorer districts of the City on the southern side of the Thames. As the Queen set out from the Palace she sent a telegraphic dispatch to all parts of the Empire, "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them!" At night all cities were illuminated, and every headland from Cornwall to Caithness was ablaze with beacon fires. A great naval review was held at Spithead, in which 173 war vessels were drawn up in four lines, stretching over a course of four miles. These Jubilee cele-

brations, indeed, constituted the high-water mark of Colonial loyalty and of the manifestation of the qualities and the unity of the Empire.

An Object-Lesson in Home Rule.

But it was also an object-lesson in Home Rule. It was expressed by the Colonial Premiers, and felt by every reflecting observer, that the tie which bound this great organism together derived its strength not from force, or self-interest, or jealousy of other nations, but from the spirit of liberty and self-government which made every part of the great political body vibrate with a like intensity of life to that which animated the heart of the free Mother Country herself, and that neglect or ignorance of this would mean ruin and decay.

Death of Gladstone.

On May 19th, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died. During his closing days he suffered intense pain, nervous exhaustion, and the weakening of his physical, but not of his intellectual faculties. He died at Hawarden, the favourite home of his happiest hours, with the porch commemorating the welcome of his home-coming with his wife; the study—the Temple of Peace, with its two tables, one for home and one for public affairs, proclaiming his keenness of literary interest and his spirit of untiring labour up to the very last. His illness was soothed by his wife, who had been throughout these many years his faithful confidante and companion. He was a truly great statesman, one of the greatest known to modern times, greater than Bismarck, whose death closely followed his own. His departure marked the close of one epoch and the beginning of another. He entered Parliament immediately after the Reform Bill of 1832, and his career may be described as the bringing of the principles embodied in that measure to a successful conclusion in all departments. His passing also, perhaps, marked the close of a distinct era in Parliamentary oratory.

Tributes to Gladstone.

In the Upper House Lord Salisbury said that Gladstone had always sought the achievement of great ideals, which could only have proceeded from the highest and purest aspirations, and would leave behind him the memory of a great Christian statesman, whose character, motives, and purposes could not fail to impress the whole world. In the House of Commons Mr. Balfour described him as the greatest member of the greatest deliberative assembly the world had ever seen, and proposed that he should have a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. The funeral took place on May 28th, and a more impressive sight was never witnessed in that historic church, which has been the scene of so many solemn spectacles. Both Houses of Parliament met at 10 o'clock in the morning and marched in procession through

Westminster Hall to the Abbey. The majestic appearance of the Speaker, Gully, as he led the Commons of the realm to their places will never be forgotten. The pall-bearers represented the Sovereign, the Lords and the Commons, and nothing was more deeply touching than the sight of Mrs. Gladstone kneeling at the head of the grave and gazing into the vault which held the mortal shell of so much glory and so much greatness—the vault into which she was, in God's own time, to follow him.

Queen Victoria's Energy.

On Gladstone's resignation in 1894, the Queen, of her own authority and without seeking any advice, chose Rosebery as his successor; but it was a relief to her when, after a short interval, he was succeeded by Salisbury. She played a very active part in the government of the country, an important fact of which the people generally were in ignorance, regarding the Sovereign rather as a figure-head than an important political force. She required all papers to be regularly sent to her, found fault at any sign of slackness in public business, and insisted on full time being given her for the consideration of important questions. She took a personal interest in her Ministers' speeches, and an active share in political appointments. She flinched from no exertion to fulfil her duties. Sir Sidney Lee tells us that she often travelled to Osborne or Balmoral with hundreds of boxes filled with documents which required her sign-manual, that she would work at these continuously for two or three hours a day, and sign two or three hundred papers at a sitting.

Harcourt Retires.

One effect of Gladstone's death was the resignation by Sir William Harcourt of the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. He had never worked harmoniously with Lord Rosebery, of whose appointment as Prime Minister he disapproved. It is said that when he led the House of Commons under Rosebery's premiership, he never consulted his chief on anything which had to be done, and Rosebery himself declared that the position was intolerable.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Leader.

Harcourt was succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a singularly modest man of very remarkable qualities; he always distrusted his own capacity for exercising the duties of high office, but his speeches were admirable, his common sense unusual, his devotion to the cause of Liberalism without a flaw. In his conduct as Leader of the House he had to suffer from the jealousy of those who were anxious to bring others prematurely to the front, but his unfailing good temper always prevented an explosion. As Prime Minister he invited the goodwill and secured the admiration of his country, the Colonies, and the world. His

industry was untiring, but his strength was greatly impaired by the demands made upon him by the weak health of his wife, to whom he was passionately devoted and to whom he owed so much in the conduct of his public career. He died in 1908. He was not buried in Westminster Abbey, but the memorial service in that place has seldom been equalled in intensity of public respect and private sorrow.

Curzon's Rule in India.

An important event of the year 1898 was the appointment of George Nathaniel Curzon to be Viceroy of India, a country which he administered for nearly seven years with skill and judgment, leaving a mark upon its development which will last as long as that dependency is a portion of the British Empire. A trained speaker and writer, a man of unwearied industry and business-like intelligence, he had already won his spurs as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity Salisbury, who knew and trusted him, committed much of the administration of that department to his hands. When he arrived in India, he determined to review personally the action of every part of the public service, and leave nothing to subordinate officials which he could do himself. His predecessor, Lord Elgin, had pursued a different course, and Curzon's conduct met with some resistance. Hints were conveyed to him that if he persisted in this policy resignations would probably ensue. He answered by letting them know that if their resignations were tendered they would be immediately accepted, and he heard no more of the matter. He paid particular attention to education, literature and archæology, matters which his predecessors had so often neglected, appointing general administrators of education, archæology and libraries, and these departments have gained much in consequence, with the result that the lace-like fretwork of the East is no longer stained by the uniform blue wash of the P.W.D., nor the Taj Mahal, the paragon of royal tombs, profaned by picnics and dances. He gave to the world the spectacle of a dignified, pure, and majestic Court, and in all his actions he was seconded by his noble-hearted wife, whose beauty made her the cynosure of Indian society, and did not prevent her kindness of heart and well-considered charities from making her beloved by her own sex.

The Queen and the War.

With regard to the Boer War, Sir Sidney Lee says that, though the Queen was profoundly anxious for peace, she was not altogether averse to the course which Chamberlain took. He had impressed her by his lofty, but, in the eyes of many, mistaken and unstatesmanlike views as to the right manner of welding together a Colonial empire; and from the opening of active

operations until her death in 1901 the conflict occupied the chief place in her thoughts. Throughout 1900 the Queen showed untiring energy in inspecting troops intended for the seat of war, sending encouraging messages to the field of battle, and writing letters of condolence to the families of those who had lost relations during the struggle. Touched by the devotion of the Irish regiments in South Africa, she accorded to them the privilege of wearing the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day, hitherto denied them. A similar feeling constrained her to visit Ireland in 1900 instead of going abroad, as had been her custom. As a memorial of her visit, she established the regiment of Irish Guards. But her life was saddened by the casualties of the war, especially by the death of her grandson, Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein, the son of Princess Helena, her third daughter, who died on October 29th, 1900. It is said that she never recovered from this blow. She spent the autumn at Windsor and left on December 18th for Osborne, the last journey of her life.

Death of Queen Victoria.

The vital powers of the Queen had, indeed, been gradually failing. Rheumatism compelled her to use a stick in walking, and to be wheeled about in a bath chair. Her eyes began to fail, and she was scarcely able to read. She began to lose her memory, which had been phenomenally strong, and suffered a little from difficulty in speech. She lost in weight and ability to sleep. She received Lord Roberts, however, on his return from South Africa, although the exertion of talking to him produced a collapse, and her last interview with a Minister was with Mr. Chamberlain on October 11th. On January 15th, 1901, she drove out for the last time, and her physicians knew that her condition was hopeless. The brain was failing, and life slowly ebbing. Her critical state, which had been kept secret, was made public on January 19th, and she died at 6.30 in the evening of Friday, January 22nd, being eighty-one years of age and having reigned for sixty-three years seven months and two days.

India and Queen Victoria.

The effect produced by her death all over the world is almost indescribable. In India the grief was most intense. There the Queen was regarded not only as a Sovereign, but almost as an object of worship. She was reverenced as a just and beneficent ruler, but still more as a fruitful mother of Sovereigns and Princes, for she exhibited in their most striking form those virtues of maternity which impress the imagination of the East with singular effect. To every child in that vast country it seemed as if a shadow had fallen upon the land and the sun had been darkened in the heavens. Monarchy appeared to have come to an end, and

it was difficult to believe that any successor could wield the sovereignty and gain the respect which had attached to the person of the departed Queen. The Queen's funeral was deeply impressive. All the details, even the music to be performed at it, had been previously ordained by the Queen herself. No one who witnessed it will ever forget the scene as the Queen's coffin was conveyed across London from Victoria to Paddington amidst the silence and tears of mourning millions. The long procession of soldiers was broken by the little casket, which was borne, by her wishes, on a gun-carriage, and decorated with robes and the Crown, shining like a precious jewel in the midst of the funeral gloom, followed by her son and grandson, the new King and the Emperor of Germany. As the coffin passed, the crowds in the Parks and the streets felt as if they had suffered a personal loss, and many of those who viewed it from the windows fell instinctively on their knees and breathed a prayer for the departed spirit.

Queen Victoria's Activity in Politics.

There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the Queen had no influence in politics. She was a voluminous letter-writer, studied every detail of public business, and formed opinions of her own, which she boldly expressed; but, strong as her views were, she always yielded to any manifestation of the popular will. Any letter written by her to the Prime Minister was the first business considered at the next meeting of the Cabinet. Her opinions had naturally great weight. She had known intimately every public man in England during the whole of her reign, and most of those on the Continent. She had discussed with them every detail of policy from different points of view; she had a most retentive memory and an admirable judgment. Some thought that she had no commanding strength of intellect, but it may be doubted whether this was the case. As has been before remarked, it is questionable whether, in her intercourse with her husband, she was not the genius and he the well-educated scholar. One thing is certain: she possessed the most guileless simplicity of mind, the utmost piety of heart, and instinctively recoiled from all falseness and insincerity. The character of her counsellors showed this.

The Queen's Advisers.

Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, and Frederick Ponsonby, her private secretary, both her trusted advisers, were men of the most conspicuous honesty. The position of the two towards her was very different. Wellesley never hesitated to give her advice, however unpalatable. When Gladstone came to stay at the Windsor Deanery in 1876, the Queen objected to his long visit, and suggested that his prolonged sojourn in the neighbour-

hood of the Castle, when other advisers were at her side and other parties predominant, might produce an unfavourable impression. The Dean was indignant with this interference with his private friendships and hospitalities, and said afterwards, "Didn't I write her a tickler?" On the other hand, when Ponsonby was appointed, she expressly stipulated that he should give her no advice. "I am older than you," she said, "and I know more; I want assistance, but no advice." If she occasionally fell under the influence of some whose honesty and unselfishness were less generally acknowledged, it may be that she discovered in them qualities of excellence which were not so apparent to the world as they were to herself.

A High-water Mark of Britain's History.

In spite of her many cares and the gloom of mourning for her husband which enveloped her for so many years, she was full of good spirits and merriment, and was given to hearty and even exuberant laughter. She was, perhaps, take her all in all, the greatest of English Sovereigns—greater even than Queen Elizabeth, but with far less taste and appreciation of literature and art. Every noble personality after death enters into a penumbra, and is partly obscured; but when the shadow moves away it shines more brightly than ever, and the lustre becomes more vivid the farther the presence is removed. So, as ages move on, the reign of Queen Victoria will be regarded as a high-water mark in the history of Great Britain—not, we may hope, to be illuminated by contrast with any decadence or misfortune.

King Edward VII.

At his first Privy Council, held upon January 23rd, 1901, the day following Queen Victoria's death, the new King said: "In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves upon me, I am determined to be a Constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and as long as there is strength in my body to work for the good and amelioration of my people. I have resolved to be known by the name of Edward, which has been held by many of my ancestors. In doing this, I do not undervalue the name of Albert, which I have inherited from my ever-to-be-lamented, great, and wise father, who by universal consent is, I think, known by the name of Albert the Good, and I desire that his name should stand alone."

"Every Inch a King."

The new King found himself, at his accession, in a very difficult position. He was now advanced in years, and nearly forty years had passed since his father's death; yet he had never been admitted to any share in the government; indeed, had been carefully excluded. Full of excitement, energy, and the enjoyment of life, he had sought in amusement the outlet denied him

in serious occupations, and became surrounded by many friends, male and female, who were unworthy of him. His extreme good temper and remarkable power of sympathy were frequently abused, even at times to the harm of his reputation. All this had to be altered, and he proved every inch a King, gifted with dignity of mind and character, worthy to maintain the record of the best of his ancestors.

Britain's Isolation.

He found his country in a most unfortunate position. The Boer War, like the American War of Independence, had left Great Britain, as we have seen, without a friend in Europe. The feeling against her was so strong that it was difficult for Englishmen to travel abroad, so palpable were the insults to which they had to submit, and in 1900 even the Queen, instead of taking her accustomed holiday on the Continent, sought change of air and scene in Ireland. It was not only necessary that the Boer War should come to an end before the Coronation, but after that had been accomplished the prestige of Great Britain had to be reasserted. It was the King's glory that he achieved this, for it was apparent to every one that at the crowning of his successor, George V., the nation stood in popularity and power inferior to none.

Preparations for the Coronation.

After the Accession came the Coronation. It had been fixed for June 26th, 1902, peace with the Boers having been signed on May 31st. The interest manifested in this solemnity was beyond all precedent. London was concealed under picturesque and variegated decorations, every little street in the lowest slum displaying its flag or bit of bunting. The curiosity and interest of country folk seemed insatiable. Day after day, hour after hour, streams of village wagons, adorned with ornaments and filled with yokels, their wives and children, passed through Pall Mall and up St. James's Street in endless procession. Few living persons had ever been present at a Coronation at all. Windows were let at fabulous prices, and every one was in a fever of excitement for the great day.

The King's Illness.

Suddenly, on June 24th, the shock came that the Coronation would not take place. The King had an attack of perityphlitis, against which he had fought with heroic courage; but he had now to undergo an operation, the postponement of which would endanger his life. He said, "Will my people ever forgive me?" But there was no talk of forgiveness, all feeling being absorbed in anxiety for his health and prayers for his recovery. The King rapidly recovered, and the Coronation took place, though with diminished interest, on August 9th. Temple, the aged Primate,

crowned the King, who had to guide the trembling hands of the Archbishop in the solemn function.

Balfour as Prime Minister.

Lord Salisbury had hoped to be present at the ceremony in the capacity of Prime Minister; but his nerves had been for some time failing, and he was obliged to resign his office in July, his place being taken by his nephew, Arthur Balfour, a paragon of knightly virtue, whom to know was to love and to love to admire. In no other country could a man of such spotless integrity, devoid of all the mean arts of political intrigue, have obtained such a position, with a career unsmirched by any of the artifices by which such eminence is generally reached. Throughout his career he never failed to raise the tone of political controversy and to prefer patriotism to party.

The Education Bill.

Balfour's first task was to deal with the question of education, one of unrivalled importance but of much difficulty, which has proved the grave of many political reputations. It is difficult in England to have educational questions settled on their merits. They are usually discussed, often with much heat, from the point of view of religious controversy, the disputes having no existence in the schools and not being shared by those engaged in teaching. Balfour took a bold line. Following Sir John Gorst, he established a single authority for primary, secondary, and technical education—the county councils in the counties, and the borough councils in county boroughs, working through education committees chosen by the councils. The important change, however, consisted in placing voluntary schools on the rates —an entirely new departure. The Act of 1890 had provided that undenominational schools should be supported by public funds, but that denominational, or, as they were called, voluntary, schools had largely to be paid for by private contributions. As the standard of education increased, the expense of keeping the voluntary schools up to the level of Board schools became, as Balfour said, "an intolerable strain," and the subscriptions were not sufficient to meet it. Only two courses were possible —to make all schools undenominational or place the denominational schools on a similar footing with the others with regard to public maintenance.

The Passive Resistance Campaign.

Balfour chose the statesmanlike, but dangerous course of taking the second alternative. He knew that public opinion on the whole was in favour of religious and opposed to secular education, and he thought that the education which the people preferred should be supported out of public funds. This, of course, produced an outcry, and a national Passive Resistance

Committee was formed to encourage individuals to refuse to pay rates for the maintenance of denominational schools. But the common sense of the more reasonable and less political Dissenters supported Balfour's policy, and Quintin Hogg, a Radical and a Nonconformist, whose statue stands in Regent Street, in London, close to the Polytechnic which he founded, said, a few days before his death, that he supported the Bill, but that he never thought he could have brought himself to approve of a Tory educational measure.

Creation of Secondary Education.

The amendment of the Education Bill formed a prominent plank in the Liberal platform at the next general election, and Mr. Birrell had the ungrateful task of presenting an alternative measure, which was rejected by the House of Lords. Balfour's Act, however, created secondary education in England, before non-existent, stimulated a wholesome rivalry between counties as to which should possess the best system of education, extended and developed national education in England in a manner which is gradually transforming the character of our people, and will bear comparison with any other system of national education in the world.

Death of Lord Salisbury.

On August 22nd, 1903, Lord Salisbury died, his death showing that his resignation could not have been delayed longer. He was a man of great ability and dignity of character, but his Conservatism was often too much influenced by prejudice and passion to be the outcome of philosophical inquiry, or of reverence for the past as the only progenitor of a sound and secure future. He was a worthy member of that distinguished Cecil family which had been the advisers of Sovereigns for more than 300 years, and had inspired many of the weightiest pages of the national history.

Tariff Reform.

A revolution was suddenly introduced into Imperial politics when Joseph Chamberlain avowed himself in favour of Protection, or, as it was now called, Tariff Reform. It had been supposed that since the great struggle of the 'forties, Protection was dead in British politics, and that Free Trade, the open door, was accepted as the corner-stone of her prosperity. Now, however, for what reason can only be conjectured, Chamberlain lent the force of his will and his great influence over the masses to attempt to reverse this policy. He had recently paid a visit to South Africa, during which he must have become convinced that the Boer War, for which he was ready to assume the responsibility, was a blunder, if not a crime; and the idea of inaugurating a new policy with which his name might be connected may have occurred

to him in his solitary broodings, either on the illimitable veldt or on the voyage home. The truth seems to be that Free Trade has not produced all the good effects which were anticipated, and has brought with it some evils which were not foreseen. This is probably the case with all legislative measures.

Free Trade or Protection?

If a wholly wise and truly honest Prime Minister were entrusted with the duty of imposing and remitting taxes on his own responsibility, a state of things might be brought about more satisfactory than absolute Free Trade or absolute Protection. But this is impossible. Financial matters must be left to the judgment of the House of Commons, and arranged in accordance with discussion. Protection, even of a limited and restricted nature, would be liable to similar evils to those of Free Trade, only of a more serious kind; and it is impossible to predict with any approach to accuracy the good it might produce or the harm it might cause. Therefore, the almost unanimous verdict of scientific political economists is in favour of Free Trade for the United Kingdom, although it is admitted that a limited Protection may sometimes be of advantage to young countries, in order to foster nascent industries. At the same time, Protection appeals to the lower instincts of business men. Each man feels the spur of competition in his own case, and thinks that if his particular trade or industry could be protected he would be better off. It is the coward's refuge. All cannot be benefited, but each trader, nevertheless, thinks he will join in the lottery.

Free Trade Paramount.

Happily the danger has been averted. It was seen that Protection could not be introduced without taxes on food, and to tax food in the British Isles, which must draw so much of their subsistence from foreign parts, would be a calamity of which the least instructed can comprehend the danger. The nation has come to see that its economical safety lies in producing good work, and that it can leave to neighbours, far or near, the task of supplying the cheap commodities which may give grace and comfort to our lives, but which it cannot produce itself. A healthy preference for British products has grown up, and these have been stimulated, but the additional revenue required under modern conditions can better and more justly be obtained by taxing the rich than by laying fresh burdens on the poor.

Chamberlain's Insubordination.

This pronouncement of Chamberlain was a serious act of insubordination. A Cabinet Minister has no right to announce a policy unless it has received the approval of his colleagues or, at least, of his chief. Balfour should have informed Chamberlain that his new departure made it impossible for him to remain in

the Cabinet, and he should have demanded his resignation. It is, indeed, possible that he intended at first to take this course, but deemed it wiser to temporise than adopt a measure which might dislocate the party. Chamberlain, however, left the Cabinet in order to carry out his propaganda of Protection without the restrictions of office. Ritchie, who objected to a tax on wheat, and Lord George Hamilton resigned their portfolios, and Austen Chamberlain became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Alfred Lyttelton, a man of vigorous and independent intellect, Colonial Secretary. Balfour steadily refused to declare his opinions, which, though philosophically correct, were necessarily of a nature too subtle and complicated to lend themselves to a proposition intelligible to the masses or capable of embodiment in a cry. But later fiscal developments made Tariff Reform a question of secondary importance.

Edward the Peacemaker.

The government of King Edward was essentially a government of peace, by whatever Ministry he was served. His first act after his accession was to make a treaty between Great Britain and the Boers, and he speedily obtained the name, which he amply deserved, of "The Peacemaker." His policy was to come to a friendly understanding with other nations, when there were disputes which in untoward circumstances might bring about a war. After the adjustment of the South African difficulties, the first country to which he turned was France, a land in which he had spent many happy hours, and where he possessed many devoted friends. In 1904 an Anglo-French agreement was drawn up which settled many points in debate. France was given a free hand in Morocco, and in return Great Britain was allowed to consolidate and extend her power in Egypt. The vexed question of the Newfoundland Fisheries, the despair of diplomatists since the Treaty of Utrecht, was placed on a secure basis. The French rights of drying fish and securing passports on the coast of Newfoundland were abandoned. France obtained access to the Gambia, the Los Islands, off the west coast of Africa, opposite Konakry, and a rectification of the frontier of Nigeria, which gave a more direct route into her territory from the Niger to Lake Chad. With regard to Siam, French influence was recognised as predominant in the valley of the Mekong, British in the valley of the Menam. Great Britain abandoned her protest against the French Customs regime in Madagascar, and the disputes which existed between Great Britain and France with regard to the New Hebrides were to be settled by a Joint Commission. The King continued to pay visits to

Paris and to receive the President of France in London. This happy friendship between the two neighbouring peoples became known as the *Entente cordiale*.

Liberal Triumph of 1906.

In 1905 the Conservative Ministry came to an end, and the Liberals accepted office with Campbell-Bannerman at their head. He was supported by Herbert Gladstone at the Home Office, Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, Lloyd George at the Board of Trade, Asquith at the Exchequer, and John Burns at the Local Government Board. This was followed in 1906 by a general election, which placed the Liberals in power by an enormous majority. It was almost impossible for a Liberal to stand without being elected. Many found themselves in Parliament who were much embarrassed at being elected, and the Liberal preponderance in the House was a cause of weakness, and even of danger. Three hundred and seventy-four Liberals, fifty-four Labour members, and eight-four Nationalists gave their support to the Ministry, whereas the Opposition could only rely on the votes of a hundred and thirty-one Conservatives and twenty-seven Liberal Unionists. On a division the Government would have a majority of 354. Various reasons were assigned for this remarkable veering of public opinion. The Tories put it down to the calumnies alleged to have been circulated by Liberals with regard to Chinese labour in the Transvaal mines. It is more reasonable to consider it as a vote condemnatory of the Boer War, the hollowness of which had become apparent, while the victory of the "Khaki" election held during the progress of the struggle was now regarded rather as a disgrace than a triumph. The strength of the Government was unhappily wasted by an attempt, led by Birrell, to amend Balfour's Education Bill, which caused acrimonious discussion and produced no practical result, as the amendments introduced by the House of Lords were rejected by the House of Commons.

The year 1906 witnessed the passing of some useful measures. The Agricultural Holdings Act gave the tenant-farmer compensation for improvements he had made and for the termination of his lease without sufficient cause. An Act was passed allowing local authorities to provide meals for school children, and a new Workmen's Compensation Act included domestic servants in its scope. In 1907 perhaps the most important part in domestic affairs was borne by Haldane, who, with admirable self-sacrifice, had undertaken the office of Minister of War. A man of consummate ability and rare intellectual force, he had gained the highest reputation at the Bar, and had deserved to be placed at

the head of his profession; but he elected to devote his patient acuteness and phenomenal power of work to the task of reorganising the British Army, a labour which had brought failure to many patriotic and devoted Ministers. He established what is called a Territorial army as a reserve to the regular army. The regular army at home was to consist of a first line of six infantry divisions, of four cavalry brigades of twelve regiments each, making in all 160,000 men. The second line was composed of a Territorial army, consisting of militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. The country was divided into fourteen regimental districts, and in each county an association was to be formed under the Lord Lieutenant for organising the force. The strength of the Territorial army was to be made up to 300,000 men. Service in the Territorial army was to last four years, terminable at three months' notice on the payment of £5.

Ancient United.

The most important event of the year 1907 was the signing of a Convention between Great Britain and Russia, which defined the spheres of influence of the two countries in Persia, and agreed, among other things, that neither should send representatives to Lhassa, the sacred city of Tibet. The rivalry between Russia and Great Britain had been one of the most momentous facts, and certainly the most disastrous, in British foreign politics since the fall of Napoleon. It is difficult to see how it originated, or on what reasons it was based. Nicholas I., one of the greatest of the Tsars, was devotedly attached to Great Britain and was received with the most friendly hospitality by the British Court in the 'forties. Great Britain was led into the Crimean War by the intrigues of Napoleon III., and into unfriendly relations with Alexander II. by the partisanship of Beaconsfield and the necessity of finding a cry to replace him in power. Madame de Novikov worked hard to improve the relations between the two Courts and make them understand each other, and she influenced Gladstone in the same direction. But the unreasoning predilection of the British for Turkey, one of the mysteries of their statesmen's policy, prevented the nation from following a new lead, and the suspicion of Russia still remained. A section of British Radicals detested Russian systems of government, not knowing what they really are, not realising how difficult it is to alter them, and not understanding that the Tsar Nicholas II. is one of the best, the most enlightened, the most peace-loving, monarchs in Europe, and had set himself to inaugurate a system of constitutional government in his country, so far as was possible under the peculiar conditions.

Irritation in Germany.

That an agreement should at last be effected between these two nations was like sun in winter. It was due to the wisdom of Sir Edward Grey, the statesmanship of Asquith, the sagacious counsel of Sir Arthur Nicholson (the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who then happened to be in London), the determined enthusiasm of John Morley, and, above all, the encouraging courtesy and sympathy of the Russian Foreign Office. Great Britain's relations with France and Russia thus became smooth, the prudent course being taken of removing out of the path all controversies which might produce a serious quarrel. The quasi-alliance, which never became a real alliance, between Great Britain, France and Russia, caused suspicion and irritation in Germany, which began to feel isolated; but Campbell-Bannerman assured the German Foreign Office that these agreements were not hostile to its interests, and that the only reason why a similar arrangement was not made with Germany was because no similar causes of quarrel existed at the moment between it and Great Britain.

The Tibet Expedition.

We have seen that one of the clauses in the Anglo-Russian Convention provided that neither country should interfere with Lhassa. Lord Curzon, as Viceroy of India, had found it imperative to send a military expedition to Tibet to conquer Lhassa. This mysterious city, the home of the Dalai Lama, is more likely than any other place in the world to contain evidence of the beginnings of definite relations between God and man, because the first worshippers of an All-Wise and an All-Mighty God were Mongolian, and Lhassa is the oldest seat of Mongolian religion. This expedition, commanded by Younghusband, was eminently successful, and led to a treaty which was afterwards, unfortunately, disregarded. When the expedition was sent Russia had not been conquered by Japan. There is now less chance of her advance in this direction; but it may be doubted whether it was wise to leave Tibet in the hands of China: a country permeated with spirituality controlled by a material and irreligious horde.

King Edward's Influence.

During these years dislike of Great Britain had been gradually fading away, owing, as we have seen, more than anything else, to the personal popularity and tact of Edward VII. He was acquainted with, indeed more or less related to, all European sovereigns, and worked hard in strengthening these ties. He was in the habit of paying a yearly visit to Marienbad to drink the waters, a custom which, under the care of Dr. Ott, undoubtedly extended his life. Nothing could exceed the affectionate enthusiasm with which he was received in that health

resort, Russians, French, Austrians, and above all Germans, who had been most embittered against England and against him personally during the Boer War, thronging to do him honour. Embarrassing as their attentions must sometimes have been, he valued them as evidence that the cloud which had hung over his country was passing, and he was becoming a potent factor in the counsels of Europe as the ambassador of peace. The effect produced by his ten years of rule in this respect—the difference between the isolation, the ostracism, of Great Britain in 1901 and her commanding influence in 1911—is only comparable with the first ten years of the younger Pitt, which saw Great Britain in 1783 the pariah of the world, and in 1793 the dominating Power in Europe.

Death of Campbell-Bannerman.

Early in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman, worn out by political labour, intensified by the calamity of his wife's death and the heroic efforts he had made to prolong her life, was obliged to resign office, and, indeed, shortly afterwards died. His was succeeded by a Ministry which was destined to leave a great mark on the history of the country, in respect of the progress of democracy and the preservation of peace. Campbell-Bannerman had worked hard for both objects and left a name honoured on both counts. In the new Cabinet, Asquith became Prime Minister, an office now for the first time recognised by the Constitution; and Lloyd George, a man of consummate genius and the highest character, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Franco-British Exhibition.

The summer saw the Franco-British Exhibition in London, which did much to consolidate the friendship between Great Britain and France, and, at the same place, the celebration of the so-called Olympic games in the Stadium, where the youth of the world competed together in honourable rivalry in almost every branch of athletic exercise and sport. Lord Desborough, to whose energy and statesmanlike wisdom the success of this enterprise was due, said that nothing pleased him more in this experience than having to preside, night after night, at banquets of young men of all countries, singing their national songs, meeting in peace and harmony, and establishing thereby the solidarity of nations, and making war impossible. Kings and statesmen may do what they please, but when nations meet together in athletic sport, or friendly intercourse, in Olympic games or in Esperanto congresses, to enjoy the same amusements and speak the same language, war must gradually become impossible. Olympia was regarded as the strongest bond of Greek unity in ancient times; there is no reason why a similar associa-

tion in these times, embracing, not a nation, but the whole world, should not achieve as much for us.

Democratic Reforms.

In the same year a Pan-Anglican Congress brought together every section of the English Church throughout the world. The King made visits of amity and peace to the President of the French Republic, the Tsar—an admirable action, much resented by intemperate Radicals—the Emperors of Austria and Germany, while the Prince of Wales strengthened the bond of union with Canada. In the political sphere the rejection of the Licensing Bill by the Lords accentuated the agitation against the Upper House. The Old Age Pensions Act, promised by the Unionists but never given, brought peace and comfort into many a home and diminished the terrible pauperism of the country; the Children's Act, due mainly to Herbert Samuel, tended to make the youngest and most important members of society temperate and moral. All these measures were consummated by Lloyd George's democratic budget, which provided the money necessary for the increased expenses of the country, not in the taxation of food and raw material, which would have pressed heavily upon the poor and upon industry, but in the taxation of the rich. The budget was, by a grave display of unwisdom, which much disturbed the King, rejected by the House of Lords, but was carried after a general election had decided in its favour.

Death of Edward VII.

Steps were now taken to carry out what had been promised by Campbell-Bannerman and been discussed long before his time—namely, the making the veto of the Lords suspensive, instead of absolute; but in the very act of this settlement, King Edward died, and the task was left to his successor, George V. Shortly before midnight on Friday, May 6th, 1910, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's announced that Edward the Peacemaker had passed away.

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